Statement
exhibiting the

Moral and Material
Progress and condition
of India
1920 & 1921

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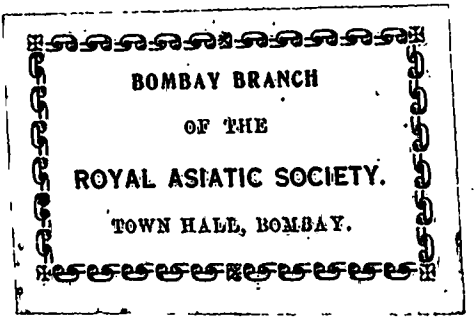

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STATEMENT

EXHIBITING THE

MORAL AND MATERIAL PROGRESS AND CONDITION

OF

134469

INDIA

DURING THE YEAR 1920-21.

FIFTY-SIXTH NUMBER.

(Presented pursuant to the Government of India Act.)

India Office,
2 August 1921.

F. W. DUKE,
Under Secretary of State for India.

Ordered, by The House of Commons, *to be Printed,*
2 *August* 1921.

LONDON:
PUBLISHED BY HIS MAJESTY'S STATIONERY OFFICE.

To be purchased through any Bookseller or directly from
H.M. STATIONERY OFFICE at the following addresses:
IMPERIAL HOUSE, KINGSWAY, LONDON, W.C. 2, and 28, ABINGDON STREET, LONDON, S.W. 1;
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1921.

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A REPORT

prepared for presentation to Parliament in accordance with the requirements of the 26th Section of the Government of India Act

BY

L. F. RUSHBROOK WILLIAMS,
Fellow of All Souls:
Director, Central Bureau of Information, Government of India.

FOREWORD.

THROUGHOUT 1920 India, in common with other countries, suffered from the heritage of unrest bequeathed by the war. In her case it assumed the form, not of disorder, but of an instinctive reaction against the more materialistic aspects of western civilisation. Economic, political, and religious discontents combined to foster this movement, which towards the end of the period under review attained proportions calculated to delay India's advance towards responsible government within the British Commonwealth. But there are now signs that its more extravagant manifestations are falling into discredit, as the desire of India for self-expression finds increasing satisfaction in the opportunities provided by the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. That great constitutional experiment has now been initiated under happy augury. The steadfast determination both of the Indian and of the English subjects of His Majesty to work together in harmony for India's uplift is amply apparent; and after the storms of this troublous year, the ship of state seems destined to follow her new course steadily and swiftly. But if the political horizon seems clearing, the clouds have not yet vanished. India has recently witnessed the most remarkable peaceful revolution of modern times. The spirit of autocracy to which she has for long been accustomed, is henceforth to give place to the spirit of responsibility. Such a change cannot but be productive, at least for the moment, of uneasiness and of misapprehension on the part of many. The minds of men are disturbed, and it may be long before the country attains tranquillity. None the less the stir which now manifests itself is the stir of new life. Ancient barriers are crumbling before the desire for national unity; pride in India's past is giving place to hope for India's future. Despite all the difficulties that beset her path, no one who studies with impartial eye the progress which she has achieved of late, can doubt that this future will be great indeed.

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India in 1920.

CHAPTER I.

India and her Neighbours.

Rarely of recent years has it been so borne upon the student of politics that India is an integral portion of Asia, as in the course of the period under review. It is impossible to understand on the one hand the relations between India and Afghanistan, and on the other hand the relations between India and the Frontier Tribes, without some knowledge of the stormy back-ground of Bolshevik activity upon which both in greater or less degree largely depended.

India and Bolshevism.

In the course of the year 1920 the Soviet Government of Russia has delivered itself in no uncertain terms of its opinion concerning Great Britain, its accredited spokesmen, Lenin, Trotsky and Tchitcherin, having from time to time asserted that the British Empire stands forth as the main antagonist of the doctrines which they profess. Nor did the unveiled hostility of the Soviet Government find expression in words alone. It became increasingly plain as the period under review proceeded that the Bolshevik threats of attack upon India could no longer be ignored. Their activities in Central Asia during the period with which we are dealing were of sufficient importance to necessitate a brief description.

After the October Revolution of 1917, Russia no longer found herself in an advantageous position for directing her activities against Persia, Afghanistan and India. Trans-Caucasia had fallen away from her and was split up into independent republics such as Azarbaijan, Georgia, Armenia and Daghistan. On the other hand Russian Turkistan was in a state of the utmost chaos. So long as the counter-revolutionary forces of Koltchak and Denikin remained in being and Russo-Polish hostilities continued, the Communists found it impossible to devote to their policy of aggression in the East that attention which they felt it

required. But in the course of the year under review the successive defeats of Koltchak and Denikin, the conclusion of terms with Poland, and the victory over Wrangel gave the Moscow Government a freer hand. Aided by armies of propagandists they succeeded in consolidating for the moment at least their position in Trans-Caucasia and Turkistan. Towards the end of April 1920 the Bolsheviks were able to overthrow the republican Government of Azarbaijan and to erect a Soviet in its place; Daghistan also became honeycombed with Bolshevik intrigue and an obedient vassal of the rulers of Russia. The rivetting of Soviet control over these two little republics not merely secured command of the railway to Baku but also made possible the commandeering of oil, food stuffs and private property, for the benefit of starving Russia. In this process the Azarbaijanis were reduced to a condition of absolute destitution, with the result that risings against Soviet tyranny became of frequent occurrence during the summer of 1920. From May onwards, Baku itself was held in an iron grip, but the country round about would have nothing to do with the Bolsheviks. A sedulous campaign of propaganda, based upon the preposterous argument that Bolshevism, the sworn foe of all religions, is compatible with the tenets of Islam, prepared the way for further advances. The practice of the Soviet officials did not however square with their precepts; and wanton oppressions of the Mussalman population goaded the sturdy Tartars to madness. But ill-equipped peasants and workmen could not achieve success against better disciplined Red armies, and the only result of these movements was to provoke reprisals so ruthless as to shock Muslim sentiment.

Bolshevism in Central Asia.

With the Christian republics of Georgia and Armenia, the propaganda which had served the Soviet so well among the Mussalmans of Azarbaijan and Daghistan was useless. Command of the resources of these two countries was however vital if hands were to be joined with the Turkish National forces of Mustafa Kemal Pasha, who with Angora as his headquarters, was at this time rallying Turkish sentiment to resist the Treaty of Sevres. Common opposition to Great Britain and the Allies served to reconcile, at least for the moment, such traditional enemies as Russian Bolsheviks and Turkish Nationalists; with the result that from the middle of 1920 the alliance of Bolshevism and Islam was openly proclaimed. Strenuous attempts were now made to undermine the republican governments of Georgia and Armenia. In the autumn Red troops

Bolshevik Advance.

occupied Tiflis and entered the Persian town of Enzeli, further seizing Resht and advancing to Menjil on the Teheran road. In great triumph the Bolsheviks summoned an Oriental Congress at Baku, which should advertise to the world the triumph of communism, and sound the death-knell of British power in the Middle East. But scarcely had the Congress met, before Muslim feeling, bitterly incensed at Red insults to Islam, broke out in fury; and the Bolsheviks found themselves obliged to withdraw not only from Tiflis but also from Baku. Batum fell into Georgian hands, and for the moment the Trans-Caucasian Railway passed out of Communist control. But the Turkish Nationalists then stepped in by attacking Armenia from the South. Situated as it was between two fires, the Armenian Republic after a despairing appeal to the League of Nations, made the best of a bad situation by proclaiming itself a Soviet Government. At the moment of writing, its soil is occupied jointly by Russian and Turkish troops. The latter having done most of the work of subjugation, now find themselves about to be ousted; and it may well be that this strange alliance of Turk and Russian will split once and for all over the Armenian question.

Turkistan.

In Turkistan the future is equally uncertain. Aided by its temporary command of the railway to Baku, the Soviet Government had established itself with a base to the west of the Caspian which enabled its work to be extended eastward. Turkistan had for some time been nominally under Bolshevik control, and the capture of Krasnovodsk in February stamped out the last element of counter-revolutionary resistance. But the bulk of the population were still opposed to communism. Oppression had been practised and the resources of the country ruthlessly exploited for the benefit of distant parts of Russia. About the beginning of this period, the Bolsheviks initiated a policy of conciliation, and having by this means rendered their rule more secure, with Tashkent as their centre embarked upon a widespread campaign of propaganda. During the summer of 1920 they applied themselves to the task of securing greater control over the conservative Amir of Bokhara, who, with the support of the major portion of the population of his State, resisted them so far as he was able. But gold and propaganda did their work, and by degrees a "Young Bokharan" party, composed largely of refugees, adventurers and the scum of Central Asia, was brought into existence in the heart of the Amirate. At the end of August, all being prepared, the Bolsheviks fomented a revolution in Bokhara, and using this as a

Bokhara.

pretext, completed the establishment of a Soviet Government by force. The fall of an independent Mussalman principality of such importance excited no little perturbation in the Islamic world.

The steady advance of the Bolshevik power towards India which has been outlined in the preceding paragraphs has not been without effect upon India's relations with the powers upon her border. Persia and Afghanistan now alone remain to separate her from Bolshevik intrigue; and towards their subversion the Soviet Government has begun to bend its energies. In Persia the situation throughout the year was delicate. From time to time, since the Armistice, British forces have helped the Persian people to maintain the integrity and independence of their country; and British statesmen, at Persian instance, have offered assistance towards the reorganisation of the Persian military and administration system. Unfortunately for Persia, there exists an influential party which was seized with suspicion that Great Britain would acquire too much influence in the country; and this fact gave the Bolsheviks an opportunity for intervention, of which they availed themselves. At Enzeli and Resht as we have already seen, they went too far and sustained a set-back that seriously damaged their prestige. But in deference to English opinion as to the necessity of limiting rigorously our own commitments in the Middle East, our forces withdrew from the Bolshevik zone. His Majesty's Government made it plain that British troops could not be employed indefinitely to protect Persia against Bolshevik aggression: and that she must make up her mind, before December 31st, 1920, either to accept or to decline the assistance proffered by the Anglo-Persian agreement. Bolshevik propaganda, exploiting the anti-British suspicion to which reference has been made, succeeded in preventing the ratification of the Anglo-Persian agreement within the time fixed. This was hailed as a triumph of Bolshevik diplomacy, and from the point of view both of Persia and of India is to be lamented, as facilitating the operation of that disruptive propaganda, which the Russian Soviet Government knows so well how to employ.

Persia.

In Afghanistan also, the Bolsheviks have been making persistent efforts to gain a foothold. It will be remembered that one of the terms of the treaty of peace signed on the 6th of August 1919 at the end of the third Afghan War, provided that if the Afghans showed that they were sincerely desirous of regaining our friendship, we should be prepared, after six months, to receive a mission for the discussion and settlement of matters

Afghanistan.

of common interest to the two Governments, as well as for the re-establishment of the old friendship on a satisfactory basis. During the early months of the year 1920 considerable doubt was felt in India as to the attitude of the Amir. While the few communications which he addressed to us were markedly friendly in tone, there was little practical proof of any desire on his part to cultivate the friendship of Great Britain. The Amir found himself in a position of no little difficulty; and throughout the whole of the year 1920, his desire to remain on friendly terms with Russia and Britain, while at the same time avoiding what may be called an entangling alliance with either, seemed to be apparent. There can be no doubt that for some time the Afghans have cherished the idea of a great Islamic federation of the states of Central Asia, Khiva, Bokhara, Ferghana and Turkistan, under their own ægis. This scheme naturally does not suit the Bolsheviks, who dislike the very idea of a strong Islamic *Staatenbund* blocking their path to India. Accordingly they have been holding out counter-attractions. In the course of 1919, an Afghan mission had been despatched to Moscow, and had received what was construed as a promise of the restoration of the Panjdih area, formerly wrested from Afghanistan by the Tsarist Government. Early in January 1920, a Bolshevik mission, under Bravine, came to Kabul but concluded no negotiations for the cession of Panjdih and apparently attempted to employ Afghanistan as an advanced propaganda base, which it was not the Amir's intention to permit.

The Amir's Position.

It will be realised from the course of events previously described, that the rapid advance of Bolshevik influence, together with the reduction of Khiva, Ferghana, Turkistan and Bokhara to dependence upon Moscow, has for the moment at least rendered impossible the desire of Afghanistan to stand out as the head of a great Muslim confederation, besides having further added to the anxieties of the Amir. Early in the year 1920, he made the first advance towards a better understanding with India by putting forward a proposal for a conference of British and Afghan officials on the border. This proposal was not accepted; but he was informed that the British Government was prepared to permit a discussion between representatives, with the object of clearing away misunderstandings and of preparing a foundation on which negotiations for a treaty of friendship could be opened. In April, the Afghan mission was settled in Mussoorie, and for some time negotiations continued with a British delegation under the direction of Mr., now Sir Henry, Dobbs. But towards the end of April a succession of unpleasant Frontier incidents, which

could hardly have taken place without the cognisance of local Afghan officials, necessitated the suspension of the negotiations at Mussoorie. After more than a month these incidents were adjusted to the satisfaction of both Governments and negotiations were again resumed. From that time forward they proceeded satisfactorily and towards the end of July, the Afghan delegation returned to Kabul there to lay the results of the conference before the Afghan Government. The subjects discussed included the proposed peace terms with the Ottoman Empire and their bearing from the point of view of Afghanistan on the question of the Khilafat; the frontier tribes; the international status of Afghanistan; the renewal of commercial relations with India; and the acceptance of British assistance towards the peaceful development of Afghanistan. The work which was accomplished in the Mussoorie conference was unquestionably useful, clearing the ground as it did for later and more formal negotiations. In October, the Afghan Government invited the Government of India to despatch an official mission to Kabul for the purpose of negotiating a treaty. Relations between Afghanistan and the Bolsheviks still continued; and the Bolshevik agent Suritz, as well as the Turkish general Jamal Pasha, continued to remain in Kabul at the same time as the British delegation. At the moment of writing it is impossible to state what the upshot of the negotiations with the Amir is likely to be; although it is much to be hoped both in the interests of Afghanistan herself and of British India that it will be found possible to revert to the old friendly relations of the pre-war period. The path to this may well be smoothed by the conclusion, immediately subsequent to the close of the period under review, of the Trade Agreement between the Soviet Government of Russia and His Majesty's Government, which, one hopes, will clear the general atmosphere.

Peace Negotiations.

The uncertainty of the relations between Afghanistan and India was throughout the period under review a dominating factor in our relations with the Frontier tribes. At the close of the period covered by last year's Report mention was made of the disturbed condition of the border, a result first of direct hostilities with Afghanistan and secondly of the persevering work among the Frontier tribes of agents whom the Afghan Government sedulously disowned. It will be remembered that throughout the last three weeks of August and right into September 1919 the Mahsuds and the Wazirs had continued their raids into our territory. Insecurity of life and property in the Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan

Border Affairs.

districts had become intolerable; and after the failure in October 1919 of negotiations with the Tribal Councils of the Tochi Wazirs and the Mahsuds, punitive measures were undertaken against them. After due notice an intensive aerial bombardment began, but before long it was plain that the recalcitrant tribes could not be brought to reason by aerial operations alone. Just before the commencement of the period now under review a column advanced to Dattakhel, and the Tochi Wazirs accepted our terms. Troops were then transferred south, with Jandola as their base for operations, and on December 18th, 1919, our advance against the Mahsuds began.

Mahsud Expedition.

It must be realised that under modern conditions, in order to maintain a column of the size of the striking force employed in these operations, daily convoys of pack animals had to be despatched along the lines of communication. The protection of these convoys was rendered more difficult owing to the abundance of modern rifles now in the hands of the tribesmen. Adequate protection by means of escorts would have required a prohibitively large number of troops; a system was therefore introduced of establishing posts with permanent piquets at fairly close intervals on the most convenient ground on each side of the tracks used. These posts were strongly built for all round defence with thick barbed wire entanglements; and their construction led to the majority of the actions which took place during these operations.

Heavy Fighting.

Our troops fought their way steadily on to Mandanna Kach, establishing permanent piquets as they went. The fighting was very severe, as the Mahsuds undoubtedly expected Afghan help. They fought in a way they had never done before, their attacks being well organised, and their combination of fire and shock tactics being excellent. None the less by the 28th December 1919, the first phase in the operations was over. Very heavy losses had been sustained by the tribesmen, and they were considerably disheartened. We pursued steadily our policy of establishing permanent piquets, and advanced with little opposition to Kot Kai. On the 11th January severe fighting took place at Ahnai Tangi, which led to the capture of this ravine by our troops. We then advanced north of the gorge and on 14th January again encountered strong opposition. This fight was the most stubborn of the whole campaign, our casualties amounting to nine British officers killed and six wounded; ten Indian officers and 365 Indian other ranks killed or wounded. The enemy losses were estimated at about 400, killed or seriously wounded.

Permanent piquets were established as usual and the troops moved forward again to the Sora Rogha plateau.

The period from the 29th December 1919 to the 20th January 1920 formed the second phase of the operations against the Mahsuds. It was a phase of steady progress and hard fighting in the course of which the resistance of the enemy was broken. We continued our advance steadily into the Mahsud country, and by the 6th March were established at Kaniguram. From this centre, punitive expeditions were directed to various localities and owing to the losses which the Mahsuds had sustained during the heavy fighting in our advance, practically all resistance now ceased and our troops were unmolested. On the 7th May the campaign came to a close. It had been marked by hard fighting and great severity, the enemy resisting with a determination and courage which has rarely, if ever, been encountered by our troops in frontier operations.

Termination of the Campaign.

It still remained however to settle with the Wana Wazirs. Since June 1919, the attitude of this tribe has been consistently hostile. Their fighting men assisted the Mahsuds to resist our advance during the operations which have just been described, and played a prominent part in the fighting at Mandanna Kach and in the Ahnai Tangi battle. During the summer of 1920, there have been a series of raids and attacks on troops by the Wana Wazirs in the Derajat and Zhob ; and since, between May and November 1919, they had been responsible for thirty-two raids and offences of various kinds, it became plain in the course of the period under review that punitive operations could not be avoided. One of the contributory factors to the misbehaviour of the tribesmen was unquestionably the presence among them of the Afghan adventurers Haji Abdur Razak and Shah Daula. Led astray by false reports as to the collapse of British power and attracted by specious promises, the Wana Wazirs indulged in a series of unpardonable offences against peace and order. Accordingly on the 10th October 1920, they were directed to attend a Tribal Council fixed for a month later, in which guarantees of their good faith in the shape of arms and a money fine should be handed over to us. But so little did they appreciate this period of grace that they carrried out a daring raid on the night of the 21-22nd October, inflicting heavy loss on the camp followers at the Kaur Bridge Camp. As the Tribal Council failed to meet on the date fixed, a column of our troops advanced from Jandola, arriving at Sarwekai on the 18th Novem-

The Wana Wazirs.

ber. Little opposition was encountered and a Tribal Council was held on the 20th which accepted our terms. A further twenty days' grace was allowed, within which certain preliminary conditions had to be fulfilled; but the tribal leaders at the head of the section which favoured peace were unable to secure the adhesion to this settlement of the younger and more adventurous tribesmen, excited as they were by the uncertainty of our relations with Afghanistan. On the 16th December 1920, operations were resumed, and the column moved forward to Wana which it reached on the 22nd December. Concurrently with this advance, a column from Fort Sandeman reoccupied the militia posts of Mir Ali Khel and Mogal Kot which had been abandoned since the 1919 troubles described in last year's Report. At the time of writing, however, the situation differs from that which obtained in 1919, because we now hold Wana and the posts of the Zhob with regulars, while the Gomal posts are still unoccupied. In 1919 on the other hand we held both the Zhob and the Gomal posts with militia and levies.

Border Policy.

The course of events which has just been described naturally raises the whole question of the policy to be pursued regarding the administration of tribal territory north of the Gomal valley. The policy of the Indian Government may be gathered from the following extract taken from a speech delivered by Lord Chelmsford on the 20th August 1920:—

"At our last Session I gave some account of the measures we were taking to restore the disturbed situation on the North-West Frontier caused by the Afghan War, and I mentioned that the rejection by the Mahsuds of our terms had necessitated the advance of troops into their country. The operations against the Mahsuds have now practically been brought to a close, and as the result of hard fighting we have occupied a central and dominating position in Waziristan. The campaign thus forced upon us, with its heavy cost in treasure and lives, has compelled us to bring under scrutiny the whole of our policy in this troublesome border tract. For many years, ever since we inherited from the Sikhs the task of controlling Waziristan, and especially since the Amir Abdur Rahman formally recognised it as lying within our sphere, we have followed the policy of non-interference with its inhabitants. We have, it is true, held two lines of militia forts, along the Tochi in the North and towards Wano in the South for the purpose of checking raids upon the settled inhabitants of India and upon the caravan traffic proceeding up and down the Gomal. But to this end we have employed mainly the Wazirs and

Mahsuds themselves. We have not interfered with their internal affairs and beyond granting them subsidies, to enable them to live without raiding, we have had as little to do with them as possible. We hoped that, if we left them alone, they would leave us alone. This hope has, I regret to say, proved fallacious and the time has come when we can no longer shut our eyes to the fact. We have had a campaign, more or less important, against Waziristan on an average every four years—sometimes it has been called an expedition and sometimes a blockade. Since 1852 we have had 17 of these military operations, and since 1911 we have had four, including that just concluded. These have all been occasioned by deliberate aggression against us on the part of tribesmen, who have ravaged the plains whenever they saw an opportunity. During the last few years, when we were occupied first with the Great War and then with the Afghan War, their depredations have been bolder and more intolerable than ever before, since, in spite of our efforts to the contrary, they have obtained arms of precision from certain sources. During the Afghan War they swept over the border tracts of the Derajat and Zhob and even penetrated into the Punjab, robbing and murdering the peaceful villagers, especially the Hindus; and after the signature of peace with Afghanistan they became even more truculent and absolutely refused the lenient terms which we offered them in the hope of avoiding a campaign."

The old Policy.

"On a review of the facts we have now made up our minds that this continual and gratuitous provocation can no longer be suffered; and we have decided, with the approval of His Majesty's Government, that our forces shall remain in occupation of Central Waziristan, that mechanical transport roads shall be constructed throughout the country, especially roads linking the Gomal with the Tochi line, and that our present line of posts shall be extended as may seem necessary. It is not possible to set any limits to the period of our occupation, our main care being that we shall not lose the advantage gained during the past nine months at the cost of valuable lives and of much money; and that there shall be no recurrence of the series of outrages of which I have given you an outline. We hope that the peace which must eventually attend our domination of these tribesmen will bring its usual blessings in its train; that they may be weaned from their life of rapine and violence and may find both in material improvements in their country, such as the extension of irrigation and cul-

The new policy.

tivation, and in civilising intercourse with India, a more stable prosperity than they have ever derived from their traditional profession of robbers and marauders."

"In order to improve our frontier communications we have, with the concurrence of the Secretary of State, sanctioned the extension through the Khyber of the broad-gauge railway which at present terminates at Jamrud. I trust that the time may not be distant when the Afghan Government similarly may build railways down to their frontier, and that in this way a connection may be made between the two countries. Nothing, I am convinced, would more conduce to the mutual advantage and good understanding between the two countries than such a connection, and if the Afghan Government were to wish for it, I can assure them that we shall be ready to co-operate."

The Border in 1920.

From all that has been said previously it will be gathered that the administration of the border during the period under review has been a matter of grave anxiety to the authorities. In the North-West Frontier Province the most distressing feature of the year 1919-20 has been the abnormal number of dangerous and destructive raids upon peaceful inhabitants within our territories. The unrest which has swept over the tribes up and down our borders is in large degree a heritage from the third Afghan War. But there have been at work other forces, including the general disquiet consequent upon the world struggle; the presence in tribal areas of a large number of deserters from the army, mainly hot-blooded young men without employment and without means of livelihood; the perennial economic pressure of growing populations on land too poor to feed them; and fanatical excitement caused by the military misfortunes of Islam as mirrored in the glass of Indian political agitation. During the year 1919-20, no fewer than 611 raids took place in the Peshawar, Kohat, Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan districts. They resulted in the killing of 298, the wounding of 392, and the kidnapping of 463 British subjects. Property to the estimated, though probably exaggerated, value of Rs. 30 lakhs was looted. The difficulties against which the officers of the North-West Frontier Province have to contend are now very great. Such numbers of modern rifles have poured into tribal territory through losses in action, desertions from our civil and military forces and the looting of Afghan stores during the third Afghan War, that almost any young man on the border who has a taste for a highwayman's career

Raids.

can obtain the necessary weapons with little difficulty. In addition to their possession of modern weapons, marauders now adopt organized tactics. Raiding parties frequently contain individuals who put to full use the military training they have received in the army and in militia. The system of piquets, of covering fire, of withdrawal according to plan, the use of the whistle and the numerical strength employed, make the modern raid very formidable. The participants have an intimate knowledge of the country, and invariably raid on the darkest night—a practice which makes aeroplane surveillance useless against them. Under present conditions it is generally possible to obtain effective assistance from the tribes in bringing marauding bands to justice. As an illustration of this it may be mentioned that in the case of an Anglo-Indian lady who was kidnapped from the Sadr Bazar at Peshawar, a pursuit party of Afridis was at once organised, the passes were blocked, and the lady was rescued within thirty-six hours without ransom. Everything that can be done to stop the depredations of the tribesmen is being done. Adequate preparations are made to inflict exemplary punishment upon such gangs as can be encountered; and precautions are taken for transmitting early information of raiding parties known to be out. The success of the defensive measures employed may be gauged from the fact that during the year 1919-20 forty-one raids were successfully repelled, 119 raiders were killed, 80 wounded and 41 captured. Among these exploits perhaps the most notable was the engagement and rout of a Wazir force estimated at 500 to 600 strong by mounted policemen in the Kohat district.

Precautions.

In the latter half of the year 1920, the success of these measures became more marked; indeed, considering the uncertainty of our relations with Afghanistan, and the general post-war unrest, which is no less pronounced in the North-West Frontier Province than in other parts of the world, the only wonder is that the trouble experienced has not been greater. During August, considerable excitement was caused by the emigration to Afghanistan, for religious reasons, of some 18,000 persons, who, under the influence of certain misguided men, sold their goods for a tithe of their value and trusting in God flocked towards the Khyber Pass. This remarkable occurrence is noticed more fully in another place, but may be mentioned here as symptomatic of the tension existing during 1920 on the border. Shortly afterwards another disquieting incident occurred. The efforts of fanatical agitators in the Manshera Sub-division resulted

The Muhajrin.

in the working up of wild excitement which culminated in the repudiation of the British Administration and the erection in many places of a "Provisional Government." This movement collapsed with the arrest of the ringleaders; but the neighbouring Black Mountain tribes, having been persuaded that they were invulnerable to rifle fire, burnt and sacked some of our posts until they were brought to their senses by a severe repulse followed by aerial operations.

Other troubles.

In refreshing contrast to the lawlessness of the tribal areas north of the Gomal Valley during the year under review may be placed the history of corresponding areas in Baluchistan, where our sphere of administration extends right up to the Durand Line. It will be remembered that in last year's Report mention was made of the severe blow given to our administrative efforts in the Zhob district by the incursion of the Wazirs and Mahsuds who had followed upon the track of our forces in their withdrawal from Wana. The structure of peace and order which had been built up so carefully in forty years collapsed rapidly. But the foundations had been well and truly laid, and during the early months of 1920, the fabric of civil administration was again erected. The most difficult tribe of all, the Sheranis, evinced a keen desire to atone for past misdeeds; rifles were surrendered and old outlaws came in. But the disturbed conditions north of the Gomal combined with the continuance of military operations against the Mahsuds, exercised an unsettling effect upon Baluchistan. More marked even than this was the uncertainty along the border as to British relations with the Afghan Government, which was generally believed to be giving material help to the Mahsuds in their resistance. Most unfortunate was our failure to reoccupy the abandoned outposts in outlying parts of Zhob. This was inevitable; for the old Zhob militia, as was described in last year's Report, had become disorganised and was below strength. As time went on, and still no definite settlement was arrived at either with Waziristan or with the Afghans, these disturbing factors made themselves more and more severely felt. Tension and unrest began, of which the outward signs were a number of raids in Zhob, Hindubagh and Barkhan. The raiders were mostly outlaws, chiefly militia deserters, living in Afghanistan, and there attracting to themselves a number of bad characters from all parts of the Frontier. Mobile military forces were sent to the threatened areas, and small bodies of local scouts moved freely about the country. But

A marked contrast.

Baluchistan in 1920.

owing to the support and asylum given to the raiders in Afghanistan, they had things very much their own way. These events largely discounted the effects which might have been expected to follow from the conversations begun in April between the British and the Afghan delegates at Mussoorie. In the middle of this month, moreover, a British subject, together with his son and his guest were carried off into Afghan territory, apparently with the cognisance of the local Afghan officials. This was followed by an epidemic of intensive raiding all along the border. Prompt steps were taken to deal with the situation. Troops were moved up in large numbers; all Afghan subjects in Chaman were promptly arrested; and the Agent to the Governor General demanded an explanation of the act of hostility. The kidnapped men were returned, and the incident was closed. This seemed to be the turning point in the history of an anxious period.

An anxious period.

The settlement which shortly occurred between the British and the Afghan Governments of disputes arising from this and other Frontier incidents, and the resumption of negotiations at Mussoorie, exercised a quietening effect. But for some time to come there was cause for anxiety and vigilance. The effect of the Turkish Peace terms published towards the end of May was not yet known; and there was a recrudescence of raiding and kidnapping. Some of the Afghan officials were the reverse of obliging in securing the prompt return of kidnapped British subjects. But during the last three months of the year a change for the better came over the situation in Baluchistan. There was a notable freedom from raids in the Zhob and Hindubagh areas, and the peaceful reoccupation of Southern Waziristan exercised a quietening influence upon the tribes. The old Zhob militia is gradually being re-organised as irregular levies, and confidence in British power is beginning to return. Already many outlaws long supposed to be irreconcilable are returning to settle in their own homes, and at the moment of writing things are more hopeful along the Baluchistan Frontier than they have been for some time past. The rapidity with which the administrative system of the province has recovered from the shock of last year cannot but fail to strike the observer.

Future prospects.

It need hardly be pointed out that the combination of the events just described has raised in an acute form the question of India's defence. Quite apart from the advancing tide of Bolshevism, which has

caused heartsearching to all who are sufficiently far-sighted to cast their gaze beyond the immediate questions of domestic politics, the restless and disturbed condition of the Frontier has of itself been sufficient to excite considerable alarm and apprehension among thoughtful men in India. There can be little doubt that had the domestic condition of the country been more happy during the twelve months under review, public opinion would have concentrated itself to an unprecedented degree upon the problems of India's defence. As it was, however, there was a marked tendency on the part even of those whom the new constitutional reforms were about to place in a position of power and responsibility, to treat the defence of the North-West Frontier as being a matter outside the sphere of their interest. In part, there can be no doubt this attitude is a heritage from the past, from a time when the British authorities considered it unnecessary to take Indian opinion into their confidence or to explain to them the gravity of the danger of external aggression to which the country has been of late years from time to time exposed. In part, however, as will be explained more fully in the next chapter, the comparative apathy of Indian political leaders to the condition of affairs we have already described is due to the concentration of their attention upon matters nearer home. In proof of this assertion, it will suffice to contrast the general apathy displayed by public opinion regarding the imminence of the Bolshevik menace, with the keen interest excited by the proposal to institute a Territorial Army for India. During the year under review definite steps have been taken to dispose of the old accusation that it was the policy of the British Administration to "emasculate" the people of India by depriving them of opportunities for training in the use of arms. The plain truth about this accusation is, it may be pointed out, that those who now raise it belong to classes which have not up to the present time displayed either martial inclination or martial aptitudes; but since it is obviously desirable that educated India should receive such training as may enable it to take its share in the defence of the country under modern conditions, Government is proceeding to tackle the question systematically. During the war the opening of the Indian Defence Force to Indians of the educated classes did not produce a very appreciable response; but it must be frankly stated that in the press of wartime no particular pains were taken to make a success of what military opinion generally regarded as a dubious experiment. But

Problems of India's defence.

A Territorial Army.

after the war, when the question of instituting voluntary and territorial forces was taken up seriously by Government, provision was made to the satisfaction of responsible opinion among the politically minded classes, for a real Indian Territorial army which should act as a second line of defence in case of invasion and should be brought up to a high standard of efficiency.

The re-appearance in a new guise of the old menace from the North West has during the year under review strengthened the general desire on the part of those responsible for the safety of India for a thorough overhauling of the Indian military machine. The breakdown in the Mesopotamian Campaign, the shortcomings revealed in the third Afghan War, and the increased difficulties under modern conditions of dealing with the recurrent turbulence of the border tribes, have combined to make it inevitable that such a desire should find satisfaction. With the termination of the world-war and the consequent demobilization of British forces in India, it has become a matter of great urgency to determine the nature and composition of the army which must be maintained for the defence of India. In last year's Report mention was made of the appointment of a Committee under the presidency of Lord Esher, to enquire into the Indian military system. The terms of reference included an examination of the administration and organization of the army in India, including its relations with the War Office and the India Office; a consideration of the position of the Commander-in-Chief in his dual capacity as head of the Army and Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council; and an investigation of such other matters as might be considered relevant to the enquiry. During the first part of the period under review, this Committee was engaged in its investigations both in England and in India. At the beginning of October 1920, its report was published. Of the detailed recommendations contained in this document we cannot here speak; they will be found in an appendix. Broadly they fall into two parts. The first is an attempt to determine the part to be played by the Army in India in a scheme of Imperial defence; and the second is an analysis of the steps which must be taken to make the army, both in its administration and in its personnel, more efficient and more attractive to the right type of soldier. We shall have occasion in another place to notice the effect upon Indian opinion of the publication of this Report. But since that effect was in part at least due to misapprehension, we shall here confine ourselves to a more general view of the recommendations.

The Esher Committee.

Defence Co-ordination.

The Esher Committee plainly regarded Indian Army reforms merely as part of a much larger scheme designed for the proper co-ordination of the fighting forces of the Empire. The events of the world-war had made it perfectly clear that the old system, under which the various Dominions of the British Commonwealth had maintained their armed forces as separate units without mutual co-ordination and uniformity of policy, could not possibly survive. As a result of the great rally of opinion from all parts of the Commonwealth in favour of a unified organization of war effort, there arose, in the shape of the Imperial War Cabinet, a machine for the co-ordination of higher questions of military policy. Much misapprehension as to the effect of the Esher Committee's recommendations would have been avoided, if critics had realised that beneath them all was one underlying assumption. The Esher Committee believed that the survival in some form or other of the principle of an Imperial Cabinet composed of the Prime Ministers of Great Britain and of the Dominions, was inevitable; and that this machinery would carry along with it some corresponding organization in the sphere of Imperial defence. The recommendations of the Esher Committee had as their guide-rule consistency with three great principles; first, the control by the Government of India of Indian military affairs; secondly,

Three Principles.

the assignment of due weight to the opinions of that Government in questions of Imperial Defence; and thirdly, the exercise of a considered influence by the Imperial General Staff upon the "Military policy" of the Government of India as upon that of the other Governments of the Commonwealth. Under normal conditions these principles might have been expected to reassure those critics who discovered in the detailed recommendations of the first part of the Esher Committee's Report an attempt to deprive India of control of her own forces and to make them a tool for Imperial aggression in Central Asia. Unfortunately, the phraseology of certain parts of the Report combined with some isolated *obiter dicta* unessen-

Misapprehensions.

tial to the main project, was such as to lend these suspicions an air of verisimilitude. Indian opinion did not understand that the structure contemplated by the Esher Committee, in which the Army in India was to play its part as one unit of a co-ordinated whole, had not yet come into full existence. There was thus confusion in the minds of many critics between the supreme direction of the military forces of the Empire in an organisation such as that contemplated by the Esher Committee, and War

Office control. Nor was this all. The desire of the Esher Committee that the Chief of the Imperial General Staff should exercise what they unfortunately described as a "considered influence on the military policy of the Government of India" was interpreted to mean, not the general co-ordination of military resources, requirements and organisation—which was what the Committee intended—but the destruction of the fundamental British principle of control by the civil power over military matters. Had this mistake been made in a normal atmosphere, it would have been less serious. Under no circumstances, of course, can Indian political leaders be expected to look with favour upon any policy which seems, however remotely, either to deprive the Indian Government, over which they have legitimate aspirations for control, of unfettered direction of the Indian Army; or to hint at the possible employment of Indian forces for ends in which India herself is but partly concerned. None the less, the obvious desirability of co-ordinating, under proper safeguards, the military resources of the Commonwealth, would ordinarily have commended itself to Indian opinion on grounds of expediency alone; more especially as the adoption of such a plan was being favourably considered by the self-governing Dominions with whom India now claims equality. But it must be remembered that at the time when the Esher Committee's Report was published, public opinion both in England and in India was suffering from a severe reaction against the excessive expenditure involved in our long retention of post-war commitments in the Middle East. The troubles in Mesopotamia, and the rumoured agreement for the reorganization of Persia seemed in India to involve the continued employment for an indefinite period of Indian troops overseas at the expense of the British tax-payer. Hence it was that the recommendations of the first part of the Esher Committee's Report, which had as their aim the determination of the place of the Army in India in a future scheme for the military organization of the whole Commonwealth, excited a storm of reprobation. Under cover of this storm, which has not yet died away, the second main division of the Esher Committee's Report passed almost unnoticed. The aim of the second part was in brief to reconcile the existing discrepancy between service in the British and in the Indian Army; to improve conditions of service in the latter; and generally to secure for India the type of officer and man, both British and Indian, whom she will need more than ever under the conditions of responsible Government. It must be remembered that the total alteration in

Popular protests.

economic conditions which the war has produced is a very serious handicap to the British personnel of the Indian Army. That compensation for the altered conditions of life in India which in the old days made Indian service so attractive, is now more than out-balanced by such disadvantages as poor accommodation, lack of medical assistance, losses on travelling and transfer, and a cumbrous code of leave and allowance rules. Towards the remedying of these anomalies the Esher Committee has made some useful suggestions; and it is much to be hoped that the cost will not be found prohibitive under the present conditions of Indian financial stringency. Valuable recommendations are also made in regard to the welfare of the rank and file. It is pointed out that British troops and their families are in many respects much worse off in India than they are at home. As the Committee emphatically note "The outlook of the present day soldiers upon life is widely different from that of their predecessors of the old army. They have neither their deep seated discipline nor their long suffering patience. They and their wives look for a reasonable standard of comfort and a somewhat different class of recreation. Their reasonable aspirations must be met and their idiosyncrasies must be sympathetically studied if they are to be a contented army while serving in India."

Recommendations.

Accordingly the Committee recommends that garrison clubs, gymkhanas, cinema theatres and the like should be placed upon a regular footing. Much attention is also given to the well-being of the Indian troops. It is recommended that schools should be provided to enable the sons of Indian Officers to enter the army on a footing with the sons of wealthier men. As in the case of the British ranks, so with the Indian sepoys there is much need for a more generous policy. Among the more important of the Esher Committee's recommendations is the institution of machinery for the systematic enlightenment of the sepoy as to his duties both as a soldier and as a citizen. In these days when the publicity inseparable from democratic institutions is recognized as a necessity of life in India as elsewhere, it is plainly desirable that the Indian soldier, upon whom in the last resort depends the security and honour of Indian nationhood, should be given an opportunity of acquainting himself with the duties and privileges of his position. At the moment of writing no final orders have yet been passed as to the details of the Esher Committee's Report; but it is important to notice that certain of these recommendations in the direction of a much needed decentralization

Army education.

have already been put into practical operation. The army in India has since the 1st November 1920 been organised into four Commands. In each of these, Northern, Southern, Eastern and Western, there has been placed a General Officer Commanding-in-Chief, who with the assistance of an adequate staff is responsible for the command, administration, training and efficiency of the troops located in his area. Each command contains a certain number of districts, which in turn contain a certain number of brigade areas; the boundaries of Command and districts being so far as possible formed to correspond with those of definite civil administrations.

As we have already noticed, that which may be called the key-note of the Esher Committee's Report, namely the application to Indian problems of the "General Staff idea" has fallen discordantly upon Indian ears. This was in the main due to the unfortunate estrangement of feeling between the administration and the educated classes through causes partly external to India, to which reference has already been made, and partly domestic, as will be explained in the next chapter. It would be unfair, however, to exclude from the reckoning the lamentable strain which has been placed upon the ties of affection between India and certain other parts of the Commonwealth, through a succession of unfortunate occurrences. In response, we may recall, to India's war effort, the aspirations of her educated classes for her admission to a place among the self-governing Dominions of the Empire has now received formal approbation. The declaration of August 20th, 1917, with its announcement that the existing system of British rule in India is to be regarded as a prelude to the acquisition of responsible government by India finally set the seal upon the new policy; and the steadily awakening national pride of India was fostered in no small measure by the admission of Indian representatives to the Imperial War Conference side by side with representatives of the self-governing Dominions. It was therefore in no mood of meek subservience that Indian political opinion found itself confronted during 1920, as during 1919, with the question of the treatment of Indian settlers in various parts of the Empire. Mention was made in last year's Report of the resentment caused in India by a Bill passed in June 1919 by the Union Government of South Africa. This Act had been regarded as a departure from the spirit of the agreement arrived at in 1914 between General Smuts and Mr. Gandhi, in

India and the Dominions.

South Africa.

accordance with which the Union Government undertook to administer existing laws especially affecting Indians in a just manner and with due regard to vested rights. Just before the opening of the period under review, the South African Government announced its intention of appointing a Commission to enquire into the question of Asiatics trading and holding land in the several provinces of South Africa. The Government of India therefore deputed Sir Benjamin Robertson, an officer with personal experience of South African affairs, to assist the Commission in its enquiry and to press for a sympathetic consideration of the Indian case. In the beginning of 1920, a decision of the Transvaal Provincial Court, placed in danger certain rights which it was hoped had been secured beyond dispute. Considerable excitement was caused in India, and there was real danger lest intemperance of speech in the country should be turned to the disadvantage of Indian rights in South Africa by the powerful body of anti-Asiatic sentiment which there exists. Thanks however to the sympathetic attitude of Lord Chelmsford's Government, this danger was averted; and Sir Benjamin Robertson was able to place the Indian case very effectively before the Enquiry Commission. This Commission sat from March to July 1920, and at the moment of writing its recommendations have not been received in India. But in the middle of the year an interim Report recommended that with a view to encourage the return to India of those Indians who are desirous of repatriation, the Union Government should afford all facilities, including the provision of shipping and the relaxation of restrictions on the export of gold in the form of savings and jewelry. The Government of India was not consulted upon this scheme, since the Union Government of South Africa was merely putting into force a section of an Act passed in 1914, which they were clearly entitled to do. But the Government of India did not regard the scheme as being in any sense a solution of the Indian problem in South Africa, and felt entitled to ask for assurances that the scheme would be in practice what it purports to be, namely, purely voluntary. They also suggested to the Union Government that an Advisory Committee on which Indians were to be represented should be appointed to advise the Repatriation Officer. On the whole question it must be remarked that India has everything to gain and nothing to lose by a careful investigation into what is sometimes called the "Indian menace" in South Africa; and it is much to be hoped when once the true facts of the case are known,

Sir Benjamin Robertson's Mission.

The Interim Report.

the way will be paved for a peaceful and statesmanlike solution of the Indian problem in that country.

East Africa.

Even more disconcerting to Indian opinion was the course of events in East Africa during the year 1920. In last year's Report mention was made of the action of European Colonists in that locality, who urged that a policy of restricting Indian immigration should be adopted on the ground that the presence of Indians is antagonistic to the best interests of the African natives. During the course of 1920 a violent anti-Indian agitation took place in East Africa, despite the fact that the resident Indian population has been long established and possesses substantial interests. The pride of political India was bitterly hurt by the patent disproportion of representation upon the Legislative Council of 30,000 Indians and 10,000 Europeans in what is now known as Kenia Colony. Worse still from the Indian point of view was the suggested adoption of the principle of racial segregation in residential and commercial areas. Great anxiety was caused throughout the country by the threatened blow to Indian prestige and Indian interests. The Government of India's position in the matter is plain. It does not admit that there is any justification in a Crown Colony or a protectorate for assigning to British Indians a status in any way inferior to that of any other class of His Majesty's subjects. Throughout the period under review the Government of India constantly pressed this aspect of the case upon the authorities at home; and considerable satisfaction was caused to Indian opinion by the publication in December 1920 of a long and detailed despatch which placed before the Home Government the Indian point of view regarding the administration of Kenia Colony with all the strength and fullness that it deserves. At the moment of writing the issue is still under consideration; and it is earnestly to be hoped that His Majesty's Government will find it possible to deal firmly and equitably with the unreasonably anti-Indian spirit which now seems to be animating a portion of the European population of the Colony in question.

Fiji.

Two other unfortunate occurrences during the last twelve months combined to emphasize the bitter resentment excited in India by the combination of affairs in South and East Africa. The first was the outbreak of serious disturbances in Fiji at the beginning of 1920. It must be remembered that for some time past a good deal of attention has been directed both by the public and by the Government of India to the conditions under

which Indian labourers in Fiji live. The unsatisfactory nature of these conditions caused the Indian Legislative Council to accept a Resolution pressing for the release of labourers from their indentures. As a result of the negotiations which followed, the Government of Fiji issued orders cancelling all the indentures of East Indian labourers with effect from 2nd January 1920. Certain housing and hospital reforms of an eminently necessary character were also to be carried out, and measures were to be introduced providing for representation on an elective basis of the Indian community in the Fiji Legislature. Arrangements were also made as far as was possible for the early repatriation of time-expired labourers who desire to return to India. In the beginning of 1920, however, serious labour troubles broke out among the Indian population of Fiji. In the beginning, the movement represented a strike designed to secure better pay and working conditions. Subsequently disorder developed and was forcibly repressed. Fortunately there were only a few casualties. But as might well have been expected, the whole incident caused much alarm in India. It was believed that the Fiji authorities were actuated by racial hostility towards Indians; that there was a determination on the part of the employers of the Island to suppress every attempt on the part of the Indian settlers to benefit themselves. The wild rumours which made their appearance in the Indian Press, contributed not a little to fanning the flame of dissatisfaction against the treatment which Indians were receiving in this as in other parts of the British Commonwealth.

The second of the occurrences to which reference has been made was the publication of an order by the Administrator of Tanganyika which was regarded as equivalent to an attack upon the rights of Indians resident in that Territory. But as the draft mandate for Tanganyika, which it is believed that the League of Nations is about to entrust to the British Empire, fully safeguards the rights of Indians, this particular incident may be regarded as closed.

Emigration.

In last year's Report mention was made of the arrival in India of a non-official delegation from the Governments of Fiji and British Guiana to consider the possibility of introducing a scheme of assisted emigration under which Indian labour might be made available in these Colonies. As was then stated, the Government of India left the whole question to be settled by Indian opinion. The Missions spent some time in ventilating the subject and shortly after the beginning of 1920 a resolution was accepted by the Indian Legislative Council appointing a Committee to

meet the deputations and to make recommendations to Government regarding their proposals. Somewhat naturally, in the light of the prevailing suspicion as to the treatment which Indians in other parts of the British Empire were likely to receive, the Committee declined to make any definite suggestions to Government without the despatch of emissaries who might undertake an examination of conditions on the spot. There for the present the matter ends.

India and the Commonwealth.

It would be a mistake to adopt too pessimistic an attitude as to the relations between India and the self-governing Dominions even during the trying period we have just passed under review. In striking contrast with the acute difficulties in South and East Africa, there has been for some little time in Canada and Australia a more generous recognition of the fact that Indians as fellow-citizens of the Empire are entitled to considerate and equitable treatment. Mention was made in last year's Report of the fact that the Governments of these parts of the British Empire intimated their formal acceptance of the Resolution, passed at the Imperial War Conference of 1918, regarding the reciprocity of treatment between India and the Dominions. The principles enunciated by the Resolution were that while each country within the British Commonwealth has an inherent right of controlling the composition of its own population, British citizens domiciled in any British country, including India, should be admitted into another country for temporary visits; and that Indians already permanently domiciled should be allowed to bring in their wives and minor children provided that the recognition of polygamy was not involved. It is easy to assert that this Resolution has suffered the fate of so many other pious aspirations, but a survey of the attitude of the Governments concerned leaves no room for doubt that an earnest effort is now being made to give effect to it. The Government of Australia, as a direct consequence of the Resolution, now permits Indian merchants and tourists admitted to Australia on passports, to remain there indefinitely so long as they preserve the capacity in respect of which the passport was issued. Indians already domiciled in Australia may bring in a wife and minor children; and proposals are to be formulated shortly under which Indians will be placed on an equality with other British subjects in regard to invalid and old-age pensions. The Government of Canada now permits Indians to enter that Dominion for purposes of pleasure and commerce, including temporary residence for the purpose of education; in New Zealand provision already exists for

the admission of merchants, tourists and students of all nationalities; and here it is important to notice, domiciled Indians have the same rights in all respects as Europeans. Lately, however, a new Act has been passed which has restricted further Indian immigration.

The effect upon Indian opinion of the relationship between Indian and 'White' settlers in various parts of the Empire has been extremely marked during the period under review. Indian pride in her newly awakened nationality has been bitterly hurt by what she considers the studied refusal of justice. This is the more serious in that during the period under review there have been other causes alienating Indian opinion from the Administration of India and by consequence from the whole fabric of the British Commonwealth. It will be our task to elucidate these in the next Chapter.

The Indian view.

CHAPTER II.

The Causes of Public Uneasiness.

The Amritsar Congress.

At the beginning of the year 1920, the educated classes of India were fundamentally divided in their attitude towards the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms.* As was mentioned in last year's Report, the Amritsar meeting of the Indian National Congress, held in December 1919, afforded a clear illustration of the attitude of that Extreme section of the Nationalist party, which was in control of the Congress organization. Despite the appeal for co-operation between all classes of his subjects which was the burden of the gracious proclamation signifying His Majesty's assent to the Reform Act, the speeches delivered at Amritsar displayed a bitterness which was unprecedented. Many persons who had benefited by the Royal amnesty showed themselves prominent in denouncing the motives and policy of the administration. A motion for the recall of Lord Chelmsford was carried, as was also the condemnation of the new Reforms Scheme as " disappointing and unsatisfactory." None the less, the Congress declined to boycott the Reforms altogether, as was suggested by some politicians of the Left.

In striking contrast with the attitude of the Extreme section of the Nationalist party was that assumed by the Moderate or National Liberal Party. Great efforts had been made to induce this party to sink the fundamental differences of outlook and mentality separating it from the Left, in order that the Indian National Congress might once more stand as the representative of united Indian opinion. But the Moderates preferred to hold their own conference. At the end of the year 1919,

The Liberal Conference.

the leaders of the party had met in Calcutta. While condemning the methods employed by the Punjab authorities in the suppression of the 1919 Disorders, and

* The sources for this and the following chapter are first, the current Indian press, vernacular and English: secondly, official documents: thirdly, the various political studies of Mr. Alfred Nundy, which the author has kindly placed at my disposal.

demanding the generous treatment of Turkey in the approaching settlement, they revealed an earnest desire to make the Reforms a success, and a determination, full of promise for the future, to formulate a definite programme and a considered policy. They set in the forefront of their platform the radical amendment of the Press Act and the repeal of the Rowlatt Act. But unlike the Nationalists, whose activities at this period were not of a constructive character, the Moderate Party or the National Liberal Federation, as it now styled itself, drew up a practical working scheme for the year 1920, outlining its intended activities upon such matters as land revenue settlement and irrigation; the development of railways, education, and industry; the amelioration of the condition of backward classes; the reform of village and district administration; and the organisation of medical relief and sanitation.

Parties in India.

With the passing of the Government of India Act immediately prior to the commencement of the period under review, and the emergence of India into the stage preliminary to responsible Government, the attitude of these two great parties towards the new Reforms became a matter of the highest practical importance. It is interesting to notice that prior to the development of that intensive agitation which brought the Left Wing Extremists to the forefront of Indian politics in the early summer of 1920, the responsible leaders of the Nationalist Party inclined to throw themselves heart and soul into preparations for the forthcoming elections, while reserving their judgment as to the policy which should be pursued when, as they hoped they would find themselves in power. For in the early months of the year 1920, the rank and file of the Party were still in doubt as to whether they should bend their energies towards securing a preponderance of seats in the new Legislatures, or should boycott the elections as part of the Reform Scheme which was to them so unsatisfactory. There was in addition a further division of opinion as to what should be the policy of the party, assuming that they were able to obtain a majority in the elections. One well marked body of opinion believed that the consummation of their desires could be best obtained by working the Reform Scheme for what it was worth, while maintaining a ceaseless agitation for greater concessions. The other body of opinion, more radical by nature, contemplated the employment of this hypothetical majority for the purpose of demonstrating the futility of the Dyarchic scheme. A process of perpetual obstruction, so they argued, would within a short period reduce to chaos the delicate machinery projected by the Government of India Act and

would compel the people of Great Britain to confer full responsible government upon India at a single stroke.

The attitude of the Moderate Party has already been indicated by the proceedings of the Calcutta Conference, which from the point of view of the historian of India will probably rank as a turning point in the growth of the National Liberal Federation. While yielding nothing to the Nationalists in their detestation of what they felt to be the racial humiliation inflicted upon Indians in the course of the Martial Law administration subsequent to the Punjab disturbances, the National Liberals throughout tended to take their stand upon a firm platform of statesmanship and expediency. Their attitude towards the Reforms had never been seriously in question since the publication of the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme. It was in brief to accept the scheme, to employ it as a means of demonstrating the fitness of India for a greater measure of responsibility, and thereby to hasten the attainment of the goal of self-government. In contrast, at least with the Left Wing of the Nationalists, the National Liberal Federation displayed from the beginning of the year a sense of responsibility, of statesmanship, and of authority which, in a normal period could not have failed to carry along with them the bulk of educated Indian opinion. But as will be plain from a subsequent survey of the year 1920, the events of this period have conspired to the disadvantage of the Moderates.

The Liberal party.

In India the domestic history of the year 1920 is the history of agitation, of agitation stimulated and fomented by a series of events which affected in equal degree both Liberals and Nationalists. As we shall have occasion to notice, the gradually growing estrangement between them is testimony to the far-sightedness of the National Liberal Federation. Throughout the period under review the Liberals have been torn between two conflicting tendencies. On the one hand, ties of sentiment have prompted them to range themselves with the Extreme Nationalists in utterly uncompromising demands for the vindication of what they regarded as the grievous wrongs of India; on the other hand their very clear perception of the ultimate interests of the country has inclined them to sink their personal and even their national prejudices in subordination to what they knew constituted the statesmanlike course of action. They have refused to be swept away by the rushing torrent of popular clamour; and while steadily demanding redress of grievances from the administration, have never wavered in their attitude towards

Difficulties of the Liberals.

Reforms. But since their fundamental position as a party rests upon appeals to reason rather than to sentiment, there has been a tendency during the period under review, for their voice to fall in vain upon ears deafened by unthinking passion.

Racial feeling.

During the year 1920, there has been witnessed in India the growth of racial animosity in very serious degree. This lamentable result must be ascribed in the main to two causes, the first being the aftermath of the Punjab disturbances; the second, the post-war settlement with Turkey. It will be necessary to deal with both these topics in detail, in order to convey some impression, however inadequate, of the conflicting currents which determined the opinion of educated India during the period under review. In last year's Report mention was made of the general character of the disturbances which had broken out in the Punjab in the year 1919. It was at Delhi, the capital of India and a city which from its historical and commercial importance is a factor of considerable weight in the attitude of Hindustan, that the disturbances had begun on March 30th, 1919. As was related in "India in 1919," they were of such a character as to require the use of the military to restore order. On the April 10th further rioting took place at Amritsar and Lahore in the Punjab, and at Ahmedabed in the Presidency of Bombay; while distinct unrest manifested itself in a minor degree at places as far distant as Calcutta and Bombay. After the 10th April 1919 the situation throughout the Punjab had rapidly deteriorated and Martial Law had been proclaimed on April 15th in the districts of Lahore and Amritsar, and shortly afterwards in three other districts. Two weeks later, the thunder clouds which had for some time been massing on the North-West Frontier suddenly burst, and the mobilization of troops for the third Afghan War began on the 4th May. This had seriously affected the general situation in the Punjab, and it had not been found possible to withdraw Martial Law from all the districts concerned before the 12th June 1919, nor from Railway land till a later date.

The disturbances of 1919.

When the outbreaks occurred, the immediate necessity was to quell them and restore order; but at a very early stage the Viceroy decided that it was incumbent upon Government to hold an enquiry into the causes of the disturbances and the administration of Martial Law. As a result of communications between Lord Chelmsford and the Secre-

tary of State, a Committee was appointed to investigate the troubles.

The Hunter Committee.

The question of the composition of the Committee received most careful consideration, and as was related in last year's Report, Lord Hunter, lately Solicitor-General for Scotland, and his seven colleagues began their investigations at the end of October 1919. Pending the commencement of the Committee's enquiry, it was decided that preliminary investigation was inadvisable. It is a matter for profound regret that a general knowledge of the occurrences to be investigated was not available until the Committee had commenced its work. For this result the Government of India was not responsible. In the case of the majority of the officers whose conduct was afterwards impugned, the outbreak of open hostilities with Afghanistan in the spring of 1919 prevented the presentation of detailed reports. Nor, if the materials had been available, would it have been proper for Government to make public comment on transactions which it was the duty of the Committee to examine. The fact remains, none the less, that those revelations of individual official harshness and of improper conduct which eventuated from the examination of Lord Hunter's Committee, came with an added shock to public opinion both in India and in Great Britain because of the length of time which intervened between the occurrences criticised and the publication of the facts concerning them.

General Dyer's evidence.

In particular, early in the course of the period under review, intense feeling was aroused by the public examination of Brigadier-General R. E. Dyer, who had been responsible for firing upon an assembly at Jallianwala Bagh in Amritsar, thereby causing the heaviest death-roll in the history of the suppression of the disturbances. The frank admission of this officer that he had employed measures so drastic with the object of causing moral effect, produced a passionate outcry in India which was re-echoed also in Great Britain. We shall have occasion in another place to record the verdict of the Hunter Committee, of the Government of India, and of His Majesty's Government upon the conduct of this officer. Here it is important to realise that his evidence was in the hands of the Indian public several months prior to the release of the Hunter Report. The charges promptly levelled against General Dyer in the Indian edited press provoked a revulsion of sentiment in his favour among sections of English opinion, both in India and Great Britain. With honourable exceptions on both sides, the controversy threatened to develop upon racial lines. This fact by itself accounts in no small degree for the growing estrangement between

Indians and Englishmen which marks the early months of the year under review. There can indeed be no doubt that the excitement resulting from the open sessions of the Hunter Committee, was of itself no small factor in the difficulties of the months from January to April 1920.

Muslim anxiety.

A further factor, of importance almost equal to the Punjab enquiry, contributed to the perturbation of public opinion. Mention was made in last year's Report of the fact that the anxiety of Indian Muslims on behalf of Turkey had waxed and waned during the interval which elapsed between the declaration of the Armistice and the end of the year 1919. If it had been possible to announce the Turkish peace terms shortly after the termination of hostilities, it is probable that they would have been accepted, however stringent they might have been, as the decree of fate. But long delay had gradually induced among Indian Muslims a change from their early attitude of passive acquiescence to a later hope that Government's hand might be forced in the matter. In last year's Report it was related that during the latter half of 1919, feeling had risen steadily among the more advanced sections of the Muhammadan community and that Mr. Gandhi had taken what was, for a Hindu, the unprecedented

Mr. Gandhi's Action.

step of identifying himself with a Muslim religious movement. This was the beginning of a campaign of agitation, manifested in the first instance by a refusal to celebrate the victory of the allies so long as the Turkish question remain unsettled. The organization then instituted to prevent the Muhammadan community from joining in the rejoicing, continued its activities during the whole of the year 1920. Despite all the efforts of Government to secure an accurate appreciation of the facts of the Turkish situation, the "Khilafat movement," as it was termed, from its avowed object of restoring the Sultan of Turkey, Khalif of Islam, to his pre-war status, gradually produced its effect upon the minds of the masses. In an agitation relating to religion a foreign administration can hardly be expected to interfere with good effect.

It was a matter of common knowledge that the Government of India had from the earliest possible moment continuously pressed the views and sentiments of Indian Muslims upon the notice of His Majesty's Government. The attitude of the administration was further illustrated in January 1920 when an influential deputation of Indian Muhammadans

Attitude of the Administration.

set out in elaborate detail to Lord Chelmsford the views of their community upon the necessity for the preservation of the Turkish Empire

and of the sovereignty of the Sultan as Khalif. They stated that the continued existence of the Khilafat as a temporal no less than spiritual institution was the very essence of their faith; and that they could never agree to any change in its character or to the dismemberment of its Empire. Lord Chelmsford replied in a most sympathetic manner, referring to the precautions which had been taken by his Government and by the Secretary of State for India to place the sentiments of Indian Muslims before the Peace Conference. He pointed out that the case for the favourable treatment of Turkey had been pressed with an earnestness of purpose and a force of argument which could not be surpassed; and that ever since the Armistice he had been in private communication with the Secretary of State; urging upon His Majesty's Government the view that Muslim feeling in India had to be taken into most serious account before coming to a final decision. He emphasised the fact that the question did not lie in the hands of Great Britain alone. but promised that his efforts towards a settlement favourable to Muslim opinion would not be relaxed, and that he would do all he could to assist the Muslim deputation which was about to leave India for the purpose of placing its views on the Khilafat question before the British Cabinet.

Growth of the Khilafat Movement.

As to the ultimate origin of the intensive agitation directed in India towards the modification of the Turkish peace terms, it is not easy to speak with certainty. In its inception, it appears to have originated among a certain section of advanced Muhammadan opinion whose views can broadly be described as Pan-Islamic and pro-Turkish. Little by little this section had succeeded in arousing the bulk of the Muhammadan community of India, uneducated as well as educated, to a lively if nebulous apprehension that the Christian powers of the world were about to perpetrate oppression of some kind upon the Khalif. This apprehension was considerably strengthened by the militant tone of certain sections of the English, French and American Press regarding the desirability of settling the Near Eastern question once and for all in the most drastic manner. The fact that Indian Muslims felt they had contributed greatly to the defeat of the Turks, naturally strengthened their desire that the terms of peace should accord with their own predilections. Here again, the long delay which elapsed between the Armistice and the announcement of the draft peace terms with Turkey was responsible for infinite harm. In the course of this period, religious intolerance, both Christian and Muslim, found full expression in the

press of the countries concerned. The result of a demand by influen tial sections of English and American opinion, that the Turks should be expelled from Constantinople and reduced to the status of a fourth rate Power, was to strengthen considerably the hold which the Left Wing Party of Muslims in India were obtaining upon the bulk of their co-religionists. Fresh massacres in Armenia during the early months of the year 1920 called forth a passionate protest from Christian organisations both in Europe and in the United States. Anti-Turkish feeling in the West naturally produced its reaction in India, and ended in accomplishing what the small pan-Islamic section of Indian Muhammadans had long attempted with but moderate success to achieve, namely, the consolidation of the whole of Indian Muslim opinion, Shiah as well as Sunni, into a united front for the support of Turkey's cause.

Complications.

Such were the main currents of opinion in India at the beginning of the year 1920. It will be realised that in an atmosphere of this kind it was extremely difficult for Moderate propaganda to make headway, if only because the time favoured a vehemence of agitation and an accentuation of race-feeling from which the National Liberal Party has always been by nature averse. It must further be reckoned among the immediate difficulties of this Party that because they were Moderates, they did not thereby cease to be Indians. In essence they were as deeply moved as the Extreme Nationalists by the revelations of official harshness in the Punjab, while the misfortunes of Turkey meant to them no less and no more. Hence it was difficult for them either to oppose effectively the agitation which the Nationalists were commencing to organise, or to avoid being overshadowed by that vehemence of sentiment and expression in which the Left Wing party excelled.

The Council Delhi Session.

These currents of opinion were beginning to manifest themselves when the Imperial Legislative Council met in Delhi at the end of January 1920. Lord Chelmsford's opening speech was as usual detailed and lengthy. He surveyed the course of constitutional progress, which had now culminated in the triumphant passage of the Reform Bill through Parliament. He outlined the heavy work which awaited the Government of India in translating the Reforms from precept into practice, announcing his intention, during the process, of taking public opinion freely into his confidence. It may here be mentioned in passing that many different matters were urgently claiming attention as a result of the Report of the Joint Committee of both Houses. These in-

cluded the increase of rural as compared with urban representation on the new Councils; provision for the representation of the urban wage-earning classes; elimination of the disparity between the electorates of different Provinces; additional representation of the depressed classes; reservation of a proportion of seats for the non-Brahmins of Madras and the Mahrattas of Bombay; regulation of the franchise for women where it might be adopted by local Legislatures; revision of landholders' representation; revision of European representation in Bengal; enactment of a Corrupt Practices Act prior to the first elections; establishment of rules for elections to the Council of State and to the Legislative Assembly of India; and settlement of the contribution of the Provinces to the "Imperial" Exchequer. It was to a task of this magnitude that Lord Chelmsford invited the co-operation of the Council. He then proceeded to a general survey of the work of his administration, mentioning particularly those matters in which public opinion was likely to be ill-informed. He dealt with the progress made in following out the recommendations of the Industrial Commission, and in laying upon firm foundations the future structure of Indian industries. He mentioned the efforts which were being made to secure for Indians abroad the rights which they claimed in South and East Africa; he also briefly outlined the situation in the Middle East with special reference to the advance of the Bolshevik forces and their accompanying anarchic disintegration. In conclusion he expressed his firm belief that Indians' troubles were but transitory. "The present," he said "is indeed a critical time in the world's history, when every nation which hopes to maintain or advance its position in the community of civilised States must stand firm by its tradition and set up a bulwark of sanity and moderation against the forces of disorder and destruction. In India I see no grounds for pessimism. There may be clouds in our sky but the shadows they cast are relieved by much that is bright."

The Viceroy's Speech.

Review of the situation.

The Council, which was a predominantly Moderate body, showed a statesmanlike appreciation of the feeling which animated the Government. Very significant was the moving of a Resolution by the Honourable Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha recommending the Governor General in Council to transmit to His Majesty the King-Emperor the representation; "That this Council begs leave to tender to His Most Gracious Majesty the King-Emperor its dutiful homage and loyal devotion and to

Temper of the Council.

express its sense of profound gratefulness for the royal proclamation issued by His Majesty on the memorable occasion of his having given his Royal assent to the Government of India Bill, declaring as the proclamation does the noble and lofty principles of Government which are to guide in future the policy of His Majesty's officers to enable the Indian Nation to attain full responsible Government and full political freedom as an equal member of the British Commonwealth." In the course of an eloquent speech, the mover said: "My Lord, I have been all my life a staunch—a very staunch—optimist, although I have for many years seen the country pass through stages of political repression which have placed, from time to time, a very great strain on our loyalty to our King-Emperor's Indian Government. But in spite of all that, I have always believed that, notwithstanding the repressive measures and the misguided policy resorted to by the Indian Government, our King-Emperor's rule is the one great instrument of our political salvation, the one mighty lever by means of which the people of India will be raised to a higher destiny and to their right place in the scale of nations. It seems to me, My Lord, that what is wanted now is that all sections of the people, and all His Majesty's subjects, should really co-operate in the right spirit. The situation demands great forbearance on both sides and I sincerely wish that both will rise to the occasion."

Attitude of Indian leaders.

This speech was warmly welcomed and was reinforced by the observations of Mr., now Sir, Surendra Nath Banerjea, one of the founders of modern political thought in India: "My Lord, the proclamation announces the birth of a new era. It says 'A new era is opening. Let it begin with a common determination allowing my people and my officers to work together for a common purpose.' In so far as the educated Indians are concerned, we shall loyally carry out that mandate, and I am sure that the officers of Government and representatives of the European community will do the same. For good or for evil, for good as I believe, Indians and Europeans have got to live together in this country, as fellow-citizens of a common Empire. Let us live together in peace and amity, in the cultivation of those friendly relations which alone can make for our mutual advantage and our mutual prosperity. We, the educated Indians, are prepared to extend the hand of fellowship and friendship to the servants of the Government, to the representatives of the European Community. I ask them to grasp it with alacrity. We are prepared to make the first advance. Are

they prepared to reciprocate the sentiment and do likewise?" This invitation, which was amply supported by other prominent representatives of the Moderate Party, did not go long unanswered. The representatives of the European commercial community while frankly admitting that in the early stages of the Reform Scheme they had some doubts as to its desirability, now announced their firm intention of working it in a spirit of loyal co-operation, and responding whole-heartedly and unreservedly to the appeal which had been made by educated India. The officials were not backward, and the speech of Sir William Marris constituted a remarkable elucidation of the spirit in which Government were approaching the new Reforms. "After so much that has been said by non-official Members to explain their attitude towards the Reforms, I think the Council will perhaps expect me to say a word as to the spirit in which the officials approach the same task. So far as the Government of India is concerned, Your Excellency has already made that clear. On the earliest possible occasion a message was sent that the Government of India were heartily glad that a decision had been reached and were absolutely ready to carry out loyally the decision of Parliament."

Attitude of English representatives.

The remainder of the session was occupied with substantial legislative business, which, though important, was of little bearing upon the immediate political controversies of the moment and is therefore explained in detail in a subsequent chapter. Perhaps the most noteworthy incident was the appointment of a committee to advise the Government of India as to the draft rules which were to be formulated under the new Constitution for submission to the Joint Select Committee of both Houses. Upon this body, as was somewhat natural, the Indian representatives belonged to the Moderate and not to the Extremist party. This fact, somewhat illogically, was made a cause of grievance by the very persons who had taken the first opportunity of announcing their opinion that the Reforms were disappointing and unsatisfactory—many of whom indeed were now engaged in devising schemes for wrecking the whole project.

Business of the Session.

The next few months witnessed an intensive propaganda-campaign conducted up and down the country by the representatives of the two great Indian Parties. As to the attitude of the Moderates towards the Reforms, there was no possible doubt. They had made up their minds to work them in such a manner as to secure their extension at the earliest

possible date. With the Nationalists the case was rather different. That uncertainty of programme which has already been noticed made itself manifest in widely different pronouncements by individual leaders as to the attitude which they considered their Party should adopt. Broadly speaking, the more influential leaders such as Mr. Tilak and Mr. C. R. Das began by saying that they would refuse to co-operate in the Reforms, which they regarded as so unsatisfactory; but a gradual change came over the opinions of these gentlemen as well as of those for whom they spoke, as they became convinced of the wisdom of shaping their efforts towards gaining control of the new councils. Had it not been for the influence of the Punjab disturbances and the Khilafat question, there can be little doubt that the year under review would have witnessed a stand-up fight between the Liberals and the Nationalists for control of the electoral machinery which was about to be established. But the Khilafat question in particular came more and more to the fore during the months of February and March 1920. Anticipations as to the drastic character of the peace terms made their appearance from time to time in the press, and the excitement of Indian Muslims was sustained at white heat by the continual series of rumours cabled to India. The deputation which was to present the case of the Indian Muslims to the political arbiters of Europe duly sailed from India, and accounts of the activities of its members still further added to the excitement of their co-religionists. Great disappointment was however caused by the published accounts of the interview between the members of the delegation and Mr. Lloyd George on the 17th March. The insistence of the Prime Minister upon the fact that Turkey could not be treated on principles different from those applied to Christian countries; and his firm assertion of the doctrine that while Turkey was to be allowed to exercise temporal sway over Turkish lands, she was not to be permitted to retain those lands which were not Turkish, were generally regarded as striking at the very root of the whole Khilafat sentiment of India. Excitement rose high. Already in the beginning of March, Government had found it necessary to issue a Resolution pointing out the impossibility of Government servants joining in the celebration of the 19th March as a day of fast and mourning on behalf of Turkey. The necessity for this had arisen from the fact that Mr. Shaukat Ali, one of the Muslim leaders released from war-internment under the Royal amnesty, had issued a manifesto

Public opinion and the Reforms.

Khilafat deputation.

Growing Excitement.

announcing that among the Resolutions to be placed before the meetings fixed for the 19th March was one containing the threat that if the peace terms did not conform with certain requirements, Muslims would be forced to sever their loyal connection with the British throne. This doctrine of contingent disloyalty was naturally repudiated in most emphatic terms by the Government of India. Unfortunately it was impossible for that Government to assuage in any degree the rising tide of Muslim excitement.

Mr. Gandhi.

In the same month of March, the remarkable figure of Mr. Gandhi once more came prominently to the fore. He was very largely responsible for the organisation of the National mourning day on the 19th of that month, which had been opposed by the leaders of Liberal opinion, and he plainly announced that in case the Khilafat sentiments of his Muslim fellow-subjects were not met by the terms of peace with Turkey, he would himself lead a non-co-operation movement directed towards making the position of Government impossible. In a manifesto dated the 10th March he wrote as follows :—

His views on Non-Co-operation.

"Now a word as to what may be done if the demands are not granted. The barbarous method is warfare, open or secret. This must be ruled out if only because it is impracticable. If I could but persuade every one that it is always bad, we should gain all lawful ends much quicker. The power that an individual or a nation forswearing violence generates is a power that is irresistible. But my argument today against violence is based upon pure expediency, *i.e.*, its utter futility. Non-co-operation is therefore the only remedy left open to us. It is the cleanest remedy as it is the most effective, when it is absolutely free from all violence. It becomes a duty when co-operation means degradation or humiliation or an injury to one's cherished religious sentiment. England cannot accept a meek submission by us to an unjust usurpation of rights which to Mussalmans means a matter of life and death. We may therefore begin at the top as also the bottom. Those who are holding offices of honour or emolument ought to give them up. Those who belong to the menial services under Government should do likewise. Non-co-operation does not apply to service under private individuals. I cannot approve of the threat of ostracism against those who do not adopt the remedy of non-co-operation. It is only a voluntary withdrawal which is effective. For voluntary withdrawal alone is a test of popular feeling and dissatisfaction. Advice to the soldiers to refuse

to serve is premature. It is the last, not the first step. We should be entitled to take that step when the Viceroy, the Secretary of State and the Premier leave us. Moreover every step withdrawing co-operation has to be taken with the greatest deliberation. We must proceed slowly so as to ensure retention of self-control under the fiercest heat."

Mr. Gandhi's influence.

It is impossible to understand the significance of this declaration of Mr. Gandhi without an attempt, however imperfect, to elucidate his personality and position. It has often been remarked that every Indian, no matter how Westernised, will ever retain in his heart of hearts a reverence for asceticism. Even educated Indian gentlemen who play a prominent part in public life cherish before them the ideal of worldly renunciation and retirement to the practice of individual austerities. Furthermore, the insistence of Mr. Gandhi upon the supremacy of soul force in opposition to material might; his advocacy of national fasting as a means of influencing Government; his conviction of the irresistible power of passive resistance, have all three their logical basis in the ancient Hindu doctrine of *Dharna*, that is, the application of moral pressure to another through physical austerities deliberately endured by oneself. Hence it is that to Indians of all classes Mr. Gandhi, of lowly birth though he be, who stands forth, not only as the perfect ascetic but also as the perfect exponent of Hindu tradition, makes an appeal of well-nigh irresistible force. Even those who are most profoundly convinced that his political opinions are unsound, unpractical and even disastrous, can rarely be found openly to criticise, far less to oppose, him. During the whole of the year 1920, the tendency of the time has been to place a premium upon Mr. Gandhi's opinions. India is now suffering from reaction against the more materialistic manifestations of Western civilisation. In addition to this, the events of the Punjab disturbances of 1919, which only became fully known during the period under review, gave rise amongst educated Indians to feelings of intense and bitter humiliation. Against the all-dominant tide of Western materialism, Western might and Western achievement, Mr. Gandhi, with his explicit scorn for that which we call modern civilisation, stands before the injured national pride of many of his countrymen like a rock of salvation. He embodies an other-worldliness essentially Indian, a spirit the West does not possess, a plane of detachment to which it cannot hope to aspire. Hence it is that his behests have the influence of semi-divine commands; and even those whose intellects are too keen to be dominated by his sway

His position.

can rarely be found to resist the appeal which he makes to their innermost heart.

In striking contrast with Mr. Gandhi must be placed the other great figure still occupying the stage of Indian politics during the period under review, the late Mr. Tilak. Mr. Tilak, worthy representative of a class which had builded empires and overthrown dynasties, belonged to the hereditary intellectual aristocracy of Maharashtra. He stood for Brahmin supremacy over India and for Brahmin control of India's destinies. A ruthless antagonist, a bold and subtle fighter, throughout his lifetime a perpetual thorn in the side of the administration, he retained to the last a unique hold upon the intellectual aristocracy of India. Where Mr. Gandhi appealed to the masses, to the simple, and to the uneducated, Mr. Tilak based his strength upon the traditional dominance of the Brahmin aristocracy. During the early part of the period under review a tacit struggle was waged between the ideals and the methods for which each of these leaders stood. As long as Mr. Tilak was alive, the success of Mr. Gandhi's appeal to the educated classes long remained in doubt. Mr. Tilak's influence was always sufficient to prevent the spread of the non-co-operation movement among the Deccani Brahmins who from the commencement have been the brain of militant Indian nationalism. But when the hand of death removed him in August 1920, the way was clear for the consolidation of Mr. Gandhi's influence over the whole country.

Mr. Tilak.

It has been necessary to interrupt the sequence of events of 1920 with this brief study of two remarkable personalities in order that the reader unacquainted with Indian conditions may be in a position to understand the course which matters have followed. As will be made increasingly clear with the procedure of this narrative, the influences which moulded public opinion throughout the summer and autumn of 1920 were such as to place a premium upon the particular appeal to Indian sentiment for which the two leaders in their respective spheres stood. Had these leaders been absent from India during the period under review, it is safe to say that the course of history would have been different.

To these outstanding personalities, both of whom identified themselves practically if not explicitly with different aspects of the Nationalist programme, the Moderates had no figure of similar importance to oppose. Well tried leaders there were in plenty; men who like Mr., now Sir, Surendra Nath

Liberal leaders.

Banerjea, had witnessed the dawn of constitutional aspirations in India; men like Mr. Srinivasa Shastri and Mr. Chintamani, who had been responsible for much of the spade-work which has made possible the constitutional position that India has now attained. But as must always be the case, these men who stood firmly upon the solid ground of statesmanship and moderation lacked the glamour with which popular sentiment invested those who turned their energies rather to criticism of the bureaucracy than to constructive work for India. Even a personality such as Sir Rash Bihari Ghose, whose ultimate adherence, after a period of hesitation, to the Liberal cause, would normally have caused a great sensation, was insufficient to turn the tide of opinion in their favour. Throughout the whole period under review, the Moderates have suffered from one severe handicap. The whole tendency of events both in India and elsewhere has been to exaggerate the gulf between Government and the people. And considering that co-operation with Government for the good of India has always been a main plank in the platform of the Liberals, it has necessarily happened that during 1920 they have, in the opinion of their Nationalist rivals, been tarred in no small degree with the brush of Government unpopularity.

Their difficulties.

The difficulty of the task to which the Moderates were applying themselves became at once apparent with the publication, on March 25th, of the non-official report upon the Punjab Disorders. Mention was made in "India in 1919" of the appointment by the Indian National Congress of a body of non-official enquirers to collect evidence relating to the outbreak of the Punjab disturbances and the methods employed for their suppression. By an unfortunate series of events, Lord Hunter's Committee had been unable to examine the evidence produced by the sub-committee of the Indian National Congress. It was therefore determined by the sub-committee that the evidence collected and the conclusions framed should be published as an independent document. In this document, the administration of Sir Michael O'Dwyer in the Punjab was blamed for producing an atmosphere such as to make conflict between the people and the Government almost inevitable. The late Lieutenant-Governor was accused of studied contempt and distrust of the educated classes, of obtaining recruits and monetary contributions for the war by high-handed methods; and of suppressing public opinion by every means in his power. The British were further blamed for a series of actions which, so the Congress sub-committee alleged,

Report of Congress Sub-Committee.

was responsible for precipitating the whole trouble. The committee condemned the introduction of Martial Law as unnecessary; and referred in strong terms to the action taken under that law by particular officers. General Dyer's firing at Jallianwala Bagh was termed "a calculated piece of inhumanity unparalleled for its ferocity in the history of modern British administration." Individual ordinances such as the notorious Crawling Order were stigmatised as unworthy of a civilised government. The Report concluded by a demand for the recall of the Viceroy, and the dismissal of the various officials whose conduct was impugned.

The publication of this document, however much it may have been based upon *ex parte* statements by people intimately connected with that agitation against the Rowlatt Act, from which, so the Hunter Committee subsequently decided, the whole trouble can be traced, produced a considerable impression upon the public mind of India.

Reception of their Report.

There was small disposition indeed on the part of any large section of the community to regard the Report as conclusive; but it whetted the eagerness of educated India for the official Report of Lord Hunter's Committee, and, at the same time raised to a great height their standard of expectation as to what that Report ought to contain in the way of censure upon the Punjab Government. Under the ægis of the leaders of the Nationalist party, April 6th to the 13th was observed as "national week" with the object of commemorating the sufferings of those who had tasted the bitterness of Martial Law in the Punjab during the corresponding period of 1919. The situation was rendered no easier by the publication of more or less accurate anticipations of the findings of the Hunter Committee, whose Report was at this time under the consideration of the Government of India and His Majesty's Government. The accusation that the Report, when published, would prove a mere 'whitewashing' of the bureaucracy, freely brought by certain of the less responsible Left Wing journals, helped to increase the tension of the movement.

Meanwhile the Khilafat agitation continued with renewed force;

The Turkish peace terms.

and the publication of the draft terms of peace with Turkey in the month of May served merely to stimulate it. It should be observed that the coincidence of the Khilafat agitation with the excitement over the Punjab disturbances was an extremely serious matter for the Indian Government. Taken by itself, the Khilafat agitation, although a cause of considerable dis-

quiet to those responsible for the peace and order of India, was not necessarily anti-Government in tone. After the publication of the peace terms, indeed several Liberal papers frankly acknowledged the service which the Indian Administration had performed by its steady sympathy with Muslim sentiment. But the popular protests over the Punjab disturbances, at least subsequent to the publication of the Congress sub-committee's Report, were definitely directed against the existing Government in India. Since those responsible both for the Punjab protest and for the Khilafat movements were broadly speaking the same persons, there was a natural tendency, so soon as the Turkish peace terms were known, for the two agitations to coalesce, with the result that during the summer and autumn of 1920 the great storm of popular excitement aroused by the two questions, so closely at the heart of India, became uncompromisingly hostile to the British administration of the country.

Mr. Gandhi's action.

Soon after the announcement of the Turkish peace terms Mr. Gandhi declared his intention of leading a non-co-operation campaign directed to their modification. He associated himself very closely with the two Muhammadan leaders, Mohammad Ali and Shaukat Ali, who, since their release from internment under the Royal clemency, had been conducting an intensive agitation throughout India on behalf of Turkey. With this movement, Mr. Tilak did not allow himself to be fully identified, but such was the impetus with which it proceeded that before long he found himself, despite his natural distrust of Mr. Gandhi's doctrine, personality and antecedents, compelled to joint it. For some time, the project of non-co-operation, which was to begin by the resignation of titles, and the refusal of lawyers and litigants to attend courts, and was to continue through stages, which included the withdrawal of boys from schools, to an eventual refusal to co-operate with Government in any branch of public activity, was not received with any great enthusiasm. Many of the cooler headed members even of the Left Wing Nationalist Party, shared Mr. Tilak's doubts and suspicions. The Moderates from the very first threw all their weight against it; and there can be no doubt that among the solid middle classes of the country, particularly in Bengal, the Moderate opposition was responsible for the virtual failure of the movement. At first, it was confined almost exclusively to zealous Muhammadans, the few Hindus who announced their readiness to enlist themselves under Mr. Gandhi's banner being moved less by their conviction of the right-

Moderate opposition.

ness of the cause they were supporting than by their inherent reverence for Mr. Gandhi's personality. There can be little question that, had it been possible to satisfy public opinion in regard to the Punjab occurrences, the non-co-operation movement would have failed throughout the country at large. What made that movement so formidable, despite its almost fantastically impracticable character, was the gradual attraction, around this nucleus, of a floating mass of Indian sentiment, both Muhammadan and Hindu, which had been aroused on account of the Punjab affair.

Other influences.

It would be a mistake at this juncture to under-estimate the influence exerted upon Indian politics by the course of events in the world outside. Throughout the year under review the troubles in Ireland and in Egypt have attracted an unprecedented share of attention in the Indian Press. The policy pursued by His Majesty's Government in the former country has from time to time been stigmatised in India as a manifestation of the spirit of militarism. Further, the course of events in Egypt, culminating in the despatch of the Milner Mission, was held up as a practical example of the power of that very non-co-operation which was now to be tried as a solution of India's difficulties. Not less important than this in its effect upon Indian opinion, must be counted the predominant position occupied by Great Britain in the Middle East. Her acceptance of the Mesopotamian mandate, and the announcement of her draft agreement with the Persian Government, were bitterly resented by those persons who were opposed to the continued inclusion of India in the British Empire. This Ultra-Extremist party was thus torn between hope and despair; despair, at what seemed the overwhelming material might of Great Britain, and hope that the difficulties which seemed to them to threaten British rule over various portions of the Empire might in some mysterious manner redound to the advantage of India. It will be realised that under these conditions, the particular appeal to asceticism, to the superiority of soul force over material might, for which Mr. Gandhi stood, exercised a dynamic attraction upon the younger and more enthusiastic minds in India. This attraction was reinforced by the impressions, exaggerated though they were, which had by this time been formed regarding the sufferings of the Punjab population under Martial Law. The publication on May 28th, 1920, of the Report of Lord Hunter's Committee, together with the despatches concerning it which had passed between the Government of India and the Secretary

of State, failed to assuage the bitter feelings which had been aroused before its issue. Into the details of this Report it is impossible to enter, its essential points will be gathered with sufficient clearness from the Despatches accompanying it which are printed in an appendix to this volume. It will suffice to say that the Committee was unfortunately divided upon racial lines, and its conclusions were presented in the form of a Majority and a Minority Report. Most of the findings of fact were unanimous, and despite difference of opinion as to the conclusions to be deduced therefrom, there was considerable common ground. That common ground covered the whole of the events in Delhi and in the Bombay Presidency as well as much of the narrative of events and causes of disturbances in the Punjab. Certain measures which had been adopted in the suppression of the disturbances were condemned in both Reports, but with varying degrees of severity. This was true in particular of the firing at Jallianwala Bagh. The most important point on which there was an essential difference of opinion related to the introduction of Martial Law in the Punjab. The majority consisting of the President and the English members, believed that a state of rebellion existed, necessitating or justifying the adoption of Martial Law. The Minority, consisting of the Indian Members, believed that the disorders did not amount to rebellion, and that the disturbances might have been suppressed without abrogating the control of the civil authorities. Neither the Majority nor the Minority Reports were in any doubt as to the essential seriousness of the outbreaks. As to the causes of the outbreaks, there was also substantial agreement. The Committee found that the explanation for the widespread disturbances was to be sought in the causes of a general state of unrest and discontent among the people, particularly the inhabitants of the larger towns. The increased interest in political agitation caused in recent years by the Home Rule movement had received a great impetus from the new doctrine of self-determination. Meanwhile, however, the restrictions imposed under the Defence of India Act had become more essential, as the war drew to its climax. These restrictions had affected the daily life of ordinary citizens much more lightly in India than in Europe; nevertheless, particularly when imposed on political agitation, they had been, however necessary, the more galling to the educated classes, since the political future of India was under consideration. The Punjab had done more than its

Hunter Committee's Report.

Conclusions.

Causes of the outbreaks.

share to respond to the call of the Empire for recruits for the army, and the strain had fallen mainly on the country districts, which the local Government considered it necessary to protect from any anti-Government agitation likely to hamper the work of recruitment. After the conclusion of the armistice in November 1918, hopes had run high amongst the educated classes that the services rendered by India in the war would receive immediate recognition. But these hopes were not at once fulfilled ; and disappointment was caused by a combination of circumstances, such as high prices, scarcity, foodstuff-restrictions, and the anxieties of the peace settlement, especially as it affected Turkey.

The Committee next considered the agitation against the Rowlatt Bills. They found that this was largely, if not mainly responsible for creating the feeling against Government which had provoked such serious disorders, and they cited various false rumours as to the provisions of the Bill which had inflamed popular feeling. They next examined the history and progress of the Satyagraha movement inaugurated by Mr. Gandhi on the 24th February 1919. After a careful review of this movement in all its aspects, the Committee found that a familiarity and sympathy with disobedience to laws was engendered by it amongst large numbers of people ; and that the law-abiding instincts which stand between society and outbreaks of violence were undermined at a time when their full strength was required. From its first inception the Satyagraha movement was condemned by prominent leaders of moderate opinion in India as likely to promote disorder and breach of the peace, and the organiser himself recognised later that in embarking on a mass movement he had underrated the forces of evil. The Majority of the Committee expressly found that the recruiting campaign and the action taken in the Punjab to raise subscriptions to the war loans were not responsible for the unrest. They concluded by saying that there was no evidence that the outbreak in the Punjab was the result of a prearranged conspiracy to overthrow the British Government in India by force, but that it was difficult and probably unsafe for Government not to assume that the outbreak was the result of a definite organisation. Apart from the existence of any deeply laid scheme to overthrow the British, a movement which had started in rioting and become a rebellion might have rapidly developed into a revolution.

Influence of Satyagraha.

In the introductory chapter of their Report the Minority stated that they were in substantial agreement with the findings of the Majority as regards the

The Minority Report.

causes of the disturbances, with this reservation, that they did not concur in the opinion that the Punjab authorities were justified in assuming that the outbreak was the result of a definite organisation. They were unable to agree that the riots were in the nature of a rebellion; and they said that it was an unjustifiable exaggeration to suggest that the events might have developed into a revolution. They entirely agreed with the Majority in their estimate of Satyagraha movement and its offshoot, civil disobedience of laws. They developed their views on the real character of the disorders, including their causes, more fully in Chapter II of their Report. Here they referred to the general conditions existing in the beginning of 1919, the strain placed on India by her war efforts; the hardship of high-prices; the inconveniences and restraints imposed by war measures; the hope of alleviation excited by the armistice, and the subsequent disappointment caused by famine, epidemic, and a more stringent Income-tax Act; the belief that the proposals of the Government of India as regards the reform scheme were illiberal and intended to whittle it down; and the delay of the Turkish settlement. They argued that many of the foregoing causes affected the Punjab more than other provinces; and they instanced other special factors such as war weariness, foodstuff and traffic restrictions; Sir Michael O'Dwyer's speeches; restraints upon the press; the orders prohibiting the entry into the province of outside politicians—all tending to cause general irritation amongst the educated classes. While refraining from any discussion of the merits of the Rowlatt Act they held that its introduction and enactment in the face of Indian opinion was a fertile source of discontent which was fostered by misrepresentations in the Punjab. They asserted that Indian leaders were not responsible for these misrepresentations, and they condemned Government for failing to explain the Act to the masses until after the *hartal* of April 6th, although misrepresentations were current before that date. They accepted the estimate of the Satyagraha movement formed by the Majority, but they disclaimed the view that the disorders in the Punjab could be attributed to any active presentation of the Satyagraha doctrine by organizations working within the province. They found that there was no organization to bring about the disturbances and they quoted the evidence of various official witnesses in support of this conclusion. The anti-British and anti-Government outbursts which occurred, were, in their opinion, purely the result of sudden mob frenzy. The Minority concluded that although there was thus no evidence of organised conspiracy in the Punjab, the civil and military authorities persuaded

themselves that open rebellion existed and took action accordingly.

Martial Law.

That part of the Committee's Report which excited the greatest interest was unquestionably the examination of the nature of the Martial Law Orders promulgated by military commanders in the Punjab. The Majority found that some of the orders passed were injudicious and served no useful purpose, criticising severely among other things the order passed by General Dyer known as the Crawling Order; the Roll-call imposed upon students at Lahore; and the order requiring Indians to *Salaam* Europeans. The Minority were more severe in their condemnation and expressed their belief that many of the orders were issued purely for punitive purposes and in such a way as to cause racial humiliation.

Views of the Government of India.

The opinion of the Government of India upon this Report was given in a long despatch which may be read in an appendix. Broadly speaking, the conclusions of the Majority commended themselves in most instances to Government, but the condemnation of certain individual acts on the part of officers responsible for the administration of Martial Law found more severe expression in the despatch than in the Majority Report. The Government accepted the view that the administration of Martial Law in the Punjab was marred in particular instances, by misuse of power, by irregularity and by injudicious and irresponsible acts. They further stated their belief that in his conduct at Jallianwala Bagh, General Dyer acted beyond the necessity of the case, beyond what any reasonable man could have thought it to be necessary, and that he did not act with such humanity as the case permitted.

Views of His Majesty's Government.

The comments of His Majesty's Government upon the Report and the Despatch were published simultaneously. From the popular point of view the most important passages in this document were those which repudiated emphatically the doctrine of "moral effect" upon which General Dyer based his action. His Majesty's Government also expressed strong disapproval of certain specified instances of undue severity and of improper punishments and orders during the Martial Law régime, and instructed the Government of India to see that this disapproval was unmistakably marked by censure or other action upon those officers responsible for them. His Majesty's Government also expressed profound regret for the loss of life which the disturbances had occasioned, and instructed the Government of India

to prepare a code of martial law regulations for future use, calculated to ensure, so far as human foresight could provide, a system adequate to repress disorder and to punish its promoters, while subverting no more than the fulfilment of these requirements necessitates, the ordinary rights and course of life of the people at large.

Public opinion dissatisfied.

From what has already been said, it is hardly necessary to enlarge upon the failure of the Hunter Committee's Report and of the Despatches appended thereto to satisfy a large and very vocal section of opinion in India. The only course which could have produced such a result would have been something startling and dramatic, something calculated to appeal to the imagination even though it had been accomplished at the expense of justice. Such a course of action no modern Government could possibly entertain. It was however unfortunate that there was no specific and detailed repudiation of the doctrine, which certain of the Punjab officials were popularly believed to hold, that the lives of Indians were valued more cheaply than the lives of English. In the eyes of Government, a doctrine so subversive of the basic principles of British administration might well seem to stand self-condemned, but unfortunately public confidence had been severely shaken, and a specific repudiation would have satisfied a desire which, lacking it, remained clamant throughout much of the period under review. And when to disappointment at the cold and detached language of the Report and of the Despatches, there was added the further disappointment of punishment regarded as inadequate for the misdeeds of the principal offenders, widespread indignation made itself manifest throughout a large section of the educated classes in India. Throughout the whole of this agitation, the Government of Indi apersisted in the course which it believed to be just. It is hardly necessary to point out that the cry for the condign punishment of officers responsible for the administration of Martial Law evoked a counter cry from influential sections of English opinion both in India and in Great Britain. Many persons belonging to the English commercial and official community in India felt very deeply upon the matter ; and the Anglo-Indian press was, with certain exceptions, at least as strong in its condemnation of Government for taking any action against the impugned officers as was the Nationalist press in its vehement assertion that the action taken was inadequate. Nor was the task of the Government of India rendered easier by the tone which pervaded certain of the speeches

Position of the Government of India.

delivered in the House of Commons and the House of Lords when the Punjab disturbances came up for review. Some of these speeches made it clear that there existed in England influential sections of opinion which viewed as nothing less than culpable weakness, and as criminal concession to popular clamour, the determination of Government to punish those officers whom it considered as having failed to discharge their duty with a proper sense of responsibility. Difficult as it was for Indian sentiment to appreciate the fact at the time, the Government of India took its stand honestly on what it believed to be sure and firm foundations. It yielded to the clamour of the extremists on neither side: refusing on the one hand to inflict upon its officers such penalties as it believed to be excessive; and on the other declining to allow those persons whom it regarded as having been guilty of improper conduct to escape on plea of the emergency under which they had acted. The cases of the officers whose conduct had been impugned were examined with great care. By the end of the period under review, many of those whose conduct had been censured by the Hunter Committee had left India or Government service. The balance had undergone either penalties or severe censure from the Government; and as to the serious effects of such a censure upon the personal happiness, immediate position, and future prospects of an officer it is wholly unnecessary to enlarge. But as must generally be the case under a centralised administration, the distasteful work of punishment was performed without that parade of ostentation which alone might have satisfied Indian opinion.

The Impugned officers.

CHAPTER III.

The Prelude to the Reforms.

Situation in summer 1920.

We have now seen how the intensive Khilafat agitation which had been an important factor in the history of India since the close of the year 1919, had become reinforced by a great upthrust of popular sentiment arising out of what was regarded as a bitter wrong inflicted upon India through official action upon the Report of the Hunter Committee. These two currents, now united into a formidable stream, flowed with ever increasing violence during the remainder of the period under review. In the beginning of August, Mr. Tilak died; and from henceforth Mr. Gandhi was the dominant figure upon the stage of Indian politics. It is with the progress of his non-co-operation campaign that we must now briefly concern ourselves; but before we proceed to examine it, it is necessary to notice certain tragic by-products of the Khilafat agitation.

The Muhajrin.

The first, which has already been briefly noticed, was indeed so remarkable a manifestation of religious enthusiasm divorced from material considerations, that it might well have occurred in the 10th rather than in the 20th century. Comparatively early in the period under review, the question had been raised among the leaders of the Left Wing Extremist Party, as to whether, in the event of the Turkish peace terms proving such as Muslims could not accept, it would not become the duty of the Muhammadan population to leave territories under British domination, and to seek an asylum elsewhere. The Hijrat, or migration from one country to another for religious reasons has played a considerable part in Muslim history; but its revival in the present year of grace presented to the student of politics a phenomenon at once remarkable and tragic. In the early summer of 1920, suggestions were made by the local bodies representing the Central Khilafat organisation, that the migration of pious Mussalmans from India to Afghanistan was a matter which might well be considered. The movement first started in Sindh where the

population is devout and ill-educated. From thence it spread to the North-West Frontier Province, where the preaching of local *Mullas*, operating upon the strong piety and simple credulity of the population in the rural areas of Peshawar District, produced an astounding effect. The success of the campaign initiated in the localities primarily affected seems to have taken the original organisers by surprise. The authorities, who had for some months past feared that the movement might assume proportions not anticipated by the originators, enlisted the support of local notables and threw all their influence into the task of restraining what threatened to be a wholesale migration of population from the North-West Frontier Province to Afghanistan.

The Kacha Garhi incident.

Early in its inception, the movement attained an unfortunate advertisement through an unpleasant incident at Kacha Garhi. A brawl occurred between certain emigrants and the military police, in the course of which one of the emigrants was killed. Exaggerated rumours of this incident quickly circulated round about, and together with disturbing and equally false reports as to the occupation by Great Britain of Mecca and Medina, threw the inhabitants of several sub-divisions of the Peshawar District completely off their balance. Hundreds of families sold their land and property for a mere song; settled up all their worldly affairs, placed their wives and children on carts, surrendered the Government rifles entrusted to them for protection against marauders, and departed in the direction of the Khyber Pass. From the point of view of the authorities the movement was most embarrassing. It is calculated that in all some 18,000 people, animated in a high degree by religious enthusiasm moved in the direction of Afghanistan in the month of August. It would have been impossible to stop them without the employment of large numbers of troops; and any such attempt would have caused bloodshed on an unthinkable scale. So long as they were not interfered with, the emigrants were perfectly peaceful and orderly, on the best terms with the local officials, and displaying neither malice nor resentment against any man. As in the case of the Crusades, the individual suffering which was caused by this remarkable movement was very great. At first Afghanistan seemed to have looked upon it with something like favour. Before long, however, the immense scale upon which the movement was pursued rendered it necessary for the Afghan authorities, whose country is poor and comparatively sterile, to forbid altogether the admission of pilgrims. As a result, the tide of emigrants slowly ebbed and fell back, sadly disillusioned, to its former home. The road from Peshawar to

Kabul was strewn with graves of old men, women and children who had succumbed to the difficulties of the journey.

Tragic sequel.

The unhappy emigrants when they returned found themselves homeless and penniless, with their property in the hands of those to whom they had sold it for a tithe of its value in the first flush of their religious enthusiasm. Government did all it could to mitigate the hardships which resulted from this amazing enterprise, and was successful in arranging for the re-settlement of many of the emigrants upon the land which they had so rashly abandoned. The failure of the Hijrat movement represented a severe set-back to the Khilafat propaganda; although it may be stated that as soon as its organisers realised the mistake they had made, they co-operated wholeheartedly with the authorities in the task of mitigating the suffering of the emigrants.

The second by-product of the Khilafat agitation was unfortunately of a character which has become only too familiar within the last fifteen years. The Deputy Commissioner of Kheri in the United Provinces, Mr. R. W. D. Willoughby, I.C.S., an officer who had gained the affectionate esteem of all classes of Indians, was assassinated on August 26th in his own house by a Muhammadan fanatic, who confessed subsequently that he had been incited to perpetrate the crime by what he had heard of the wrongs inflicted by the British upon the Khalifa. This tragic occurrence exercised a sobering effect upon the Left Wing of Indian opinion, affording as it did an indication of what might be expected if the Khilafat agitation were conducted without a due sense of responsibility by those in charge of it. In many parts of India meetings were held at which representatives of every shade of political opinion testified their abhorrence of the crime. Public apprehension was widely aroused lest the Kheri tragedy should be but the precursor of many similar incidents. Fortunately, however, up to the moment of writing this anticipation has proved to be unfounded.

Assassination of Mr. R. W. D. Willoughby.

In August the Legislative Council met in Simla. The majority of the Indian members belonged to the party pledged to co-operate with the Government, and as a result of the acceptance by the Indian National Congress of Mr. Gandhi's non-co-operation programme, certain members belonging to the Extremist wing resigned their seats. In the then excited state of public feeling, the proceedings of the Legislature might have seemed to possess an interest merely academic. Such

The Council Simla Session.

a judgment would, however, have been superficial in the extreme: for the Council, and the party which it represented, were busy laying the foundation of a happier era of joint effort and joint achievement on the part both of Indians and of Englishmen—an era which seems destined to continue long after the very names of non-co-operation, of the Punjab disturbances, and of the Khilafat agitation shall have passed out of living memory.

The Session began as usual with a speech from the Viceroy in which he reviewed the achievements of the various departments of his administration. He alluded to the two matters upon which public opinion was mainly exercised with a brevity which caused disappointment. Regarding the Punjab he said "Since we last met, Lord Hunter's Committee has reported on the events of last year in the Punjab, Bombay and Delhi. My Government forwarded a Despatch to the Secretary of State recording their views on the findings of that Committee and His Majesty's Government have passed their judgment on the whole case. There are those, however, who are dissatisfied with the decision of the Government of India and of His Majesty's Government, and they have expressed their dissatisfaction in no uncertain terms. There is much that I could say with reference to the criticisms on this side and on that, but I am content to leave the issue to the verdict of history."

The Viceroy's Speech.

Regarding the Khilafat movement and the non-co-operation campaign, Lord Chelmsford remarked: "Hon'ble Members are fully aware of the line which my Government have taken in relation to the Turkish peace terms, and I need not further dilate upon it. So far as any Government could, we pressed upon the Peace Conference the views of Indian Muslims, but notwithstanding our efforts on their behalf, we are threatened with a campaign of non-co-operation, because, forsooth, the allied powers found themselves unable to accept the conditions advanced by Indian Muslims. Could anything be more futile or ill-advised? This policy of non-co-operation must inevitably lead, if persisted in, to the discomfort of the community at large, and indeed involves the risk of grave disorder. I am glad to think that everything points to this policy being repudiated by all thinking people, and it is because I and my colleagues have faith in India's common-sense that we have preferred to allow this movement to fail by reason of its intrinsic inanity. Can we, for instance, picture to ourselves the legal profession generally foregoing its practice in support of this policy? I am proud

to belong to this great profession but I cannot envisage such a possibility. and from one example can we not learn the unpractical nature of this visionary scheme? There is a point at which no Government could refuse to take action to protect the interests of the community at large, and when that point is reached Government is bound to and will use all the resources at its disposal. That is a platitude, but even platitudes require sometimes to be stated. But as I have said above, I have every hope that this point will not be reached, but that the common sense of the people and the opposition of all moderate men will erect an insuperable bar to the further progress of this most foolish of all foolish schemes."

Progress of Non-Co-operation.

Unfortunately, the leaders of the non-co-operation campaign, secure in the consciousness that their movement possessed, in the then condition of public feeling, a unique attraction for large sections of the educated classes, were not to be deterred by official censure. The campaign was hardly checked in its course by a weighty manifesto issued by a number of moderate leaders from Simla. In vain was the impracticable character of the whole scheme demonstrated in the press and upon the platform by leader after leader of the National Liberal Party. Mr. Gandhi, with his remarkable influence over the masses, and the Ali Brothers with their appeal to the militant fervour of their co-religionists, moved up and down the country in pursuit of their avowed intention of bringing Government to the stool of repentance through a campaign of non-violent non-co-operation. In order to describe the nature of the remarkable campaign, which throughout avoided even the suggestion of conflict with the forces of law and order, we cannot do better than quote here from an address written by Mr. Gandhi himself for the purpose of restraining the over-zealous enthusiasm of the masses. Lamenting the tendency on the part of his followers to yield to the rule of the mob, he described incidentally the nature of the demonstrations which his presence everywhere excited.

Mr. Gandhi's views.

"Our popular demonstrations are unquestionably mob-demonstrations. During the memorable tour of the Khilafat Mission through the Punjab, Sind and Madras, I have had a surfeit of such demonstrations. I have been ashamed to witness at Railway stations, thoughtless though unwitting destruction of passengers' luggage by demonstrators who, in their adoration of their heroes, have ignored everything else and everybody else. They have made, much to the discomfort of their heroes, unmusical and harsh

noises. They have trampled upon one another. They have elbowed out one another. All have shouted, all at the same time, in the holy name of order and peace. Ten volunteers have been heard to give the same order at the same time. Volunteers often become demonstrators instead of remaining peoples' policemen. It is a task often dangerous, always uncomfortable, for the heroes to be escorted through a broken chain of volunteers from the platform to the coach intended for them. Often it is a process which, although it should occupy no more than five minutes, has occupied one hour. The crowd instead of pressing back presses towards the heroes and who therefore require to be protected. The coach is taken possession of by anybody who dares, volunteers being the greatest sinners. The heroes and other occupants have to reason with the intruders that they may not mount the footboard in that summary fashion. The hood of the coach is roughly handled by the processionists. It is not often that I have seen hoods of motors left undamaged by crowds. On the route instead of crowds lining the streets, they follow the coach. The result is confusion worse confounded. Every moment there is danger of accident. That there is rarely any accident at such demonstrations is not due to the skill of the organisers, but the crowd is determined to put up with all jostlings and retain its perfect good humour. In spite of everyone jostling everyone else, no one has the slightest *wish* to inconvenience one's neighbour. To finish the picture, there is the meeting, an ever-growing cause of anxiety. You face nothing but disorder, din, pressing, yelling and shouting there. A good speaker arrests the attention of the audience and there is order such that you can hear a pin drop."

"All the same there is mobocracy. You are at the mercy of the mob. So long as there is sympathy between you and the mob, everything goes well. Immediately that cord is broken, there is horror. An Ahmedabad episode now and then gives you the mob psychology."

It is perhaps a typical illustration of Mr. Gandhi's view of life that the cure he advocated was the teaching of music to the people.

Opposition to Non-Co-operation.

It would be a mistake to imagine that the non-co-operation movement obtained success from the moment when it appeared upon the horizon of Indian politics. We have already noticed the opposition which it encountered from the representatives of intellectual aristocracy, which included upon the Nationalist side Mr. Tilak and upon the Liberal side, leaders who like Sir Surendra Nath Banerjea, Dr. Sapru and Mr. Shastri, have brought India up to her present level of constitutional

achievement. Even in Mr. Gandhi's immediate circle there were many who doubted the possibility of success along the lines which he suggested, but his personality ended by winning the day. This was made amply apparent in the proceedings of a special meeting of the Indian National Congress which was held in Calcutta early in September 1920 to consider Mr. Gandhi's programme. After a keen discussion the mass of the delegates who constituted Mr. Gandhi's following carried the day against the more cautious counsels of the intelligentsia. Non-co-operation was accepted in principle by a narrow but conclusive majority; and a sub-committee was appointed to prepare draft instructions as to the exact operation of the campaign. The Committee advised, first, the surrender of titles and honorary offices and resignations from nominated seats in local bodies; secondly, refusal to attend Government levees, durbars, and other official and semi-official functions held by Government officials or in their honour; thirdly, the gradual withdrawal of children from schools and colleges owned, aided, or controlled by Government and in place of such schools and colleges the establishment of national schools and colleges in the various provinces; fourthly, the gradual boycott of British Courts by lawyers and litigants and the establishment of private arbitration courts by their aid for the settlement of private disputes; fifthly, refusal on the part of the military, clerical and labouring classes to offer themselves as recruits for service in Mesopotamia; and sixthly, withdrawal by candidates of their candidature for election to the Reformed Councils, and refusal on the part of the voters to vote for any candidate who might, despite the advice of Congress, offer himself for election. Mr. Gandhi and his immediate band of followers then moved up and down the country, this time enjoying the benefit of the organised Congress machinery for securing the success of their meetings. Beyond stirring up a good deal of popular excitement, the immediate effect of their activities has up to the moment of writing been confined to two spheres and two spheres only. They have failed to persuade more than a fractional proportion of the title holders to surrender their titles,* or of lawyers to resign their practice. But on the other hand they have been successful in causing educational dislocation to a considerable degree, and in effectually preventing any member of the Left

Its first Victory.

Practical results of Non-Co-operation.

* Out of an approximate total of 5,000 title holders, only 21 had resigned their titles up to February 1921.

Wing Nationalist Party from gaining a seat in the New Councils. Wherever Mr. Gandhi has made his appearance, there for the moment has the ordinary progress of educational work been seriously interrupted. His hold upon the student mentality is great, for they are a class to whom his idealism and frank appeal to the other-regarding emotions prove naturally attractive. In this connection it is significant to notice that where Mr. Gandhi was confronted with an institution like the Benares Hindu University, which definitely preaches to its students the ideal of Indian nationality and Hindu culture; and where, in addition, he encountered an antagonist, in the person of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, who was no whit less orthodox, determined, and confident than himself, he encountered a severe check. In the case of the great Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh he was, as might have been expected from the position of the Khilafat in the forefront of his platform, considerably more successful; although even here, when once the magic of his personality was removed, the students who in the first rush of enthusiasm had resigned from the College began by slow degrees to return. Where Mr. Gandhi was most successful was in institutions which either through their connection with the modern University system of India or through their association with the Government, give no scope for that traditional intimacy between master and pupil, teacher and taught, which India so well understands; and thus could offer to their students no leadership calculated to counteract Mr. Gandhi's immense magnetism. The susceptibility of students, in India as elsewhere, to generous emotion, and their ready acceptance of the domination of catchwords such as 'non-co-operation with a satanic Government' rendered them easy victims to this disastrous appeal.

Educational Non-Co-operation.

It need hardly be said that such an organised attack upon the educational structure of the country caused a great sensation. From the very first the good sense of a large number even of Mr. Gandhi's personal followers revolted from the enterprise; and had it not been that his destructive campaign was in all cases accompanied by a programme of educational reconstruction by means of "National" schools and colleges, this particular phase of the non-co-operation movement would have ended in early failure. But the demand for "National" as opposed to "imported" education struck a responsive chord in the breasts of many educated Indians; and it was only when the practical difficulties of Mr.

National education.

Gandhi's programme obtruded themselves into notice, and when it was seen that the construction of "National" schools and colleges could in no way supply the hiatus which would be caused by the destruction of existing institutions, that the campaign began definitely to fail. Even so, Mr. Gandhi's personality worked miracles; and immediately after the close of the period under review, at a time, that is, when the campaign of educational non-co-operation seemed definitely to be turning against its author, there was a sudden, if short, outburst of students' strikes in Bengal, which throughout 1920 has been pre-eminently the stronghold of the moderates and the despair of the non-co-operators.

It is rather in connection with the boycott of the new Councils that Mr. Gandhi's campaign of non-co-operation seems destined to exercise a potent influence upon the history of the next few years, for it has prevented the inclusion in the new legislature of certain advanced thinkers who figure prominently in the public eye, and has left the Moderates a clear field. We have already seen that the Moderates had committed themselves from the first to an honest working of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. Their position at this moment was one of considerable difficulty. Upon the questions of the Punjab, and to a less extent of the Khilafat, many of them felt as deeply as did the Nationalists. On the other hand, the statesmanship of their leaders proved equal to the strain, and despite the storm of obloquy levelled upon them in the press and from the platform, they steadfastly refused either to join Mr. Gandhi in his non-co-operation campaign or to budge from their attitude *vis-à-vis* the reforms.

Seriousness of the situation.

The non-co-operation campaign continued to be waged with much vehemence of thought and expression. There seemed considerable danger lest the more impetuous supporters of this campaign would be led to indulge in speech and action which was calculated to produce that violence which they professed to shun. There was disquieting evidence that the non-co-operators were turning their attention from the educated classes to the masses—a development which up to the moment of writing still remains pregnant with possibilities of serious disorder. Accordingly, in the beginning of November, Government found it desirable to make plain beyond the possibility of doubt exactly what its policy was towards this movement. The resolution, which is sufficiently important to be quoted in detail ran as follows:—

"In view of recent events the Governor General in Council considers that it is necessary to make further declaration of the attitude and policy

of the Government of India towards the non-co-operation movement, not only for the guidance of local Governments and Administrations, but also for the information of the people of India."

Policy of Government.

"At the opening of the autumn session of the Imperial Legislative Council, His Excellency the Viceroy explained the policy which the Government of India have up to date followed in this matter. Although in their opinion the movement is unconstitutional, in that it has as its object the paralysis and subversion of the existing administration of the country, the Government have hitherto refrained from instituting criminal proceedings, or taking any other action against those of its promoters, who have advocated simultaneously with non-co-operation abstention from violence, and they have instructed local Governments to take action against those persons only who in furtherance of the movement, have gone beyond the limits originally set by its organisers, and have by speech or writing openly incited the public to violence, or have attempted to tamper with the loyalty of the army or of the police. In adopting this policy the Government have been influenced by several considerations."

Reasons for that Policy.

"In the first place they have been reluctant to interfere with the liberty of speech and the freedom of the Press at a time when India is on the threshold of a great advance towards the realisation of the principle of self-government within the Empire, when indeed the first elections are already in sight. In recognition of that advance, and in pursuance of the spirit of the King-Emperor's Proclamation of December last, they extended His Majesty's clemency to many hundreds of political offenders who were then in custody, and they since released from the restrictions of the Press Act, numerous papers which were formerly held to security. Although these concessions have in many cases failed to evoke any response or recognition, the Government are loth to reimpose restrictions which have so lately been relaxed."

"In the second place the Government are at all times reluctant to embark on a campaign against individuals, some of whom may be actuated by honest if misguided motives. This consideration is reinforced by the knowledge that the form of prosecution under the ordinary criminal law, would be likely to give those against whom it might be directed the opportunity of posing as martyrs, and might also by evoking false sympathy, swell the number of adherents to a cause which has in itself no intrinsic merit to commend it to public acceptance."

" The third and chief consideration however, which has influenced the Government of India, is their trust in the common-sense of India, their belief that the sanity of the classes and the masses alike would reject non-co-operation as a visionary and chimerical scheme, which if successful, could only result in widespread disorder, political chaos, and ruin of all those who have any real stake in the country. The appeal of non-co-operation is to prejudice and ignorance, and its creed is devoid of any constructive genius. India has had bitter experience of the fruits of its forerunner, the Satyagraha cult, and the Governor General in Council still hopes that with that lamentable warning before her eyes, India will reject the much greater peril of non-co-operation."

Confidence in Public good sense.

" Its principal exponents have frankly avowed that their object is to destroy the present Government, to dig up the foundations of the British Government in India, and they have promised their followers that if only their gospel be generally accepted, India shall be self-governing and independent within one year."

Aims of Non-Co-operation.

" The full consummation of their hopes would leave India defenceless alike against foreign aggression and internal chaos. All the benefits of a stable Government and undisturbed peace, the results that have been attained by the orderly progress of India for more than a century, and the still greater results which, it is hoped, will attend her advance under the Reforms Scheme, her material prosperity and her political progress, are all to be sacrificed to the irresponsible caprice of a few misguided men."

" The confidence of the Government in the good sense of India has already been in a great measure justified by the unanimity of her best minds in their condemnation of the non-co-operation movement, for almost all the weighty body of educated opinion has rejected this new doctrine as one that is fraught with the most mischievous potentialities for India. But having failed to secure a favourable verdict from educated India, the leaders of the movement have now been driven to increase the violence of their appeal to the masses and to endeavour to enlist under the banner of non-co-operation the sympathy and assistance of immature school boys and college students."

" Herein lie two great dangers for India which have compelled the Government to place the issues plainly before the country in the hope that its most enlightened and stable elements may clearly recognise the

Dangers of the movement.

necessity of a vigorous and united action to prevent any further extension of the mischief. Of these two latest developments the most immoral is undoubtedly the mischievous attack which has been made on the youth of the country, who are to be sacrificed to the exigencies of a political campaign. It matters not to the leaders of the movement if the foundations of home life are sapped and children set against their parents and teachers, provided their own ends are attained and the success of their campaign assured."

"The appeal to the illiterate and the ignorant is also fraught with very grave danger. It has already resulted in at least one deplorable crime, and it is certain that the restless activity of the leaders who wander from one city to another stirring up excitement amongst the masses by inflammatory speeches and by the reiteration of false statements, despite constant contradiction, may at any moment result in a serious outbreak of disorder."

Co-operation invited.

"The best weapon to combat both dangers lies in the practical help and sympathy of the sober-minded and moderate men, and the Government therefore calls on all who have the good of India at heart to organise themselves and take concerted measures to assist the cause of law and order by active opposition to the movement, by the exercise of their influence over the minds of the ignorant and the immature, and by public exposure and denunciation of the evil of non-co-operation, and of the anarchy to which it must inevitably lead."

"The Government appreciate the action which has already been taken in this direction by men of liberal opinion and moderate mind throughout India, and they congratulate the country, more particularly on the manifestations of public displeasure which has occurred in regard to the mischievous attack on education. The opposition which has been offered to this phase of the movement by the Trustees of the M. A. O. College at Aligarh, by the authorities of the Khalsa College at Amritsar, by many other school authorities, by the great majority of teachers and parents, and also by large sections of the student community itself, is indeed a most helpful feature in the situation."

"The Government realise that it is to enlightened public opinion they must chiefly trust for a dissipation of the danger that now envelopes India as it is on that same public opinion that India's political future must depend. It is in this trust that they have refrained in the past so far as is consistent with the public safety from repressive action, for they consider that such action should only be employed in the last

resort, when indeed failure to adopt it would be a criminal betrayal of the people."

"How long, with due regard to their ultimate responsibility for the public safety, the Government will be able to maintain that policy will depend largely on the success which attends the efforts of the moderate citizens to check the extension of the movement and keep its dangers within bounds."

Effect of this Resolution.

The studiously moderate tone of this Resolution and its frank exposition of Government policy, served in no small degree to strengthen the hands of the growing body of opinion which regarded the non-co-operation campaign as chimerical in its aims and dangerous in its methods. But the real trial of strength between those who aimed at complete and immediate self-government whether with or without chaos, and those who believed in a process of orderly development towards responsible government within the Empire, was generally recognised to be the success or failure of the approaching elections.

Preparation for Reforms.

Mention has already been made of the immense volume of work which the Government of India had been compelled to undertake in the course of the year 1920 in order to secure the realisation in practice of the recommendations of the Joint Select Committee upon the Government of India Act. The framing of election rules, the organisation of electorates, the institution of electoral machinery—all these and many other similar preliminary requisites to democratic Government were accomplished with remarkable speed during the spring and summer of 1920. The rules which were framed by the newly instituted Reforms Department of the Government of India were submitted to the Joint Committee in the early summer of 1920 and received the final assent of Parliament before the end of July. In his opening speech to the Imperial Legislative Council on August 20th, Lord Chelmsford said :—

Review of Progress.

"In the speech which I delivered in January last, when opening the previous Session of the Council, I referred to the press of work which the passing of the Government of India Act of 1919 had involved and outlined the steps that were being taken for dealing with it. In the interval that has since elapsed, we have forwarded for the sanction of the Secretary of State, and have published for general information, drafts of all the rules under the Act to which the approval of Parliament is required. In the preparation of these rules, we have been greatly assisted by the loyal co-opera-

tion of the provinces and by the suggestions and criticisms of our advisory committee, whose deliberations were marked by a spirit of reason and moderation that I gladly take this opportunity of acknowledging. We still await the orders of the Secretary of State as regards the important constitutional rules under sections 45-A and 29-A, but the electoral rules and the rules of legislative business have been approved by Parliament in a form that differs but slightly from the rules as drafted by us. I congratulate the Council on the fact that the electoral rules have been sanctioned at so early a date, because this will enable us to bring the Reforms Scheme into operation sooner than would otherwise have been possible. I am aware of the criticisms that have been passed on some of our rules. It was inevitable that there should be differences of opinion on some points, but I am glad to observe that the provisions to which exception has been taken are comparatively few. Hon'ble Members will allow me to quote paragraph 1 of the first Report of the Joint Committee of the two Houses of Parliament appointed to revise the draft rules made under the Government of India Act :—

> " The Committee desire in the forefront of their Report to express their appreciation of the great care and ability which are displayed in the drafts, and of the remarkable expedition with which this heavy task has been achieved by the Government of India and the local Governments. As will be seen from the Report, the Committee have made but few alterations in the rules as drafted by the authorities in India, and they desire to record their considered opinion that the rules, with these few alterations, are an accurate, but at the same time liberal, interpretation both of the general recommendations contained in their Report on the Bill and of the intentions of Parliament in framing the Act."

" To those in India who have laboured in this field it must be a matter of great gratification to receive this generous appreciation of their work, and I, who have seen this work at close quarters, would like to add my humble tribute to that accorded by the Joint Committee."

In that same Session of the Council, the last to be held under the old Morley-Minto régime, was also passed the Corrupt Practices Act, which had to be brought into operation before the first elections were held. This Act, as subsequent experience was to show, was of the first

importance in India, where the social system lends itself to the application of social, moral and religious pressure in a degree to which the more materialistic West with its cruder forms of intimidation can supply no parallel.

The First Elections.

In the appendix to this volume there will be found tables exhibiting the composition of each provincial Legislative Council as finally established under the rules, as well as of the bicameral Legislature of India, the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State. In every province special preparations were made to deal with the business of the elections which were fixed at varying dates in the month of November. As the time for the exercise of the franchise by the new electorate approached, the non-co-opreators re-doubled their efforts to secure the ruin of the scheme. Every form of pressure was put upon candidates and voters alike. In some places there can be no doubt that intimidation, either direct or indirect, was freely used. Attempts were also made to procure the boycott of candidates and voters by appealing to religious sentiment. It was even reported in one place that religious mendicants, of the kind whom India reverences so deeply, were openly declaring that any one who voted for a particular leader of the Moderate party would be guilty of the incredible enormity of killing one hundred kine. Meetings were broken up, candidates were threatened, polling booths were picketted; but remarkable to relate the attempt to render the elections abortive was a conspicuous failure. Only in six cases out of 637 was an election impossible owing to the absence of a candidate. The actual proportion of those exercising their vote to the total strength on the electoral rôle varied widely from province to province and from town to town. Broadly speaking, the voting in rural constituencies was more satisfactory than in the cities, but even this generalization cannot be accepted without reservation. The actual proportions varied from 8 per cent. in Bombay city where the non-co-operators came nearest to success, to 70 per cent. in some of the urban constituencies of Madras Presidency. In the Punjab, which from its unfortunate history during the preceding two years might have been expected to present a fertile soil for the propaganda of non-co-operation, the voting in rural constituencies was as high as 36 per cent., while in the general constituencies throughout the province the figure was as high as 32 per cent. In the United Provinces, where a particularly vigorous campaign of boycott had been conducted, the voting averaged 33 per cent. in the contested constituencies, rising

Their success.

in the case of Lucknow and certain other centres to 60 per cent. As will be seen from the figures given in an appendix, the all-India proportions of voting for the provincial Councils ranged from 20 to 30 per cent.; for the Legislative Assembly the proportion was roughly 20 per cent. and for the Council of State no less than 40 per cent.

Failure of Non-Co-operation.

Ingenious machinery was devised for enabling illiterate voters to record their votes. In the case of Bombay, for example, it was decided to adopt the coloured box or symbol system. There was a separate box at each polling station, to which was allotted the colour or the symbol given to a particular candidate. Where the number of candidates was five or fewer the boxes were coloured white, black, yellow, red and green. Where the number of candidates was greater than five, to each was assigned a symbol, such as a horse, cart or sword, or some other universally recognizable article, for it was found that country voters could not be trusted to recognise with certainty more than the five colours above mentioned. The electorate of rural India was quite capable, even at this early stage in its education, of making up its mind upon questions in which it was intimately concerned; and in fact, gave its vote with business-like precision to candidates who announced their intention of dealing with local grievances.

The result of the election plainly showed that the non-co-operators had failed in their attempt to secure the ruin of the new machinery. The councillors had been elected despite the efforts of the opposition and Mr. Gandhi's campaign had received a corresponding check. The issue between the non-co-operators and the co-operators therefore shifted from the possibility or impossibility of holding the elections, and finally resolved itself into the question as to whether the Reforms were genuine or were a Machiavellian device on the part of the Bureaucracy for continuing India's servitude. The issue thus framed made its appearance on many occasions during the months of November and December 1920. Those who believed or professed to believe that the new Councils were to be a snare and the new Reforms a delusion, were considerably perturbed by the publication in the middle of December of His Majesty's instructions to the Governors who were to preside over the Reformed Provincial Councils.

Fresh issues.

These instructions will be found in an appendix, but the generous tone which they displayed, and, above all things, the authority of His Majesty's name,

Governors' instructions.

served to convince many of those who were sceptical as to the wisdom of the course pursued by the Liberal Party, that their confidence in the good intentions of the British Government had not been misplaced. The Governors were enjoined by His Majesty to do all in their power to maintain the standard of good administration, to undertake the promotion of all measures making for social and industrial welfare and tending to fit all classes of the population without distinction to take their due share in the public life and government of the country. They were further instructed to see that all those persons now and hereafter to be enfranchised should appreciate the duties and responsibilities and advantages of their position, and that those who exercised the power of returning representatives to the Legislative Council should perceive the effects of their votes, and come to look for the redress of their grievances and the improvement of their conditions in the working of representative institutions. The Governors were further directed to remember that in considering the advice of their Minister, due regard must be paid to their relations with the Legislative Council and to the wishes of the people in the Province as expressed by their representatives.

The Nagpur Session of Congress.

The year 1920 closed as usual with the meetings of the great party organizations in India. As had been the case in the year 1919, the Moderates and the Nationalists held their separate meetings. The session of the Indian National Congress at Nagpur was again the scene of another notable triumph for Mr. Gandhi. Despite the protests of many who had hitherto represented the front rank of Extremist stalwarts; despite the resignation from the Congress of many prominent persons who since the special September Session had found themselves out of harmony with the spirit pervading it, Mr. Gandhi not only succeeded in securing the confirmation of his non-co-operation programme, but in addition he was able to alter the old "creed" of the Congress in such a fashion as to eliminate the declared adherence of that body to the British connection and to constitutional methods of agitation. The session was marked not merely by Mr. Gandhi's personal ascendancy but also by the extreme intolerance on the part of his followers of the slightest criticism of or divergence from the views put forward by their idol. Well tried leaders like Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Mr. Jinnah, and Mr. Khaparde, who but a few months previously had been received with a respect well-nigh equivalent to adoration, were howled down ignominiously when they attempted to depict

the difficulties in which the country would be landed by the adoption of Mr. Gandhi's programme—a sad illustration of the vicissitudes inseparable from the life of a national hero in India to-day. As a result of the Nagpur meeting the Congress has become more and more sectional in character. It has now ceased to be representative of anything save the Extreme Left of Indian Nationalist opinion; and at Nagpur for almost the first time on record, it was composed very largely of the personal adherents of a single leader.

The Liberal Conference.

In refreshing contrast with the impracticable spirit displayed in the session of the Indian National Congress and of the Muslim League at Nagpur was the sober tone of the debates in the session of the National Liberal Federation. While yielding nothing to the Nationalists in the depth of their feeling upon the Punjab affair, the Moderate leaders displayed a firm grasp of the political situation. They were not prepared to admit that the Reforms now inaugurated conferred upon India that share of political responsibility to which they conceived she was already entitled, but they none the less reaffirmed their determination to work the Reforms in such manner as to hasten the date of India's constitutional advance. They roundly asserted their conviction of the foolishness of the non-co-operation movement, and expressed their apprehensions as to the consequences to which its continuance was likely to lead. Considering themselves as they did the spiritual heirs of the old Congress organisation, which prior to its capture by the Extremist Party had always stood for co-operation and ordered progress, they remained fixed in their determination to carry forward the work of the new constitution. The following quotation from the speech of the Hon'ble Mr. Chintamani, now a Minister in the Reformed Council of United Provinces, is selected as typical of the spirit which inspires the National Liberal Federation.

"Remember Mill's saying that one man with a conviction is equal to ninety-nine without one. Do not apologise, do not doubt, do not hesitate. Go forward with the strength of conviction and with the determination that conquers obstacles. Preach the doctrines of the Liberal Party, explain to the people that we are the inheritors of the old Congress whose objects we are faithfully carrying out, establish Liberal leagues wherever they are not, and bring more of the faithful into the fold. Be sure, in building up our party we but serve the country, we have no other motive. In this national work revered founders of the Congress who are not with us in mortal form, will be with us in spirit. And the faith in me tells me that howsoever we may be mis-

understood to-day by a section of our countrymen whose commendable patriotic zeal for immediate political salvation prevents them from correctly appreciating our stand-point, the day will come when the passions and prejudices of the moment will have subsided and persuasive reason will again hold up the guiding lamp, and when our motives as well as our wisdom will be vindicated. Whether it may come sooner or later, and even if it may not come, make no difference. We will not be deflected from what we are convinced is our duty to our Motherland."

The Duke's visit.

The year closed with preparations for the visit of His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught who was acting as a substitute for the Prince of Wales in the task of inaugurating the Reformed Constitution. The non-co-operators had some time past announced their intention of boycotting the Royal visitor, and though there was little doubt that they spoke for none but a small section of opinion, the mere fact that such a plan could be mooted publicly, revealed how deeply Indian opinion has been agitated by the unfortunate occurrences which we have had occasion to notice in the course of this review. But despite the noisy clamour of the Left Wing Extremist Section, the Liberals and the Government pressed on steadily in their determination to steer the ship of state along her new course. The appointment of Lord Sinha as Governor of Bihar and Orissa—the first Indian to hold charge of a provincial Government —was recognised by all sane and moderate opinion as an augury of better things. As soon as the elections were over and the relative position of different sections in the new electorate could be determined, Ministers and Councillors were appointed to constitute the executive Government of the new provincial administration. In Madras it is interesting to notice, the elections proved that the fears of the non-Brahmin community were unfounded. But perhaps the most sensational of the new appointments and certainly the standing example of Government's determination to accept honestly the revised position of the English and Indian races in India, was provided by the selection of Lala Harkishanlall, who a few months previously had been under sentence for complicity in the Punjab disturbances, as a Minister, in the reconstituted administration of the province.

New personalities.

What may be termed the moral effect of these final preparations for inaugurating the new machinery of government was very great.

So long as the Government of India Act existed merely as a record upon the pages of the Statute book, it was possible for the opponents of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms to adopt an attitude of scepticism towards both the design and the execution of the new structure. But with the holding of the elections, with the appointment of the new Ministers and Councillors, and with the issue of the Royal Instructions to the Governors of the Provinces, the Reforms became something real and living, something of which serious account must be taken.

Subsequent events.

It would be misleading if at this point our narrative were to terminate too abruptly with the close of the calendar year 1920. For it is in the first three months of the year 1921 that the events described in this and the preceding chapter have found their natural culmination. The character of the first session of the new Indian legislative machinery was of the very greatest importance. Upon the manner in which the members realised and discharged their responsibilities, naturally hung the success of the whole great constitutional experiment at which the Government of India have laboured for the last three years. It was then with a feeling of some anxiety that Indian administrators looked for the opening of the Council of State and Legislative Assembly. Meeting as they did in an atmosphere so unfavourable to calm deliberation, even the most optimistic onlooker might well have deemed that the chances of success in this, the first and most critical session, were somewhat small. Friend and foe of the new Government alike prepared to watch the progress of the reformed Indian Legislature with the deepest attention.

Past question, the new Constitution derived an excellent start from the presence of His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught. He bore a message of good-will from His Majesty the King-Emperor; he had laid aside leisure well-earned to re-visit the India he loved, in order, as he said, to heal wounds, to unite unhappy differences, to persuade all men to forgive and forget. His personal inauguration of the reformed Legislatures, both Provincial and Central, provided the occasion for speeches which were balm to the wounds of India. Less perhaps by his actual words, though these of themselves brought a message of peace and goodwill to thousands of souls momentarily embittered, than by his gracious personality, the Duke accomplished in India a work which no one but the son of Queen Victoria could have performed. It was on the 9th February 1921 that he inaugurated the Parliament of India. His speech was an inspiring one, and it ended with a personal appeal for forgiveness and forbearance on both sides which deeply moved the hearts of every

one present. " Since I landed, " he said, " I have felt around me bitterness and estrangement between those who have been and should be friends. The shadow of Amritsar has lengthened over the fair face of India. I know how deep is the concern felt by His Majesty the King-Emperor at the terrible chapter of the events in the Punjab. No one can deplore these events more sincerely and more intensely than I do myself. I have reached a time of life when I most desire to heal wounds and to reunite those who have been disunited. In what must be, I fear, my last visit to the India I love so well, here in the new capital, inaugurating a new constitution, I am moved to make you a personal appeal, put in the simple words that come from my heart, not to be coldly and critically interpreted. My experience tells me that misunderstanding susually mean mistakes on either side. As an old friend of India, I appeal to you all—British and Indians—to bury along with the dead past the mistakes and misunderstandings of the past, to forgive where you have to forgive, and to join hands and to work together to realise the hopes that arise from to-day."

The Duke's appeal.

That this appeal did not fall upon deaf ears, soon became amply apparent. The relations between the official government and the new Indian Legislatures have been, throughout the whole of this first critical session, everything that can be desired. The non-official Members of the Legislative Assembly and of the Council of State, who now control an absolute majority over any number of votes which Government can possibly command, have throughout revealed a sense of responsibility, of sobriety and of statesmanship which has surpassed the most sanguine expectations even of those who believe most firmly in India's capacity for responsible government. On the side of the officials, it must be stated, there has been a generous response. Lord Chelmsford remarked, when the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State were inaugurated, that the principle of autocracy in the administration of India has now been definitely discarded. The officials have not been slow to exhibit their realization of the change which has come over the spirit of government in India. They have gladly acknowledged the power of the new Legislatures; have taken them into confidence; have sought their co-operation, and recognised their responsibilities. From the day when the first business of the Session was transacted, the attitude both of the official and of the non-official sides of the House was never for one moment in doubt.

Changed atmosphere.

This attitude, so encouraging for the rapid progress of India towards responsible Government, and so happy in its indication that the growing pains of the country are passing away, became more than ever noteworthy in view of the difficulties, already indicated, which beset the new Indian Parliament. It was generally felt that the debate upon the Punjab question would strike once and for all the keynote of the session. On the 15th February 1921, a resolution was moved by Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas, recommending the Governor General to declare the firm resolve of the Government of India to maintain the connection of India with the British Empire on the principle of perfect racial equality; to express regret that the Martial Law administration of the Punjab departed from this principle, and to mete out deterrent punishments to officers who have been guilty; and to satisfy himself that adequate compensation was awarded to the families of those killed or injured at the Jallianwala Bagh. The notable feature of the debate which ensued was the deep sense of responsibility felt both by the official and the non-official speakers as to the present and future effects of the words they uttered. The speeches of the Indian members revealed no rancour and no desire for vengeance. They made it plain that they were fighting for a principle. On the other side, the officials re-asserted with an added emphasis which this occasion had for the first time made possible, their disapproval of the acts which had given rise to such bitter resentment among the educated classes of India. Sir William Vincent, who led the debate from the Government benches made plain the deep regret of the administration at the perpetration of those improper actions, and their firm determination that so far as human foresight could avail any repetition would be for ever impossible. He repudiated emphatically the suggestion that Indian lives were valued more lightly than the lives of Englishmen, expressing his deep regret that the canons of conduct for which the British administration stood had been violated by some of the acts of certain individual officers. The sincerity and the earnestness of the Home Member's desire to assuage the feelings of Indians exercised a profound effect upon the assembly. Magnanimously acknowledging the attitude of Government, the Assembly agreed to withdraw the third clause calling for deterrent punishment (a clause indeed which under the circumstances it would have been difficult to put into effect). And the resolution as amended was then accepted by the whole House.

The Punjab Resolution.

The effect of this debate and of the frank admission by Government that they realised and regretted the injury done to Indian national

sentiment by improper acts on the part of certain officers during the Punjab disturbances, exercised a marked influence on these currents of feeling which have already been described. But it did more than this; it showed to all fair-minded observers that Government was firm in its determination to give the new legislative machinery of India that respect which was its due. The note of harmony and co-operation struck in the course of the debate continued throughout the whole session. If on the one hand the non-official members of both the Upper and the Lower Houses showed themselves fully alive to the responsibilities as well as to the privileges of the position in which they found themselves, on the other hand the officials exhibited on every occasion their conviction that the Assembly and the Council of State were now sharing with them the government of the country. The appointment of a Committee to examine repressive legislation; the despatch of a new delegation embodying some of the most advanced leaders of the Khilafat movement to England in connection with the revision of the treaty of Sevres, were both typical of the attitude of the officials towards the Assembly.

Its effect.

But if the conduct of the Assembly during the Punjab debate had revealed at once the dignity, good feeling, and statesmanship of the non-official Members, the attitude of the Lower House towards the Budget exhibited in yet higher degree both its sobriety and business capacity. With the exception of the charges ear-marked for military and political heads, the ordinary administration of the central as of the local Governments now depends upon the voting of grants by the legislatures. Now as will be indicated in a later chapter, the disastrous economic history of the year 1920 had resulted in a deficit of £18½ millions, which had to be met by the imposition of further taxation. The narrative of events which has made up this review will have failed in its purpose, if the reader has not gathered some idea of the difficulties and temptations which must have beset the newly elected members of the Indian legislature when faced with the problem of imposing fresh taxation in the heated political atmosphere of the moment. But to the lasting credit of Indian statesmen it must be recorded that they faced the necessity imposed upon them by the financial crisis manfully, and with a full sense of their responsibility. It must be plain to any impartial student that they might well have courted and sought popularity amongst advanced sections of opinion in India by refusing utterly to participate in the taxation which the executive Government required for carrying on the

The Budget.

business of the State. To this temptation the members of the Legislature rose superior. Exercising their power of the purse to scrutinise closely and in a business-like fashion the demands for grants presented to them, they none the less passed these grants and endorsed the suggested taxation proposals with comparatively few alterations.

Faith justified.

From all that has been said it will be apparent that the first session of the Reformed Parliament of India has more than justified the faith displayed in the capacity of Indians by Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford. It has shown that the process of entrusting responsibility to Indian statesmen calls out in return a rare degree of capacity for discharging the obligations which that responsibility entails. Hence it is that before the termination of Lord Chelmsford's eventful and most critical term of office, he had the happiness of observing the translation into practice under the most encouraging auguries of those constitutional reforms for which, from the earliest hour of his Viceroyalty, he had toiled so hard.

CHAPTER IV.

The Economic Life of India.

It is necessary to premise any account of India's economic life by some indication of the general conditions regulating the finances of the country. It must be remembered that a very large proportion of the revenue of the Government of India is derived not from taxation, but from such sources as Land Revenue, Opium, Railways, Forests and Irrigation. The country being still in the main agricultural, Indian revenues are always largely influenced by the character of the season; indeed, it has more than once been remarked that Indian finance resolves itself into the art of gambling in rain. A second factor in India's financial existence has hitherto been her large commitments in London, in payment for which a sum averaging about £20 million sterling is annually required. The major portion of this sum is interest on capital which has been lent to India for the purpose of internal development. Originally borrowed at a very low rate, in most cases about 3½ per cent., it now brings to the Indian exchequer a return of approximately 7 per cent. Another item in the annual remittance is payment for Government stores of a kind which hitherto have not been obtainable in India. This item is destined gradually to disappear with the increasing industrial development of the country, of which an account will be given in subsequent pages. Payment is also made to England for the leave allowance of State servants and for their pensions after they have retired from active service. Until lately, the annual remittance to London included the charge for the maintenance of the India Office; but as a result of the general overhauling of the relations between England and India consequent upon the declaration of August 20th, 1917, the India Office is now a charge upon the British Exchequer. In substitution for this charge, however, will henceforth come the cost of maintaining the Indian High Commissioner, who will discharge for India agency functions in England similar to those discharged by the High Commissioners of the self-governing Dominions.

General conditions of Indian Finance.

The Former system.

Up to the time of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, the budget of the Government of India was made to include the transactions of local Governments, the revenue enjoyed by the latter being mainly derived from sources of income which were shared between the Government of India and themselves. Broadly speaking, certain heads of revenue, such as the land revenue, excise, salt, income tax and the profits from productive irrigation works, were divided between the provincial and the central Governments. The provincial Governments took the receipts from Forests, and Registration, as well as from Courts and Jails. To the Government of India went the revenue from opium, customs, railways, posts and telegraphs, and tributes from the Indian States. The central Government out of these incomings was responsible for defence charges, for the upkeep of railways, posts and telegraphs, for the payment of interest on debt, and for the Home charges. The provinces from their incomings met the expenses connected with land revenue and general administration, with forests, police, courts and jails, with education and with medical services. Charges for irrigation and ordinary public works were common to both the central and to the provincial Governments.

The New system.

This state of affairs has now passed away as a result of the changes introduced by the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. The authors of the Report had urged the necessity of complete separation between the finances of the central Government and those of the various provincial Governments, and to this end had outlined a scheme. Their main recommendations were that no heads of revenue should continue divided; that land revenue, irrigation, excise and judicial stamps should be completely provincialised; and that income tax and general stamps should become central heads of revenue. Inasmuch as under this re-arrangement the Government of India would lose heavily, the scheme proposed that contributions should be levied on the provinces to make up the deficit. For the purpose of fixing the provincial contributions, the authors of the Report chose an assessment proportionate to the gross surplus which each province would enjoy under the new allocation of resources. In order to fix the standard on an equitable scale of contribution a Committee was appointed in January 1920 to investigate the financial relations between the new central and provincial Governments. This Committee consisted of Lord Meston, Mr. Charles Roberts and Lieutenant Commander Hilton Young. It was particularly concerned to determine first the contributions which were to be paid by the various provinces

to the central Government for the financial year 1921-1922, and secondly the modifications to be made in the provincial contributions with a view to their equitable distribution. The Committee proposed that receipts from General Stamps should be credited to the provinces and not to the central Government, and suggested a plan by which the provincial governments were to contribute £9·83 millions (983 lacs) to the central Government in 1921-1922. The standard contribution of the provinces were also fixed, as proportions of the total contribution necessary to make up the deficit of the Government of India, this proportion being 19 per cent., from Bengal; 18 per cent., from United Provinces; 17 per cent., from Madras; 13 per cent., from Bombay; 10 per cent., from Bihar and Orissa; 9 per cent., from the Punjab; 6½ per cent., from Burma; 5 per cent., from the Central Provinces; and 2½ per cent., from Assam. The Committee recommended that contributions should be readjusted to this standard percentage by equal increments extending over a period of seven years.

Since the Reforms, of which this arrangement was an integral part, did not come into operation until the close of the period under review, we may postpone any consideration of its working until the issue of the next Report, and pass on to a consideration of the financial history of the calendar year 1920. Seldom in India has there been a contrast so extraordinary between the conditions obtaining at the beginning and at the end of a period so short. As was related in last year's Report, in India as in many countries of the world the armistice had been followed by a general trade boom. Though there were signs that this boom rested on no sure foundation and that the chaotic condition into which most of the belligerent countries had allowed their finances to fall would, sooner or later, react upon their economic position, nevertheless the foreign demand for India's produce was still strong; and as a result of a huge balance of trade in India's favour, exchange had risen to heights previously undreamt of. The 1919 monsoon had been an excellent one, and public revenues had grown considerably during the year. The only event which had seriously disturbed the anticipation of the budget presented by Lord Meston was the Afghan War in the summer of 1919, which had converted an expected small surplus into a deficit of some 23 crores. There seemed in fact to be only two clouds on India's financial horizon at the beginning of the period under review. There was first, the legacy of war finance which pointed to the need of severe economy, and secondly, the continuance of high internal prices which

The year 1920.

not only pressed severely on the mass of India's population but threatened to involve the taxpayer in considerable expense for wholesale revisions of pay of all State servants. But with a maintenance of the prosperity of the previous year, and a continued growth in the public revenues, it was hoped that the year 1920 could be faced without fear or misgiving. Unfortunately the trade boom passed away with uncanny rapidity, leaving behind it a trough of depression. On the one hand the great purchasing power accumulated by India after the war, itself enhanced by the high exchange value of the rupee obtaining in the cold weather of 1919-1920, was used to import very large quantities of manufactured goods of which during the war India was starved. So persistent was the rush of imports that not only did customs receipts break all records, but the Indian markets gradually became seriously over-stocked until at the end of the year 1920, dealers found themselves face to face with a very difficult financial position. On the other hand, the period under review has shown that the recovery of the greater part of the continent of Europe from the economic collapse resulting from the war is likely to be much more protracted than any one had anticipated. In consequence, the power of India's customers to buy her produce has of late been severely restricted, and before the end of 1920 the export trade began to suffer an almost unparallelled depression. The inability of many nations to purchase India's raw produce has resulted not only in a general contraction for the time being of her production, but also the piling up of stocks of many of her commodities. Further, simultaneously with the necessity, to be described later, of placing restrictions on the export of India's food grains in the interest of Indian consumers, there became manifest a marked falling off in Japan's consumption of raw cotton. During the year under review all these factors contributed to produce a violent swing of the pendulum; and the net exports of merchandise which for the year 1919 stood at £127 millions, became during the year 1920 transmuted into net imports of £21 millions. Misfortunes rarely come singly; and as if to add to the difficulties of India's economic position, the monsoon of 1920 has been on the whole a disappointment. Although it started well it ended badly; for the average rainfall of the monsoon period over the plains of India as a whole was 12 per cent. below normal.

Exchange.

The cumulative influence of all these adverse factors made itself markedly felt during the course of the year under review. In no branch of financial activity was this more obvious than in the case of exchange. In previous

issues of this Report, mention was made of the fact that the rapidly advancing price of silver, combined with the continuous absorption of silver rupees in India, eventually proved that it was necessary to examine afresh the basic conception of the Indian currency and exchange systems. It must be remembered that the currency of India is rupees and rupee notes, with, before the war, a considerable circulation of sovereigns. In order to maintain the gold exchange value of this silver rupee in times of pressure, there has been built up a large reserve known as the gold standard reserve, held for the most part in London. The strain imposed by the war was so great, that in the course of the year 1918 the Indian currency note issue was only saved from a declaration of inconvertibility by the passing in America of the Pittman Act, which enabled India to procure 200 million ounces of silver from the United States. The later years of the war had introduced problems to meet which temporary measures had been adopted. But the months following the termination of hostilities, so far from seeing these problems pass away, seemed merely to aggravate their intensity. It was therefore thought desirable in the course of the year 1919 to appoint a Committee to examine the effect of the war on the Indian exchange and currency system, and to consider whether in the light of war experience and of possible variations in the price of silver, any modifications were required. As was mentioned in "India in 1919" the Committee submitted its Report just prior to the beginning of the period under review. The Majority Report, which was signed by all the members but one, emphasized the desirability of restoring the stability of the rupee and of re-establishing the automatic working of the Indian Currency system. They deprecated a reduction in the silver content of the rupee, and considered that it was inadvisable to postpone the fixing of a stable rate of exchange. The balance of advantage, so it appeared to them, was decidedly on the side of linking the exchange value of the rupee to gold rather than to sterling. Considering that a high rate of exchange would mitigate the rise in Indian prices, would not seriously cramp industrial development, and would not permanently hamper Indian trade unless there were a great fall in world prices to which India did not adjust herself, they believed that the ratio of Rs. 10 to one sovereign would be suitable as the stable relation to be established.

The Report of the Committee.

The minority report, which was presented by Mr. Dalal, differed from the recommendations of the majority, in some important points.

Mr. Dalal urged that the ratio of the rupee to gold should be fixed at fifteen to one, but Council Bills—rupee drafts which the Secretary of State sells in London upon the Indian treasuries—should be sold by competitive tender, and that reverse drafts—that is to say, sterling drafts on London sold in India—should be offered only at a rate based on an exchange value of 1*s.* 4*d.* He further suggested that while the price of silver was high, Government should coin two-rupee silver coins of reduced fineness and make them unlimited legal tender.

The main recommendations of the majority report were welcomed both by the Government of India and by the Secretary of State, and it was determined to give immediate effect to their proposal, that the rupee should have a fixed exchange value equal to 1-10th of the value of the gold contents of the sovereign. Unfortunately the circumstances under which the new policy was launched were exceptional. Currency conditions throughout the world were in an abnormal state and even neutral countries, which had escaped much of the worst consequences of the war, had found it difficult to maintain their exchanges at par with the United States, the only country where a free market in gold remained. In India, the demand for gold was strong, the price of a tola of 180 grains of bar gold being Rs. 32-4 in August 1919. The removal of the embargo on the export of gold by the United States Government, together with the freeing of other sources of supply, enabled the Government of India to reduce the premium on gold by fortnightly sales of bullion. But by the middle of 1920, the price had fallen only to Rs. 20-12 per tola, whereas the price corresponding to the ratio adopted by Government is Rs. 15-14. It was therefore impossible to offer a sovereign in return for ten rupees.

Difficulties.

The Government of India had to contend against a combination of particularly adverse forces. Just as the new policy was introduced, the London-New York exchange markedly weakened with the result that the rise in the rupee exchange, required to give full practical effect to the Currency Committee's recommendations, was far steeper than any one could have anticipated. In February 1920, for example, the rupee stood at just below 2*s.* 1*d.* Warned by the length of time which had elapsed between 1893 when the 1*s.* 4*d.* ratio had been decided upon, and 1898, when it had become stabilised after five years of restricted coinage, the Government of India did not expect the new ratio to be established immediately. They decided however to influence the exchange rate, in order eventually to stabilise exchange, by the sale of a limited amount of reverse councils ;

but it became obvious that much of the tendering for drafts was of a speculative nature, and the very heavy demand for remittances seemed to have arisen as much from the transference of capital as from ordinary trade requirements. The continuance of the sale of reverse councils for the purpose of gradually raising the exchange rate to the theoretical ratio, rested upon the assumption that the balance of trade would continue favourable to India; but with the dramatic reversal of direction which took place soon after the middle of the year, this condition no longer held good. In the face of a force setting strongly in the opposite direction from that on which the theory of India's gold exchange system depended, the efforts of the Government of India to stabilise exchange with former expedients naturally proved unavailing. The exchange value of the rupee fell rapidly. There was considerable popular dissatisfaction with the conditions under which reverse councils were at first sold. Towards the end of February it was decided to discriminate against speculators in the acceptance of tenders; and there arose, principally on the Bombay side, a strong opposition to the continuance of the sale of reverse councils at all. Originally started under a political aspect, this movement spread also to a large number of the commercial community both English and Indian. The sale of reverse councils was condemned as "legalised plunder of Indian funds" and "organised loot." The existing policy was generally regarded as one of wasting the sterling resources of the Government of India for the benefit of speculators in exchange, and of jeopardising the eventual ability to maintain a constant rate on the recovery of the dollar-sterling ratio. The Government, recognising that the demand for remittance was largely of a speculative nature, realised that any attempt to satisfy it would be likely to dissipate their resources to an extent which it would have been impossible to foresee at the inauguration of their policy. They therefore reduced the amount of their sales of reverse councils. The market rate thereafter fell swiftly; and some apprehension began to be felt in the commercial community at the possibility of exchange falling below 2*s.* sterling. The general trade position was at this stage indicating the inability of exports to balance imports, and in September the Government of India, being no longer in any doubt that the tide of trade had reversed, withdrew until further notice their weekly offer of sterling drafts on London. The rate of exchange thereupon steadily fell from about 1*s.* 10*d.* where it stood at the end of September, to 1*s.* 5$\frac{3}{4}$*d.* at the end of the year. Since September 1920, there has been no attempt

Fall in exchange.

on the part of Government to regulate the course of exchange, it being realised that an endeavour to stabilise it at any level at all in the existing conditions of trade, would involve a dissipation of their sterling resources which would not then be available for the purpose when things became normal again.

Present position.

It will be seen from this brief sketch of the exchange history of the year 1920 that the expectations of the Government of India have been falsified; and that the attempt to make them good has weakened India's sterling resources, besides undoubtedly to some extent contributing to the excess of imports by encouraging over-buying on the part of the importer. But it is believed that the position will before long cure itself. The absorption of available stocks of India's produce in America and elsewhere cannot be long delayed, and some at least of her customers must shortly resume their purchases. There is nothing inherently wrong in India's financial, industrial, or commercial position, the fact being that the present condition of her trade is due almost entirely to factors external to herself. As another hopeful augury, it must be pointed out that there has been a large return of rupees from circulation. Mention has already been made of the currency crisis of 1918, and of the steps which were taken to save India from the difficulties of inconvertibility. Throughout 1919, as was related in last year's Report, the position slowly improved, but the absorption of rupees was still large. In the year 1920, there has been a very substantial return of rupees from circulation amounting up to the middle of February 1920 to about £24 millions (Rs. 24 crores). In consequence, there is no longer that substantial discount of currency notes in comparison with coin, which existed a year or two ago. It has thus been possible to remove all restrictions on the encashments of notes and to effect a contraction in their circulation, which stood at the end of 1920 at 161 crores as against 186 crores at the beginning of the year. The percentage borne by the metallic portion of the currency reserve to the total note circulating is now no less than 53 as against 46 in 1919. This great strengthening of the metallic portion of the currency reserve, together with the fact that it has been found possible to remove the restrictions on the movements of the precious metals, is certainly a matter for considerable satisfaction.

The 1921-1922 Budget.

On account of the forces whose working we have here examined the finances of the year 1921-1922 have been adversely affected. The budget for the year

1920-1921 anticipated a total revenue of £132 millions against an expenditure of £130 millions. The anticipated expenditure included an item of £8¾ millions, representing an appropriation from revenue for meeting the deficiency in the paper currency reserve resulting from the revaluation of the sterling portion of that reserve on a two shilling basis. It was subsequently decided to make up the deficiency in a different way, so that the appropriated £8¾ millions accordingly dropped out. Hence, if the budget anticipations had been realised the revenue at the end of the year 1920-1921 ought to have shown a surplus of £10½ millions. In point of fact, indications at the moment of writing point to a deficit of £11¾ millions, the deficit being mainly due to military expenditure upon frontier operations. Nor was this all. The estimated expenditure for the year 1921-1922 is put at £129 millions, whereas on the basis of existing taxation, including provincial contributions, the revenue will amount to only £110·5 millions. In consequence of this, the first budget laid before the new Legislature of India exhibited a final deficit of £18⅓ millions. It therefore became necessary to go to the assembly with proposals for additional taxation. The House at the outset of its career was thus forced to face problems which necessarily entailed some unpopularity in the country. As we have seen in an earlier chapter, the members faced these problems with both courage and vision, lending their authority to the programme of taxation proposed by the Finance Member with a few very minor alterations. The additional taxation included, under Customs, an increase of the general *ad valorem* duty of 7½ per cent. to 11 per cent. except for matches and certain luxuries. Cotton manufactures were included, the Government of India having made it clear to His Majesty's Government that the sole object was additional revenue and that there was no ulterior motive of any kind. It was also proposed to replace the present *ad valorem* 7½ per cent. duty on matches by a specific duty. There were increases of rates on imported liquors, and a general increase of the *ad valorem* duty on such luxuries as motor cars, motor cycles, silk piece goods and the like. Other important increases under the head of customs are those on foreign sugar and on tobacco. A moderate increase was also proposed on goods traffic, since a decrease in the net income from railways made this justifiable. Changes were also proposed in the postal rates. It is believed that these taxes, endorsed as they are by the authority of the new Legislature, will afford a reasonable surplus of revenue over expenditure during the year 1921-1922.

Taxation.

General Statement of the Revenue and Expenditure charged to Revenue of the Government of India, in India and in England.

(Calculated at Rs. 15=£1.)

REVENUE.

—	Accounts, 1918-1919.	Revised Estimate, 1919-1920.	Budget Estimate, 1920-1921.
	£	£	£
Principal Heads of Revenue—			
Land Revenue	21,089,944	22,090,800	23,797,800
Opium	3,289,111	2,990,800	2,942,000
Salt	4,277,989	3,754,000	4,488,400
Stamps	6,018,976	7,223,100	7,507,500
Excise	11,557,518	12,752,300	13,674,000
Customs	12,120,641	14,919,500	17,009,700
Income Tax	7,758,462	15,771,000	11,390,400
Other Heads	4,316,273	5,045,700	5,169,800
TOTAL PRINCIPAL HEADS	70,428,914	84,547,200	85,979,600
Interest	3,829,422	4,380,100	4,015,600
Posts and Telegraphs	5,342,967	5,996,300	6,184,200
Mint	1,826,814	1,669,700	679,500
Receipts by Civil Departments	2,094,802	2,157,400	2,079,500
Miscellaneous	6,728,458	1,862,800	6,276,800
Railways: Net Receipts	24,962,239	21,607,300	21,774,700
Irrigation	5,346,507	5,843,600	5,945,200
Other Public Works	347,649	363,500	371,300
Military Receipts	2,349,972	7,141,600	1,519,500
TOTAL REVENUE	123,257,744	135,570,000	134,825,900
TOTAL	127,078,153	145,644,100	134,825,900

General Statement of the Revenue and Expenditure charged to Revenue of the Government of India, in India and in England—contd.

(Calculated at Rs. 15=£1.)

EXPENDITURE.

—	Accounts, 1918-1919.	Revised Estimate, 1919-1920.	Budget Estimate, 1920-1921.
	£	£	£
Direct Demands on the Revenues	11,787,122	12,162,800	13,690,100
Interest	8,127,090	8,934,200	8,192,500
Posts and Telegraphs	3,974,954	4,725,300	6,073,500
Mint	305,810	356,200	258,200
Salaries and Expenses of Civil Departments	23,688,218	25,845,000	28,295,000
Miscellaneous Civil Charges	6,292,776	6,498,200	8,614,700
Famine Relief and Insurance	1,000,000	1,248,100	1,000,000
Railways: Interest and Miscellaneous Charges	14,394,142	14,590,200	15,284,100
Irrigation	3,946,829	4,231,200	4,390,400
Other Public Works	5,651,871	6,909,000	9,104,100
Military Services	46,830,210	60,091,600	41,519,500
TOTAL EXPENDITURE, IMPERIAL & PROVINCIAL	125,999,022	145,591,800	136,422,100
Add—Provincial Surpluses: that is, portion of allotments to Provincial Governments not spent by them in the year.	1,143,955	757,300	
Deduct—Provincial Deficits: that is, portion of Provincial Expenditure defrayed from Provincial Balances.	*64,824*	*705,000*	*4,111,000*
TOTAL EXPENDITURE CHARGED TO REVENUE	127,078,153	145,644,100	132,311,100
SURPLUS	...	...	2,514,800
TOTAL	127,078,153	145,644,100	134,825,900

Financial position of India.

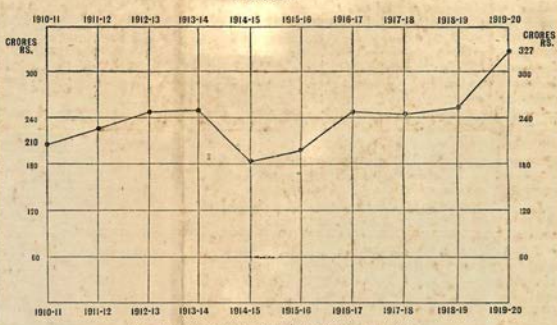
At the end of the year under review, the national debt amounted to about £378 millions, or about £1 11*s.* per head of population, as compared with a total public revenue of £132 millions. This favourable position is largely due to the care with which, in pre-war years, outlay was restricted to available means. When the war began, almost the whole of India's debt represented productive outlay on railways and irrigation, normally yielding a return which exceeded considerably not only interest on the amount borrowed, but also interest on the small debt classified as unproductive. In March 1920 despite India's war contribution of £100 millions, the amount of the ordinary debt outstanding was actually £20 millions less than the contribution itself. Nor are these the only facts indicative of India's financial strength. The interest on her public debt is not only secured by the revenue from productive works, but is a charge on the public revenues as a whole. During the last six years, revenue and expenditure have approximately balanced at an average figure of £106 millions.

India's Trade.

Turning now to the commercial record of the period under review, we notice that the calendar year 1920 has witnessed the passing away of the first great impulse which the war gave to India's trade. It may be remembered that in last year's Report we described the springing up in Allied countries of an immense demand for India's products, which for some time subsequent to the termination of hostilities showed no sign of cessation. The financial year 1919-1920 illustrates the last phase of the influence of war conditions upon India's foreign trade. While during the months April 1919 to March 1920 there were considerable relaxations in the severity of war restrictions, the aftermath of the struggle was apparent in a deficit of tonnage resulting in high freight rates, as well as in an abnormal range of prices, due partly to inflated paper currency and partly to reduced productive powers. But with the removal of the war prohibitions on commercial intercourse with enemy countries, and on the export of such articles as raw jute, oil seeds, hides and skins, Indian trade boomed, despite high prices, railway and cable congestion, labour difficulties and fluctuating rates of exchange. As was described in last year's Report the crop failures of 1918-1919 had necessitated the continuance of Government control over the trade in such important foodstuffs as wheat and rice, but the continued rise in the sterling value of the rupee encouraged imports without appreciably affecting exports, consisting as they did at this period mainly of raw materials able to

PORTS, IMPORTS, AND NET EXPORTS OF PRIVATE MERCHANDISE DURING THE TEN YEARS ENDING 1919-20.

1. EXPORTS



Note.—Exports of merchandise are inclusive of re-exports.

2. IMPORTS

3. NET EXPORTS

find buyers at almost any price. Moreover, as related elsewhere, the rainfall of 1919-1920 was unusually favourable, and the financial year closed with improved prospects, which were unfortunately not realised.

Imports and exports.

During the year 1919-1920 the total foreign trade of British India attained the unprecedented figure of £553 millions (on the basis of a two shilling rupee) as against £427 millions in the preceding year. Imports were valued at £208 millions, representing an increase of 23 per cent. over last year's figures; while exports including re-exports were valued at £327 millions, an advance of 29 per cent. upon the previous year. Generally speaking, as compared with the year 1918-1919, the large increase in the value of imports was due mainly to sugar, mineral oils, iron and steel including machinery and railway plant, motor cars and motor cycles. In the export trade there was a remarkable expansion in the shipment of all staple articles such as raw and manufactured cotton, hides and skins, raw jute, oilseeds, lac and tea. But in making comparison with previous years, the question of price has to be taken seriously into account. An analysis of available statistics shows that while the 1919-1920 figures record under imports an increase of £25 millions in the total turnover as compared with the pre-war year 1913-1914, the volume of trade actually declined by £82 millions. In the case of exports of Indian merchandise there was an increase in the recorded value of £65 millions; but higher prices accounted for an increase of £111 millions, which was partly set-off by a decrease of £47 millions in the volume of trade. In other words the volume of imports decreased by 45 per cent. and of exports by 19 per cent. while the average prices of imports rose by 105 per cent. and of exports by 56 per cent.

Imports.

Turning first to a consideration of the leading features of the import trade during the financial year 1919-1920, we are struck by the fact that in *cotton manufactures*, which held pride of place, there was a remarkable shrinkage in the quantity of imported twist and yarn, the total being the lowest recorded since 1866-1867. The value of the total imports of cotton manufactures, including twist and yarn was £59 millions in 1919-1920 as against £61 millions in the preceding year and £66 millions in the pre-war year. These imports amounted to 28 per cent. of the value of the total import trade of 1919-1920, as against 36 per cent. both in 1918-1919 and in the pre-war year. The quantity of cotton twist and yarn imported, was as noticed above, exceptionally low; amounting only to 15 million lbs. as against 38 million lbs. in the preceding year.

In cotton piece goods, which constitute the most important item of India's import trade, there was a considerable decrease of 70 million yards in the quantities of grey and coloured goods, which was only partly off-set by an increase of 35 million yards in white goods. It is interesting however to notice that the United Kingdom increased her share in the three important classes of piece goods at the expense of Japan, her figure standing at 87, 97, and 90 per cent. as against 64 per cent., 96 per cent. and 89 per cent. in the preceding year. The Japanese figures on the other hand for grey, white and coloured goods respectively stood at 12, 0·9 and 5 per cent. as against 35, 4 and 9 per cent. in the preceding year. Further in the aggregate import trade of piece goods, the percentage shares of the principal exporting countries were: United Kingdom 89·8 as against 77·3 last year; Japan 7 per cent. as against 21·2 in the preceding period; the United States of America 0·8 as against 1 per cent. in 1918-1919.

Cotton goods.

Next in value to cotton manufactures in India's import trade came *sugar*. The main feature to be noticed during the period 1919-1920 was a decrease of 19 per cent. in the quantity imported, accompanied by an increase in value of 42 per cent. Over 85 per cent. or 368,800 tons came from Java. It may be noticed in passing that India herself now produces about one-fourth of the world's cane sugar, and her estimated production of raw sugar in 1919-1920 indicated an increase of more than half a million tons over the 2·4 million tons produced in 1918-1919.

Sugar.

Third in the order of importance in the trade of India came *iron and steel*. The total quantity imported in the year 1919-1920 amounted to 0·43 million tons as against 0·18 million tons in 1918-1919. This represented an increase in quantity of 135 per cent. but on account of the lower level of prices, the value of the imports showed an increase of only 31 per cent. The most noticeable features of the trade were a large increase in the imports of sheets and plates, of beams, pillars, girders and bridge work, and a decrease in nails, rivets, washers, screws and wire. As might be expected from the condition of affairs described in last year's Report, there was a remarkable increase in the imports of railway plant and rolling stock. Carriages and waggons imported on private and Government account show an increase of £5·5 millions over the 1918-1919 figures of £1·2 millions. Locomotive engines and tenders were also

Iron and steel.

SHARE OF THE PRINCIPAL ARTICLES AND COUNTRIES IN THE IMPORT TRADE IN 1919-20, AS COMPARED WITH THE YEAR 1918-19.

IMPORTS

Note the increase in the percentage share of sugar, iron and steel, machinery, mineral oil and silk, and the decrease in the case of cotton manufactures, as compared with the previous year. The quantity of sugar imported, however, decreased.

Note the increase in the share of the British Empire, the United States and Java and the decrease in the share of Japan, as compared with the previous year.

imported to the value of £0·9 millions as against £0·5 millions in the previous period.

There was an unparallelled increase in the imports of *mineral oil* from abroad in the year 1919-1920. The quantity imported amounted to no less than 144 million gallons, as against 60 million gallons in the preceding year. Over 94 million gallons of kerosene oil were imported as against only 13 million gallons in 1918-1919 and 69 million gallons in 1913-14. Forty-eight per cent. of the imports came from the United States, thirty per cent. from Borneo, and sixteen per cent. from Persia. The quantity of fuel oil imported from Persia 20 million gallons.

Mineral oil.

There was an increase in the imports of *raw silk*, which rose from 1·4 million lbs. in the preceding year to 2·3 million lbs. in the year under review. This was due to larger imports from both China and Hongkong, which supplied 97 per cent. of the total quantity as against 87 per cent. in the preceding year. The value of imported silk manufactures including yarn increased by 60 per cent. to £5·9 millions. The increase was almost entirely in silk piece goods, which represented 88 per cent. of the total imports of silk manufactures. Japan, China and Hongkong were as in previous years, the principal sources of supply.

Silk.

Imports of *hardware* increased in value by 36 per cent. over the preceding year; the most interesting features being an increase in the supplies of domestic hardware, enamelled ironware and metal lamps, and the recovery by the United Kingdom of her share in the trade as against that of Japan. In 1919-1920 the United Kingdom was responsible for 47 per cent. of the imported hardware as against 36 per cent. in the preceding period, this increase being accomplished at the expense of Japan, whose share decreased from 29 per cent. to 17 per cent. the share of the United States remaining practically stationary at 30 per cent. There was a small increase in the import of agricultural implements; enamelled ironware increased in value from £0·18 millions to £0·29 millions. The number of imported metal lamps more than doubled, rising from 800,000 to 1·6 millions. There was also a notable recovery in the trade in motor cars and motor cycles, as indicated by the importation of more than 9,000 motors as against 400 in the previous year. Of these only 4 per cent. came from the United Kingdom, the United States being credited with 94 per cent. of the total. This latter figure is perhaps misleading owing to the fact that many of the cars imported from the United States

Hardware.

are manufactured in Canada, and pass through the United States in bond for shipment from New York.

Minor imports.

Turning to minor imports it is noteworthy that there was an increase of 24 per cent. in the value of drugs and medicines imported, and of 27 per cent. in the quantity of imported liquors. Provisions showed a remarkable increase of 50 per cent. in value, amounting during the year under review to £2·9 millions. The United Kingdom and the Straits Settlements increased their share in the total trade as against Australia. It may also be mentioned that there was an increase in the quantities of paper and pasteboard imported, accompanied however, by a decrease in value of 14 per cent. to £2·3 millions. The United Kingdom increased her share of the trade from 20 per cent. in 1918-1919 to 37 per cent. in 1919-1920. The share of the United States showed a small increase from 22 per cent. to 25 per cent., while that of Norway declined from 22 per cent. to 12 per cent., and of Japan from 25 per cent. to 11 per cent.

Exports.

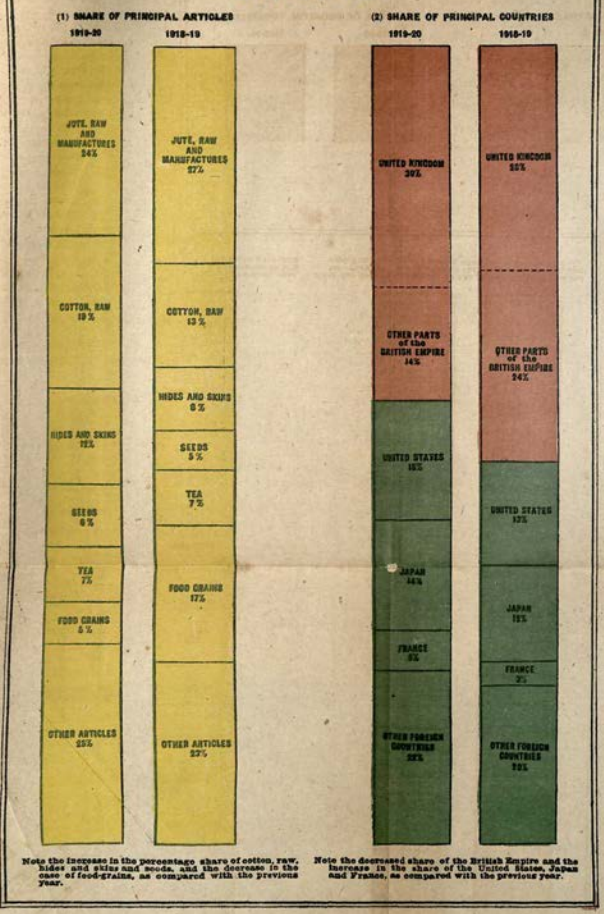
Turning now to India's exports we find that in this share also India's trade for 1919-1920 was the highest on record amounting to £309 millions, an increase of 29 per cent. over the preceding year, and of 27 per cent. over the pre-war year; but as has already been pointed out, the increase in value must be ascribed to a rise in prices. The principal articles of export in 1919-1920 in order of importance were: first, cotton, raw and manufactured; second, jute, raw and manufactured; third, hides and skins; fourth, seeds; fifth, tea; sixth, grain, pulse and flour; and seventh, lac. Food-grains which during the past 30 years have held the lead on no fewer than six occasions sank to the sixth place in importance in the year under review.

The total value of exported *cotton* during the period 1919-1920 was £87 millions of which raw cotton accounted for £59 millions, manufactured cotton for £27 millions, kapok and waste £1 million. This is the highest figure recorded, representing 28 per cent. of the total value of Indian exports and showing an increase of no less than £42 millions over the preceding year. The main feature of the year's trade was an increase in the manufacture as well as the export of cotton twist and yarn and piece goods. As compared with the pre-war year, the production of piece goods showed an increase of 475 million yards or 41 per cent., the exports increasing by 107 million yards or 120 per cent. On the other hand exports of twist and yarn showed a decrease of 23 per cent. Indian-

Cotton.

SHARE OF THE PRINCIPAL ARTICLES AND COUNTRIES IN THE EXPORT TRADE IN 1919-20, AS COMPARED WITH THE YEAR 1918-19.

EXPORTS



Note the increase in the percentage share of cotton, raw, hides and skins and seeds, and the decrease in the case of food-grains, as compared with the previous year.

Note the decreased share of the British Empire and the increase in the share of the United States, Japan and France, as compared with the previous year.

made piece goods to the quantity of 196 million yards were exported as against 14·9 million yards in 1918-1919, and 99 million yards in the pre-war year 1913-1914. Large as this quantity may seem, however, it was only one-fifth of the imports from Lancashire, and only 12 per cent. of the total production of Indian mills. Grey goods increased by 43 per cent. and coloured goods by 28 per cent. while white goods decreased by 37 per cent. It should be borne in mind that Indian mills are not yet equipped for the manufacture of the superior class of goods now imported from the United Kingdom.

Jute.

Turning next to *jute* and jute manufactures, we find the principal features of the trade of 1919-1920, as compared with that of 1918-1919, were a considerable increase in the export of raw jute, which were valued at nearly £25 millions; and a decrease in the export of manufactured jute, which none the less amounted to £50 millions. The aggregate value exceeded the record figure of the preceding year by 14 per cent., and represented 24 per cent. of the total value of Indian merchandise exported, as against 27 per cent. in the pre-war year. The exports of raw jute were some 0·6 million tons, of which more than 52 per cent. was absorbed by the United Kingdom. The quantity shipped to that country amounted to 0·3 million tons, exceeding the previous year's exports by 39 per cent. and the pre-war year's shipments by 7 per cent. Next, though much behind, came France with 0·08 million tons, nearly double the quantity of 1918-1919. As has already been noticed, manufactured jute decreased in quantity by 4 per cent., the total amount shipped being nearly 0·7 million tons. It may be mentioned that manufactured jute ranked second in importance only to raw cotton in the export trade of India. The number of bags exported (343 million) decreased by no less than 41 per cent., but the weight of these exports showed a decrease of only 19 per cent. which is accounted for by the fact that the war bag, which was smaller and lighter than the ordinary commercial bag, has ceased to be exported. In gunny cloth there was an increase of 15 per cent. in the quantity exported, which amounted to the record figure of 1,275 million yards. Although it should be unnecessary for India to obtain jute fabrics from abroad there were imports of some of the finer kinds, mainly canvas and bags valued at £0·27 millions, as against £0·3 millions in 1918-1919.

Hides and skins.

The export of *raw and tanned hides, skins and leather* was valued at no less than £36 millions as against £19 millions in 1918. An increase in price was responsible

for £8 millions of this; but the period under review is noteworthy for a very large increase under raw hides and skins owing to the removal of the embargo; an increase in tanned skins; and a decrease in the quantity of tanned cow-hides. The United States took the lead in raw cow-hides with over 15,000 tons, the United Kingdom, which was India's next best customer taking 11,000 tons. Shipments to continental countries considerably increased. The exports of tanned skins rose to over 4,800 tons, the United Kingdom taking 3,600 tons as against 2,300 tons in the preceding year. The United States doubled her demands from 400 to 800 tons.

Seeds.

During the year under review there was a considerable increase in the exports of *oil seeds*. The total quantity shipped, 0·83 million tons being 69 per cent. above that of the preceding year. The value of these exports was £26 millions, an increase of 134 per cent. over 1918-19. Of this increase, no less than £10 millions was due to higher prices. The principal features of the year's trade were a remarkable increase in the exports of cotton seeds, groundnuts, rape seed, and sesamum, and a drop in castor seed. Of the total quantity exported, linseed accounted for 31 per cent. as against 60 per cent. in 1918-19; cotton seed for 30 per cent. against less than one-third per cent.; rape seed 15 per cent. as against 16 per cent.; and sesamum 6 per cent. as against 0·5 per cent.; groundnuts 14 per cent. as against 4 per cent. and castor seed only 1 per cent. as against 17 per cent. The United Kingdom still accounted for two-thirds of the total trade, although she reduced her demand by 30 per cent. to 0·17 million tons. France took 0·04 million tons, which was more than six times the quantity shipped in 1918-19, while Belgium made her re-appearance in the Indian market as a purchaser of 0·03 million tons.

Tea.

Turning to *tea*, we find that 379 million lbs. were exported in 1919-20. This surpassed all previous records and left behind the older record figure of 1917-18 by 20 million lbs. Nearly nine-tenths of the total quantity was shipped from Bengal. The value of the total export was £20 millions, an increase of 16 per cent. over 1918-19, lower prices playing but a very small part in the alteration. The main features of the trade as compared with 1918-19 were an enormous increase of 54 million tons or 19 per cent. in shipments to United Kingdon, combined with a notable decrease in the exports to Persia and Mesopotamia; and an appreciable increase in the shipments to North America. All restrictions on the export of

tea to the United Kingdom were removed at the end of March 1919, and the total quantity sent to that country from India in the year under review was 337 million lbs. The direct shipments from India to Canada and the United States showed a satisfactory recovery from the low exports in the preceding year, amounting to 15 million lbs. as against 3 million lbs. in 1918-19. Owing to the cessation of hostilities and the consequent reduction in army requirements, exports to Mesopotamia fell to 4·6 million lbs. Persia took only 2 million lbs. or less than a quarter of her previous year's purchases, this decrease being ascribable to the stoppage of through traffic to Russia. Business with Australia was well maintained, exports amounting as in the previous year, roughly to 7 million lbs. New Zealand took 0·7 million lbs. or twice her share of 1918-19. The estimated outturn of tea in India during 1919 was 377 million lbs. as against 380 million lbs. in 1918.

Foodstuff.

As has already been pointed out exports of *grain, pulse and flour* in 1919-20 were phenomenally low, amounting only to 0·88 million tons, valued at £15 millions, figures which have not been seen since the early seventies. It should be remembered that since November 1918, shipments of food grains have been restricted almost entirely to countries with a considerable Indian population accustomed to rely on India for their food supply. These restrictions were not relaxed in the year 1919-20, and the quantity of food grains exported was only one-fourth of the preceding year's exports, and one-fifth of the exports of the pre-war year. A notable feature of the year 1919-20 was a net import of food-grains into India (excluding Burma) of over 1·7 million tons, as contrasted with a usual net export in previous years. There were important decreases in rice, wheat, barley, maize, gram, and other pulses, while beans, rice-flour and wheat flour increased.

Smaller exports.

Among smaller items of the export trade mention may be made of the fact that all control over the exports of shellac was removed at the end of 1918, and there was in consequence an increase of 52 per cent. in the year's exports, which now amounted to 0·3 million cwts. The value of these exports in 1919-20, £6·9 millions, showed an increase of 145 per cent. on account of higher prices. There was a decrease in exports of raw wool; but a noticeable increase in the export of rugs and carpets valued at £0·6 millions, as against £0·15 millions in 1919, nearly seven-tenths of which were shipped to the United Kingdom. There was a considerable increase in the export of benzine, while shipment of castor cocoa-

nut and linseed decreased. The exports of ores decreased by 10 per cent. to 0·4 million tons. Manganese ore figured foremost with 96 per cent. of the total, the United Kingdom taking 52 per cent. There was an increased demand for Indian hemp, for oil cakes and for coffee. France more than trebled her imports of the last commodity, and the United Kingdom and Greece also increased their demands. Of Indigo the United Kingdom took only one-fourth of last year's figure, the development of the synthetic colour industry producing a rapid falling off of her demands. Of Indian tobacco, 29 million lbs. of the unmanufactured commodity were exported as against 31 million lbs. which was more than 4 times the quantity shipped in the preceding year.

Direction of trade.

Turning now to the direction of trade in 1919-20 we find that the most satisfactory feature of the year is the strong recovery made by the United Kingdom. During the war-period, competitors had crept into the Indian market while her manufacturers were pre-occupied with more vitally important matters; but they have not been permitted to consolidate the position they won during the artificial conditions created by the war. Imports from the United Kingdom were valued at £105 millions, an increase of 36 per cent. over that of the preceding year. As hitherto the United Kingdom maintained her lead in the supply of cotton goods, machinery, iron and steel, copper, railway plant, liquors, woollen goods, tobacco, chemicals, drugs and medicines, hardware, stationery, paper and pasteboards, provision and umbrellas. But as compared with 1913-14, railway plant and rolling stock, iron and steel, liquors, provision, motor cars and certain other commodities showed noticeable decreases, while there were increases under dyeing and tanning materials. The exports to the United Kingdom were valued at nearly £97 millions as against £73 millions in 1918-19. More than three-fourths of the total value was accounted for by raw and manufactured jute. Next to jute during the year under review came tea, which rose to 337 million lbs., a record figure. Accompanying this increase in the percentage share of the United Kingdom, which ranged in imports from 46 to 57 per cent. and in exports from 28 to 30 per cent. there was a decrease in the share of other parts of the British Empire; this decrease amounting so far as imports were concerned to 10 per cent. There was thus a decrease in the share of the whole British Empire in the total trade of from 54 to 51 per cent. The United States held next to the United Kingdom the premier place in India's trade in 1919-20, the value of her imports being £25 millions, an increase of 56 per cent. over 1918-19, and no

less than 428 per cent. over the pre-war year. Exports were valued at £49 millions as against £33 millions in the preceding year, and £22 millions in 1913-14. Under imports, there were notable increases in iron and steel, mineral oil, motor cars and machinery, which accounted for nearly two-thirds of the total trade. As in the previous year, 92 per cent. of the exports consisted of raw and manufactured jute, shellac, raw hides and skins. But one of the outstanding features of the year was the comparative collapse of the Japanese import trade and her consequent descent to third place among India's commercial customers. She has shown herself unable to withstand the pressure of unhampered British competition in cotton manufactures, and has lost almost all the ground which she had gained during the war. Her position is, however, still secure in glass and glassware, matches and silk manufactures, though European competition may revive in these articles. The value of the total trade between India and Japan increased by 5 per cent. as compared with 1918-19, but her share in the total Indian trade was only 12 per cent. as against nearly 15 per cent. in 1918-19.

Inland Trade.

Turning from the foreign trade of India to the Inland trade, we find that the total amount was valued at £1,258 millions as against £1,231 millions in the preceding period. There was a noticeable increase in the imports of raw cotton, raw jute and tea, from up-country into the ports on account of greater demands for shipments abroad, together with a corresponding decrease in wheat, rice, gram, pulses, linseed and rapeseed. The quantity of raw cotton brought into the ports increased from 2·5 million bales to 3·3 million bales; while tea imported into Calcutta increased by 9 per cent. to 278 million lbs. Of food-grains only 0·3 million tons were imported into the ports as against 0·9 million tons in 1918-19. As a general index to the movement of Inland trade in India during the period under review it may be mentioned that the railway earnings for the year ending the 31st March 1920 were £88 millions as against £86 millions in 1918-19.

Coasting Trade.

In the coasting trade of India there was a remarkable advance in the year 1919-20. The imports and exports coastwise of merchandise and treasure being valued at £217 millions, a record figure representing an increase of 38 per cent. over the previous year and of 81 per cent. over the pre-war year. The increase in the year under review was partly due to higher prices, but partly also to larger exports. The former consideration

applied particularly to cotton twist and yarn and piece goods and the latter to rice and raw and manufactured cotton. The increase in the total value of the coastwise trade in merchandise was shared by all the maritime provinces. Bombay accounted for nearly 38 per cent. of the total, Burma for 25 per cent., Bengal 17 per cent., and Madras and Sind 10 per cent. each.

Trade position in the summer of 1920.

It will be realised that in the preceding paragraphs we have been dealing with India's trade during the financial year 1919-20, as a survey of the last nine months of 1919 is essential to a complete understanding of the trade boom which attained its heights during January, February and March 1920. From June 1919 both imports and exports increased steadily, until the total trade of India (imports, exports and re-exports combined) reached the maxima of £56 millions in January 1920, £46¾ millions in February and £55½ millions in March. Thereafter imports, it is true, continued to increase, encouraged by high rates of exchange prevailing during the first half of 1920, and averaged over £31 millions during each of the last three months of the year. The increase was most marked in the case of motor cars, cotton yarns and piece goods, hardware, iron and steel and paper. Exports, on the other hand, decreased steadily from £30 million in March 1920 to £20¾ millions in June, £20½ million in September and £18½ million in December. This decline may be ascribed to a variety of causes. It represents a reaction from the heavy purchases of Indian produce and manufactures effected during the trade boom of 1919-20. Stocks accumulated seriously in the United Kingdom, the United States and other countries in a position to buy. World prices had begun to fall, and India experienced the fall no less than other producing countries whose goods had till then been in demand. Exchange began to weaken and freight rates to decline;

The slump.

both of which tendencies accentuated the slump; for it is well known that, in the severity of modern trade competition, merchants and manufacturers dare not buy in falling markets save for pressing and urgent requirements. Although to some extent the prices of the best qualities of Indian goods were not seriously affected, the average and inferior qualities, representing the bulk of her exports, failed to secure a market. Almost every line of India's export trade has been affected, but special mention should be made of tea, raw hides and skins, raw cotton, raw jute, and cotton twist and yarn. At the same time, the continent of Europe, which has been starved of raw materials and stands sadly in need of

India's goods, found it difficult and indeed impossible during the year 1919-20 to arrange satisfactory credit facilities. These factors began to make themselves felt in the summer of 1920, and were further aggravated by a series of financial crises in Japan. A marked change in the trade position of that country, a curtailment of credit and serious domestic difficulties, resulted in the practical stoppage of her purchases of cotton, for which, as will have been noticed in preceding paragraphs, she was India's principal customer. In consequence of these factors every month from June onwards to December has witnessed the excess of imports over exports. Excluding treasure and including re-exports, the excess of imports in June amounted to £3 millions; in September to £7 millions; and in December to £11 millions. Taking the calendar year 1920 as a whole, the imports totalled £322¾ millions and the exports £291¾ millions. The above figures represent private merchandise only. Taking into account imports and exports of bullion, and credit transactions represented by Council Bills, Telegraphic Transfers, Sterling Bills and Rupee paper, the balance of trade, so far as it is visible, fell to £7½ millions in India's favour in 1920, as compared with £94¾ millions in 1919 and £57½ millions in 1918.

The close of 1920.

The close of the year 1920 thus found India bearing her share of a universal depression of trade. The exchange value of the rupee has fallen to 1*s.* 5½*d.* or just half of the maximum recorded earlier in the year. Importers have found themselves seriously placed in paying for goods ordered when exchange was high, and their difficulties are accentuated by the universal slump in prices and the falling off of local demand. Exporters have also been hardly hit. For, although a low rate of exchange naturally favours export trade, the existence of heavy stocks in foreign countries purchased at high prices checks any tendency towards a revival of orders. Although there is a talk of the organization of inter-national credits and of a trade agreement with Russia, Central Europe and Russia are still out of the market. In spite of these depressing factors, actual failures have been few and far between. Cotton and Jute mills, as well as other less important industries, have been able to pay substantial dividends which have undoubtedly helped to carry the commercial public through a time of severe trial. Many foreign markets are known to be starved of goods, and India is not unlikely to be one of the first countries to benefit when credit is reorganised and the world's markets revive.

Industries.

Mention was made in last year's report of the steps which the Indian administration has been taking towards assisting India to become more economically self-sufficing. Reference to the notable Report of the Indian Industrial Commission will show that two years ago the country was still unable to produce more than a small fraction of the articles essential for the maintenance of ordinary civilised activities. Despite her wealth in raw material, India is poor in industrial achievements; and in several important branches of industry is compelled to buy back manufactured articles towards which she has already contributed the raw materials. In addition to this handicap, it is only quite recently that any steps have been taken towards encouraging the manufacture of such essential articles as nails, screws, steel springs, iron chains, wire ropes, steel plates, machine tools and the like. Hitherto the difficulty has been that without active support on the part of the administration, few Indian industries except those based upon some natural monopoly could hope to make headway against the organised competition of Western countries; and until the war served to change prevalent ideals as to the function of the State in relation to industry, there was a tendency to allow matters to follow their natural economic course. In justice to the Indian administration it must be stated that some time prior to the war, certain attempts to encourage Indian industries by means of pioneer factories and Government subsidies, were effectively discouraged from Whitehall. Fortunately experience gained in the war has effectually demonstrated the necessity of Government playing an active part in the industrial development of India. As was mentioned in last year's Report, the labours of the Industrial Commission led to the formulation of proposals for the organisation of a Central Department of Industries; and

Central Department of Industries.

in the course of the period under review, an interim machinery has been erected to facilitate co-operation with the provincial Governments in the general work of industrial development. Conditions for the establishment of the necessary scientific services have been formulated; and a system for the local purchase of Government stores is being initiated. It may be mentioned that the local purchase of Government and railway stores is probably the most important among the immediate proposals made by the Industrial Commission. The principle that Government stores should be purchased wherever possible in India has long been accepted; but in the absence of any institution for the amalgamation of indents and for technical inspection during manufacture, it has been

difficult to go very far. Manufacturing industries could not, of course, be started without sufficient and continuous market, while orders could not be placed so long as there existed no adequate means of manufacture. In consequence, demands continued to be made on Great Britain for many articles and materials which might well have been manufactured in India if there had been any machinery for bringing Government buyers into effective touch with local manufacturers. At the beginning of the year under review, a Committee was appointed for scrutinizing Government indents with a view to their being executed in an increasing degree in India, to consider methods by which the purchase of stores can be shared by the central and local Governments, and to examine the possibility also of assisting Railway Companies and other public bodies to do the same thing. Pending the erection of the machinery contemplated by the Committee, a temporary establishment has been appointed to deal with this question. The Stores Department of the India Office has already been removed, and placed under the control of the newly appointed High Commissioner for India. The result of this will be that the purchase and inspection of stores both in India and in England will be directly under the control of the Government of India.

Industries in the Provinces.

As a result of the reorganization of the Indian administrative system by the new Reforms, the direction of industrial activities in the provinces will become one of the functions of the popular Ministers. The new Central Department of Industries, which was formally constituted in February 1921 to take the place of the existing Board of Industries and Munitions, will therefore exercise functions of a mainly advisory character. It will place its resources freely at the disposal of the provinces, and will assist them when required with technical advice in dealing with industrial schemes, in the development of industrial education, in the exploitation of extra provincial markets, in the collection and distribution of industrial intelligence and in the recruitment of staff.

Boot production.

The work of building up industries is naturally very slow, and as may be gathered from all that has been said, is at present in its initial stage. The organization of the contemplated Industrial and Chemical Services with their Research Institute, and the establishment of a combined School of Mines and Geology for high grade instruction of a kind unobtainable in India, are some of the projects which have been engaging the attention of the Central

Government. But an idea of the hitherto imperfectly explored industrial potentialities of India may be gathered from the single example of boot production. Before the war, the hides and skins which India produces in such quantities were exported raw, while at the same time India bought largely of boots and shoes manufactured abroad. Efforts are now being made to introduce modern boot-making machinery such as is used by practically all large-scale manufacturers in Western countries. In one factory alone a modern plant capable of making nearly half a million pairs of military boots per annum has been installed; while in another factory, machinery capable of turning out annually 600,000 pairs of boots and shoes for the civilian trade has recently commenced work. The total potential output of boots and shoes from the factories now being organized and equipped, will aggregate 2½ million pairs a year. Investigations which are being made into the leather industry have shown that great economic loss is caused to the country by careless and faulty flaying of hides and skins. The importation of special flaying knives from Ireland has led to the manufacture of similar knives (on a large scale) in India, the economic value of which consists in the fact that the better the flaying the higher the price which a given hide will fetch. But it is interesting to note, as an example of the difficulty of immediately applying modern industrial ideas to India, that the leather industry encounters a considerable degree of opposition, partly politically inspired, based upon the widespread abhorrence of the Hindu population for the slaughter of cows. There is little doubt, none the less, that a great future lies before the tanning industry. Before Western methods of tanning can be successfully introduced into India, which is one of the largest hides and skins producing countries in the world, careful investigation must be made into those processes which are affected by climatic conditions. Elaborate investigations are being conducted by the Calcutta Research Tannery into the production and improvement of tanning materials, the analysis of leather and the suitability of water in various parts of India for tanning processes.

A notable feature of the industrial progress of the country during the year under review has been the building up of strong provincial organizations under provincial Directors of Industries. In April 1920 a Conference of these officers was held at Simla. This was in the nature of an experiment, the intention being to ascertain whether, by informal discussion and the interchange of views between the Imperial and the Provincial Departments of

Conferences.

industries, ideas could be gained, difficulties cleared away and some measure of co-ordination secured in the activities of the different organizations. The subjects covered a wide range, among those discussed being the question of marketing village-industry products outside India, the provision of financial and other forms of assistance for new industries, pioneer and demonstration factories, the standardization of machinery and plant with a view to its manufacture in India, technical and industrial education and apprenticeship schemes. The experiment proved most successful. A second conference was held in November 1920 and the meetings will probably be repeated at regular intervals as need arises.

Central Provinces.

Throughout the year 1920 there has been much activity in the direction of instituting and improving machinery for the organization of local industries. Developments along these lines have been hindered in certain parts of India by the conditions of scarcity which have prevailed. In the Central Provinces, for example, which affords an excellent field for tanning and allied industries, a tanning school would by now have been in course of construction but for economic stress. None the less here as elsewhere, very useful work has been accomplished. The Department of Industries has provided industrial education through an increasing number of schools of handicrafts, and through its staff of experts has afforded technical knowledge and advice to industrial concerns. The efforts of the Textile Expert have benefited cottage handloom weavers to the extent of over £170,000 in the last few years, by the increased earning resulting from the introduction of the fly-shuttle. In provinces more industrially advanced, the progress of industries is naturally attended with fewer difficulties.

Bombay.

The Department of Industries in Bombay is particularly concerned with the branches of industrial work for which training in commercial shops is not possible; and colleges have been designed to cater for young men who desire to take up work in connection with chemical industries, electrical work, tanning, textile work, dyeing and the like. Admirable facilities already exist at the Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute in Bombay, and to a lesser extent at Ahmedabad and in other big towns; but before long expansion in this direction will be required. Industrial workshops which were started in 1914 for the purpose of repairing machinery for Government use, having arrived at a high state of efficiency, are now receiving persistent demands from boys and young men for admission as apprentices. Every facility is given to the limited number who can be taken to learn one or

other branches of practical engineering, and the work promises to become increasingly important in the near future. Considerable assistance has been afforded by the chemical staff of the Department of Industries during the year under review to manufacturers, as an example of which mention may be made of the help given to oil mills in the vicinity of Ahmedabad in analysing their production in order that it may be marketed according to quality. Investigations regarding the manufacture of case-in by the department have now satisfactorily advanced, and a small demonstration factory was opened in Gujrat at the close of the year. The manufacture of manganese chloride of good quality on a commercial scale is now well established and the production of Epsom salts from the Kharagoda bitterns is being investigated.

Madras.

In Madras, there has been a great popular awakening of interest in industrial development, reflected during the period under review in a considerable number of new company flotations. The work of the Department of Industries has thus attracted a good deal of attention, and its investigations into the possibility of launching new industries are closely watched. Among its other activities may be mentioned the collection of those aromatic gums and oleo resins which are available in commercial quantities in the Madras forests, with the object of securing the establishment of the manufacture of drugs and essential oils in Southern India. Research into glue has been continued and the construction of an experimental factory was begun. Successful experiments in fruit preservation have also been undertaken, and proposals are under consideration for the opening of a factory for the establishment of this industry on the Nilgiris, and thence developing systematized fruit culture. A laboratory for minor industries has been opened at Coonoor to investigate the possible manufacture of inks, adhesives and vinegar. Together with the experimental works designed to facilitate the growth of new industries, the Department endeavours to secure the improvement of those which already exist. With the object of introducing improved methods and machinery to the handloom weavers, peripatetic weaving parties have been started, of which six have actually begun work. In Bengal, although the Department of Industries has only been constituted upon a regular footing for a short time, some advance has already been made in industrial research, in the encouragement of small industries, in local demonstration of improved machinery and processes and in the collection of information. In addition to a Director and Deputy Director, the staff of the Department includes five Circle

Bengal.

Officers and an Industrial Intelligence Officer who is concerned with the study of labour problems. An Advisory Board of business men has been appointed to assist the Director in dealing with large questions of industrial development. The work of the Calcutta Research Tannery, to which reference has already been made, represents the most important piece of research hitherto attempted. In the sphere of smaller industries the attention of the Department has been turned to handloom weaving, and improvements have been made in the fly shuttle slay, fly shuttle loom and the pit loom. As a result of demonstrations to the weavers of Bengal these improvements have in many places been taken up enthusiastically. So far as technical and industrial education are concerned, the principal feature of the year has been the appointment of a committee consisting chiefly of the proprietors of large engineering workshops near and around Calcutta, under the presidency of Sir Rajendra Nath Mukerjee, to consider the question of the establishment of a fully equipped technical school. The main details of the scheme having already been worked out, and the site for the school chosen, it is hoped that the institution will be opened early in 1922.

United Provinces.

In the United Provinces, the attention of the Department of Industries has been directed towards the improvement of the glass industry which at present is flourishing, but will soon have to contend with a strong foreign competition already beginning to assert itself. Government is obtaining the services of an expert to advise upon the installation of modern machinery and the improvement of the processes of manufacture ; and much is hoped in the future from the line of work. We may also refer to the improvement of the weaving industry, which during the year received a strong stimulus from the falling off in imports. The efforts of the Central Weaving Institute at Benares and other weaving schools have already begun to popularise the fly-shuttle loom. The organization of depôts on a co-operative basis for the supply of yarn for manufacture should help to stabilise this industry, but special efforts will be required if it is to maintain its position. In industrial education, the technical schools continue to be popular. From some of them, indeed, it is reported that the demand for craftsmen is so great that many pupils leave in response to offers of employment before their course is completed. The new schools which have recently been established such as the Carpentry School at Allahabad and the Leather Working School at Cawnpore are doing well, and expansion will be possible in the near future.

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In the Punjab, the year under review witnessed for the first time the constitution of a separate Department of Industries. Considerable popular interest has been excited in the Government dyeing school at Lahore, which is now beginning to attract the interest of capitalists who either own or intend to establish weaving factories. The school has helped dyers and factory owners by the supply of alizarine, and by expert advice in dyeing yarn and leather with fast colours. There is also a central weaving school which gives instruction in weaving and in the use of hosiery machines and has a Zenana class for women.

Punjab.

From this brief summary it will be apparent that the year 1920 has witnessed the institution of machinery, which, in time to come, may lead to the industrial regeneration of India. As we have seen, this all-important branch of national development is henceforth to be under Indian control, and the share of the central Government will be confined to the provision of advice, assistance and expert personnel.

For many years to come, the prosperity of India seems destined to rest upon agriculture rather than upon industries. Three persons out of every four in India gain their livelihood directly from the soil. Hence it is that the improvement of that livelihood constitutes the readiest way of regenerating the economic life of India.

The world's progress is affecting agriculture equally with other occupations, and unless the agriculturist can be equipped with the knowledge as well as the capital, for developing the resources at his disposal, it is difficult to see how he will in future support his share of the economic burden from which no nation on the road of self-government can escape. Moreover, the economic upheaval resulting from the war has thrust agriculture into the foreground, and has intensified the demand in India, as in the rest of the world, for higher production. During recent years, an extraordinary change has taken place in the position which the Department of Agriculture occupies relative to the agricultural population. In many places, the cultivator has already learnt to look on the agricultural expert as a friend and a guide, and his old attitude of suspicion towards new methods is beginning to be substantially modified. When the successes of such methods can be quickly and plainly demonstrated, they spread with remarkable rapidity. The fact is that the conservatism of the agricultural classes is in many ways breaking down before the economic influence of high prices. The return received by the farmer for his food grains, oil-seeds, cotton and other fibres has been of late so large that he

Agriculture.

is awakening to the fact that he is not extracting from his land all that it is capable of producing. In Southern India, in particular, the willingness of the agriculturist to learn how to improve the quantity and quality of his crops is being hailed by those in a position to form a sound judgment of the matter as the dawn of an era of intensive cultivation.

Future prospects.

If only the central and provincial Departments of Agriculture can be expanded proportionately to the magnitude of the task before them, the future prosperity of India may be regarded as assured. Great areas of land, at present either wholly unutilised or insufficiently exploited, lie ready to yield, after the application of labour, manure, and water, tons of valuable crops. Hitherto, unfortunately, it has not been found possible to expend upon scientific agriculture that amount of money which India's necessities really require. The headquarters of the Imperial Department of Agriculture at Pusa, are maintained at a cost of only £60,000; while the total expenditure of all the Provincial Departments amounted in 1919-20 to the comparatively small sum of £700,000.

Work accomplished.

In the course of last year's Report, attention was directed to the difficulties which the Agricultural Department was compelled to face owing to a depleted superior staff, increasing demands and limited resources. During the war, there was a serious interruption to all investigations on Government farms, which led to a concentration of effort upon the task of popularizing the work of previous years. The outward effects of this are already to be observed in the great expansion of the area under improved varieties of crops, and in the extended use of the simple agricultural implements introduced at Government farms before the war. As will be seen, the areas under improved varieties of crops are already enormous in the aggregate, though the result of but a few years' work. But they are trifling compared with what can be and will be done in the future, when plant-breeding and disease-prevention bear full fruit; when special varieties of crops are fitted into the conditions best suited to them. As was mentioned in last year's Report, the extensive success of the plant-breeding operations in India has undoubtedly led to a neglect of adequate provision for the complete study of the relations between soil and crops. This problem is of immediate practical importance, since the heavy-yielding varieties now in great demand as a result of the activities of the Agricultural Department, will in time tend to exhaust the productive power of the soil. Hence the experts of the Department, concurrently with their work in improving

and introducing these varieties, must further trace the factors which determine soil fertility, in order that the improved crops may not impose too heavy a strain upon the land. Already this problem is being faced.

Rice.

A brief note of the work accomplished by the Agricultural Department in dealing with particular crops will provide an answer to those ill-informed criticisms as to its utility which are now growing rarer. Taking first of all *rice*, which of all the grain crops in India is first in importance, an examination of the general position shows that the total estimated area in 1919 was 78 million acres as against the revised figure of 77 million acres for the preceding year. The estimated yield per acre was 977 lbs. or 273 lbs. more than that of the previous year and 59 lbs. above the last decennial average. In Bengal, where the crop covers more than 20 million acres, much progress has been achieved by the Department towards its improvement. Here as elsewhere the demand for the improved seed supplied by the Department far outruns the supply. This is intelligible when it is observed that one of the Departmental strains which has been planted in the Madras Presidency yielded no less than 3,771 lbs. per acre, representing a net profit of nearly £23 per acre for the crop. Some of the Departmental selections of Burma rice yield per acre from 8 to 10 baskets of 51 lbs. each, more than the best local varieties. The popularity of these improved strains in Burma may be judged from the fact that the area under them rose to some 60,000 acres in three districts alone. If the rice crop can be improved throughout, it will enhance the prosperity of a larger proportion of the people of India than can be effected by the improvement of any other single crop, for it occupies a larger area and is used as a staple food by a greater percentage of the population of the country than any other.

Wheat.

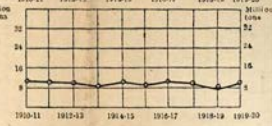
Next to rice in importance in the list of Indian crops stands *wheat*. The area under cultivation rose from 23·8 million acres in 1918-19 to nearly 30 million acres in the year under review. The production was 34 per cent. higher than in 1918-19, the outturn per acre showing an increase of 47 lbs. and 58 lbs. as compared respectively with that of the previous year and the average of the previous ten years. As was pointed out in last year's Report, Indian wheat is, as a rule, of a low quality and does not fetch good prices in the world's market. The work of the Agricultural Department upon this crop consists first in the evolution and distribution of strains which possess superior yielding power, better quality of grain, improved strength of straw and greater resistance

Yield of certain principal crops from 1910-11 to 1919-20

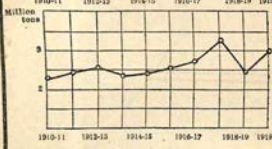
FOOD CROPS

Rice
(In million tons)

Wheat
(In million tons)



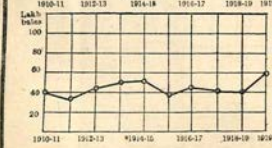
Sugarcane
(In million tons)



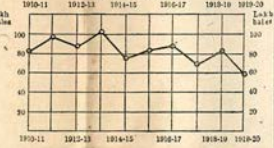
Tea
(In million lbs)

FIBRES

Cotton
(In lakhs of bales)

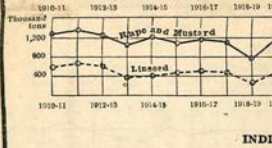


Jute
(In lakhs of bales)

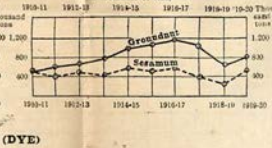


OILSEEDS

Rape and Mustard and Linseed
(In thousands of tons)



Sesamum and Groundnut
(In thousands of tons)



INDIGO (DYE)
(In thousands of cwts)

to rust; and secondly in demonstrating the response of the crop to better cultivation. Under a system of Government advances, over 1,000 tons of improved wheats evolved by the Agricultural Department at Pusa were distributed in the United Provinces alone. This figure, impressive though it is, affords no indication of the extent to which these wheats have spread throughout this one locality, for they are now to be found in every district. In the Canal Colonies of the Punjab, the estimated sowings of one particular variety amounted to 377,000 acres during the year under review, as against 300,000 acres and 196,000 acres in the preceding two years. The rapid advance which has been made by the improved varieties of wheat is explained by the fact that the crops are worth to the cultivator anything from 10*s*. to 20*s*. more per acre than the local varieties.

Sugar.

Among the food crops next in importance mention must be made of *sugar cane*, upon the improvement of which the Department has expended much labour. During the year under review the estimated area under this crop was over 2½ million acres and the estimated yield just under 3 million tons, being 27 per cent. above the figure for 1918-19. The scope for the extension of the Indian sugar industry may be gathered from the fact that before the war India was importing 900,000 tons of sugar annually. During the year 1919-20, this figure had fallen to just over 400,000 tons; but in spite of high prices, the indigenous industry has so far failed to respond by an increased area under the crop. The realization by Government that there was some inherent obstacle to its extension led to the appointment of a committee of investigation. It may be pointed out that India has a larger area under sugarcane than any other country in the world, in fact, she has nearly half the world's acreage; none the less her normal output is but one-fourth of the world's cane sugar supply. That the commercial prospects before Indian sugar are very considerable is indicated by the appearance of a large commercial concern entitled the Indian Sugar Corporation with a capital of £5 millions. In order to assist private enterprise a Sugar Bureau has been established at Pusa with the object of furnishing advice to cultivators, manufacturers and capitalists. The mass of valuable information regarding the Industry which has been collected by the Bureau is now much sought after. It will be seen that this situation lends special interest to the experimental work of the Agricultural Department on sugar cane. The cane breeding station at Coimbatore in the Madras Presidency, whence the improved varieties of seedling canes are evolved, now supplies new

and improved varieties throughout the sugarcane area of India. In Bihar, as a result of the efforts of the Agricultural Department combined with the high world price of sugar, the area of the crops is showing a considerable increase. The results obtained for selected strains of cane show that an average yield of 6,800 lbs. of raw sugar per acre is possible as compared with a normal yield of 4,000 lbs. There are substantial indications that the older strains are losing favour with the cultivators, and are being replaced by the new varieties, but in many places it would seem that the question of improved cultivation is of greater importance than the introduction of new breeds; for crude sugar manufactured on improved lines fetches from 6*s*. to 10*s*. more for every 500 lbs. than the produce resulting from older processes.

Cotton.

Turning now to textile crops it will be observed that *cotton* occupies by far the largest area in India. During the year under review, this area increased from 21 million acres to 23 million acres, the acreage outturn rising to 101 lbs. from 76 lbs. The quantity of raw-cotton exported during the year 1919-20 was 0·43 million tons, or more than double that of the preceding year. Work upon the cotton crop follows the traditional lines, namely, plant breeding and agricultural improvement. But in the case of cotton, considerations regarding the quality of the final product naturally operate in an overmastering degree. The success of a selected variety often turns upon the possibility of obtaining a sufficient premium for the improved quality. In the Punjab, for example, acclimatised American types give a yield approximate to that of the country varieties, the balance being turned in their favour by a small premium for quality. In the Central Provinces on the other hand, owing to less favourable conditions, the margin between short and long stapled cotton has not yet sufficiently widened to balance the difference in yield of ginned cotton, which is in general much higher in the case of the short-staple country varieties. Bombay heads the list of cotton growing provinces, and in the year under review one selection produced by the Agricultural Department and sowed over an area of 6,000 acres fetched a premium of from £2 to £7 per candy (784 lbs.) above the ordinary price of Surat cotton. Over one million lbs. of this seed have been distributed for sowing during the current season, an amount which will suffice for the seeding of roughly ten times the previous acreage, and will produce correspondingly increased profits for the cultivators. Some idea of the general extent of the operations of the Agricultural Department in supplying seed, may be gathered from the fact that in the Central Pro-

vinces, the second in the list of the cotton growing provinces in India, over three million lbs., sufficient for 300,000 acres, were distributed in the Western Circle alone during the year under review. In the Punjab, the American cotton crop which is composed mainly of the selected type known as 4 F., is reckoned to have reached an area of 0·525 million acres. This variety is worth to the cultivator at least £1 per acre from the local kinds, and the increase in the cultivator's profits represented by the rapid spread of this selection amounts well over half a million sterling. As was remarked in last year's Report, an immense field lies open to the extension of long-staple cotton throughout India, as well as to the improvement of existing methods of ginning and marketing. In certain parts of the country a hard fight has had to be conducted against the low grade short-staple country cotton, but the result has been that the inferior crop, once a real obstacle to improvement, is now practically extinct in the main cotton growing areas.

Jute.

The world's supply of the jute fibre is obtained almost entirely from North Eastern India. The area under jute rose from 2·5 million acres in 1918 to 2·8 million acres in 1919, the total yield representing an increased outturn per acre of 82 lbs. Here the work of the Agricultural Department has mainly consisted in the isolation of superior yielding strains from the common mixtures found in the field. One of the chief difficulties lies in seed production, which is usually not profitable in Bengal since the cultivators find that it pays better to cut the crop for fibre. But owing to the increased profits to be obtained from sugar cultivation, the jute seed crop has met with a serious rival in Bihar, and there has been a marked falling-off in the area sown in that province. A new field for seed-growing seems to be opening in Madras, where over three tons of good quality seed of a particular strain were produced last year. The question of the multiplication of the new strains is however still unsolved. The Agricultural Department has undertaken investigations of the manure requirements of jute, which have demonstrated that the presence of sufficient potash and lime in the soil is of vital importance. Money expended on lime, bone and potash manure practically triples the net revenue per acre, and in so doing yields a return of approximately cent. per cent. per annum.

Indigo.

Like jute, *indigo* is a crop the production of which has been much stimulated by the war; but since the rehabilitation of the aniline industry, it has tended once more to fall off. As was mentioned in last year's report the area

under indigo then fell to 296,000 acres, which was 58 per cent. less than that of the year 1917-18. In the year under review, there was a further fall to 234,000 acres, the estimated total yield of dye being reduced from 44,000 cwt. to 37,000 cwt. The work of the Agricultural Department upon this crop has been directed towards increasing the quantity of indican contained in the plant. Endeavours are being made to bring the crop back to a type which will thrive on the soil conditions of Bihar, giving good yields of both seed and leaf. It may be mentioned that during the year under review, an organisation entitled the Indian Indigo Co-operative Association has been established in Calcutta by some of those concerned in the indigo industry of Bengal and Bihar, in order to promote by co-operative methods the sale of indigo and to assist further research and propaganda.

Tobacco.

In striking contrast to the somewhat gloomy prospects of the indigo industry are those which seem to await the *tobacco* industry of India. In the calendar year 1920, tobacco to the value of £3·2 million was imported into India. A very large proportion of this can unquestionably be supplied by crops grown in the country, which are quite suitable both for cigarettes and for pipe tobacco. The improved seed which has been evolved at Pusa is meeting with a ready demand on the part of the cultivators, and cannot at present be supplied in sufficiently large quantities. But in order to secure for the Indian tobacco industry that opening which lies before it, further instruction in the fomentation and curing processes must be given to the cultivators.

Oil Seeds.

India is one of the largest of the world's sources for the supply of *oil seeds* and the output of the raw product has recently fallen far short of the world's demand. The prevailing high prices are acting as an incentive to increased production of various kinds of oil seeds; and in the year 1919-20 the area under these crops rose from 11·9 million acres in 1918-19 to 14·8 million acres, the total quantity exported being 0·83 million tons, valued at £26 millions. The work of the Department upon this crop consists in selecting the best varieties and introducing them into districts for which they are found suitable. In Bihar and Orissa selected varieties of ground-nuts have been successfully introduced on sandy land in the Gaya district, where the average yield of the area treated with ashes has amounted to 1,804 lbs. as against exactly half that yield per acre from untreated areas. In Madras where the coconut crop is of great importance, extensive study has been made of the coconut palm, which

is expected to throw light on the causes of the great variations between yields of different trees grown under apparently identical conditions. It appears that the possibilities of the coconut as a sugar producer demand careful investigation.

Rubber, Coffee, Tea.

During the year under review, valuable work has been done in rubber, coffee and tea. A number of experiments directed to the study of manurial systems are being conducted on south Indian estates, as well as investigations into the diseases of the plants. In coffee, good work has been done in Coorg, with hybrids produced by the Agricultural Department, seeds of which are now on the market and in great demand. In a few years' time, it is confidently expected, these new types will produce a marked improvement on the yields of estates. The prospects before the tea industry are at the moment gloomy, owing to the fact that prices have fallen until the producer's margin of profit has in many cases disappeared. As a result doubtless of the record export of tea during 1919-20, which stood at 379 million lbs., the home market is glutted; and until the disorganization of international trade caused by the war has been remedied, the condition of the industry does not appear hopeful. The Indian Tea Association has accordingly decided to restrict production. Work upon the crops by the Department of Agriculture continues. In Southern India there is a special Deputy Director of Agriculture for planting districts, who gives special attention to tea. The root diseases of tea are found to be of primary importance and much work has been done upon them during the year. The use of green dressings on tea estates, and of covering crops to prevent soil erosion, are also matters to which the attention of the Department of Agriculture has been directed.

Fruit.

There is a very general opinion that India, with her varying altitudes and climates, ought to occupy a more prominent position as a fruit growing country than she does at present. The workers hitherto employed have been too few and too scattered to permit of any considerable advance, but their results have revealed the great possibilities of improvement in Indian fruit through careful selection of trees and proper tillage of the soil. In several provinces, earnest endeavours are now being made to popularise the better varieties of fruit and to introduce improved methods of cultivation, packing and the like. But a more thorough investigation of the economics of fruit growing must be undertaken before satisfactory advance is possible; and the possibility of establishing a system of co-operative marketing such as that employed by the fruit-growers in

California is to be tested. Considering that the fruit-growing industry pays even under the present conditions, there is little doubt that a prosperous future awaits it. Further, it can employ, and is indeed attracting, a certain number of the educated classes who do not take kindly to other species of farming. The Agricultural Department has successfully introduced several new varieties of plums, pears and lemons to the Indian market; and 35,000 budded fruit trees, hardly any of which is less than five feet high, are now ready for distribution.

Fodder Crops.

Among the most important branches of work is that which is concerned with fodder crops and grasses. Considering that the bullock is still the principal motive power for cultivation and that the proportion of head of bovine cattle to head of population is just short of one to two, the provision of adequate fodder is a matter of very considerable moment. Throughout the greater part of India, crops grown purely for fodder are an exception, the cultivator depending mainly on the straw of his growing crops for his cattle, supplementing this by a certain amount of stubble grazing. Except indirectly through increasing straw yields, the Agricultural Department has been able to do little in the direction of improving purely fodder crops, though the problems connected with fodder raising and storing have received attention. The importance of utilising available resources of fodder against the demands of lean years has of late come into prominence; and work of great value has been performed by the Agricultural Department in demonstrating the advantages of new fodder crops. Mention was made in last year's Report of the excellent results which have been achieved in producing silage, from which, after four or five months, 65 per cent. of the original green weight can be taken out. An an example of the practical utility of Departmental investigation of the fodder problem, mention may be made of the discovery of methods of preparing from cactus a most useful adjunct to the fodder crops. In the United Provinces, also, a troublesome weed known as *baisurai*, which seriously affects the yield of unirrigated crops on account of its deep roots, has been successfully utilised as fodder when cut and dried in the sun. It has been estimated that in 4 districts of the United Provinces over 100,000 tons of this weed can be cut annually, which with the present price of fodder represents a clear gain of not less than £150,000.

Soil surveys.

Among the chemical work of the Agricultural Department, mention must be made of the continued study of the soils of various parts of India. In Bengal and

in Madras considerable progress has been made with soil surveys, which afford useful guides as to the type of manure which will give the best results. In the Central Provinces also much attention has been paid to methods which will enable the soil to recover from the calls upon it which high yielding varieties of crops impose.

Pests.

As was mentioned in last year's Report a study of pests, both vegetable and animal, is a matter of great importance to India, since diseases caused by parasites are numerous and destructive. The extent of the damage done annually to rice, sugarcane and cotton, by insect pests is very serious. Continuous attention has been devoted by the Agricultural Department to remedial matters, but shortage of staff has, as in other branches of its activities, continued to retard progress. A large amount of useful observations relating to the life-history and behaviour of insect pests has been accumulated, and the working out of scientific methods for their control has been further advanced. One great difficulty with which the Department is faced is the patient apathy of the cultivator, who believes in the majority of instances that pests and blights are manifestations of the wrath of heaven, against which it is impiety to protest. Energetic propaganda must be undertaken before people can be persuaded that these visitations can be controlled, and that the damage caused annually to crops can be minimised at the cost of a little intelligence. Attention has also been devoted to the question of storing grain in such manner as to protect it from damage and the depredations of insects and rats—a problem which is of the most pressing importance to India. Experiments would seem to show that the average rat consumes about 6 lbs. of grain in a year; and as the total rat population of India is estimated at about eight hundred millions, the loss caused to the country by these animals must be something near £15 millions per annum.

It is obvious that to a very large extent the utility of the work of the Agricultural Department depends upon the extent to which a knowledge of improved materials and improved processes can be diffused among the population of India. Since the large majority of Indian cultivators are wholly or partly illiterate, the methods of conveying information which are in vogue throughout more advanced countries, such as leaflets, circulars and lectures, cannot be relied upon to produce the desired effect. Wherever possible ocular demonstrations are resorted to; and for this purpose Government seed and demonstration farms, implement depôts, and the like, are employed. But the most convenient means

Demonstration.

of assuring the agriculturists that suggested improvement can be carried out by himself, is the employment of small plots is his own field for demonstration purposes. The whole question of demonstration therefore really resolves itself into the provision of an adequate and properly trained staff organised upon lines dictated by experience. The success which is being achieved may be gathered not merely from the extent to which improved seed is being adopted in various parts of India, but also by gifts, which are now growing more frequent, of free sites for demonstration farms, the value of which is now more and more appreciated both by individuals and by public bodies.

Engineering.

Up to the present, the Indian cultivator probably owes more to the artisan and to the engineer than to any other agency. It must be remembered that indigenous cultivation in India is still entirely dependent upon the village smith who fashions the plough and the water lift; while it is the efforts of engineers which have produced the splendid system of canal irrigation which now exists. The need for further improvements in cultivation had found its expression of recent years in the Engineering sections attached to the provincial Agricultural Departments, which carry further the work of the village artisan and of the canal engineer, by improving implements and tapping sub-soil sources of water. Here again shortage of staff has continued to militate against striking progress, and only in Bombay, Madras, the United Provinces and the Punjab, are there permanent appointments of Agricultural Engineers.

Well boring.

In Bombay and the United Provinces the work in the boring branch has increased rapidly, the former province, during the year under review having 127 successful bores to the credit of the Department. There is a very large demand for improving sub-soil water supplies; and extensive sources of underground water have already been located in places subject to scarcity. There is also a growing demand for machinery of all kinds, such as engines, pumps, threshers, tractors and the like. In certain parts of India, notably the United Provinces, the demand for power-mills is marked. Some idea of the profits which await the enterprising owners of such mills may be gathered from an example supplied by the Agricultural Engineer of the Gorakhpur District in the United Provinces. Last year he erected a crushing mill and an oil engine for a small landholder, sufficient to crush a ton of sugarcane an hour; after one season's work which dealt with £10,000 worth of produce, the landlord desired the erection of a mill three times the size. The total

cost of the plant, engine and mill was only £500 and the profits cannot have been far short of £3,000 for the season's work.

Motor tractors.

The need for supplementing the cattle-power of the country has been felt for some time back, and has begun to strike those cultivators who have grasped the significance of improved tillage in the scheme of general agricultural improvement. Such crops as sugarcane depend on a more extensive tillage just as much as on increased supplies of manure and water. Accordingly during the period under review, agricultural motor tractors have been introduced in considerable numbers, and the experience of the year would seem to show that the field for their use is greater than was previously supposed. But in a tropical climate, the high pressure at which the engine is called upon to work leads to rapid deterioration of the wearing parts, and the bill for lubrication is bound to be heavy. It is however believed that as soon as defects have been remedied through experience of local conditions, there will be a great future before the motor tractor in India.

Cattle breeding.

For some time, however, agriculture in India will depend very largely upon cattle breeding. The last cattle census of 1919-20 shows that there are 146 million head of bovine cattle, that is oxen and buffaloes, in British India. Although this represents an apparent increase of 2 per cent. over the estimate arrived at five years previously, there has been a heavy decrease in the cattle population in western and north-western India, which suffered from a severe fodder famine in the year 1918-19. Epidemics of diseases and fodder famines are no doubt the two main causes of the decrease; but the fact remains that many cultivating districts have failed to make up the deficiency. This can only be attributed to the lesser profits which are to be derived from cattle-raising as compared with crop-growing; and until the price of draught cattle rises to the cost of production in the arable areas, things can hardly be expected to adjust themselves. A very important method of checking further decreases is therefore the cheapening of the cost of production of cattle in crop areas—a matter which is closely connected with the poor milk yield of the average cow. Hence the problem of supplementing the cattle population of India rests largely upon the improvement of cattle from the dairy point of view; and the efforts of the Veterinary Department to improve the working cattle are now being supplemented by the Agricultural Department in breeding higher milk-yielding cows. The

milk side of the question has received a considerable impetus from the appointment of an Imperial Officer to take charge of dairying; and the co-operation of the Military Department, whereby the surplus male stocks of the military dairy farms have been put at the disposal of the Agricultural Department, will undoubtedly lead to a large increase in the number of milk pedigree animals in the country. A further difficulty is to prevent the mortality of cattle from such diseases as rinderpest. A large increase, during the year under review, in the number of cases up and down India treated in hospitals and dispensaries by officers of the Civil Veterinary Department, seems to show that the confidence of the agricultural population is being won. But it is idle to expect real progress in combating diseases with a comparatively small band of workers among a cattle population of 146 millions. The annual loss that the Indian cultivator suffers from preventable diseases is enormous; and in many cases the apathy of cattle owners or their neglect to conform to the rules framed for the prevention of diseases is very largely responsible. From time to time the authorities have been compelled to close cattle fairs to which contagious diseases were found to be imported; but in many instances the people again held unauthorised gatherings of cattle, with the result that the diseases could not be kept under control.

Veterinary work.

Among the most important pre-requisites to the development of improved agriculture in India must be placed the adequacy of the Irrigation system.

In the tropics cultivation can be, and in many cases is, effected by natural rainfall only, but there are many parts in which the artificial watering of some portion at least of the crops is essential. Every season the rainfall in some parts of India is insufficient to mature the crops; while in other parts of India the rainfall, which in a normal year may be sufficient, is liable to uneven distribution throughout the season, or to such serious deficiency as to render the tract concerned famine-stricken in the absence of artificial protection. The Indian Irrigation Commission, which sat from 1901 to 1903, recorded that between the area in which the annual rainfall is invariably sufficient, and that in which it is so scanty that no agriculture at all is possible without an irrigation system, there lies a tract of nearly a million square miles which, in the absence of irrigation, cannot be deemed secure against the uncertainty of the seasons and the scourge of famine.

Irrigation.

Methods.

There are various methods by which irrigation is accomplished in India. A very large area is irrigated by the cultivators themselves without assistance from Government, by the use of such means as wells, tanks, and temporary obstructions to divert water from streams on to the fields. Almost every known system of raising water from wells is found in India, ranging from the primitive plan of hand-lifting to the modern device of power pumping, which, thanks to the efforts of Government agricultural Engineers, is gradually growing more common. Government irrigation works comprise both tanks and canals, the former being mainly small works which derive their importance from their vast numbers. For example, in Madras alone there are nearly 30,000 such tanks, irrigating between 2½ and 3 million acres. Turning now to canals, we may notice that they are divided into two classes; those drawing their supplies from perennial rivers and those which depend upon water stored in artificial reservoirs. The former are mainly found in connection with rivers which rise in the Himalayas, the snow upon which acts as an inexhaustible reservoir during the dry months of the year; the latter are naturally associated with rivers rising in the peninsula proper, where no such natural storage is available. These storage works are situated mainly in the Deccan, the Central Provinces and in Bundelkhand, ranging in size from earthen embankments to enormous dams such as those now under construction in the Deccan, capable of impounding over 20,000 million cubic feet of water. Canals which draw their supplies from perennial rivers may again be sub-divided into perennial and inundation canals. The former are provided with headworks which enable water to be drawn from the river irrrespective of its natural level; some obstruction being placed in the bed of the river that the water may reach the height required to secure admission to the canal. Within this class fall the great perennial systems of the Punjab and the United Provinces. Inundation canals have no such means of control, and water can only be admitted to them when the natural level of the river reaches the necessary height. The most important inundation canals in India are those of Sind; indeed the whole of the irrigation of that province is of this nature. They also exist in the Punjab, drawing their supplies from the Indus and its tributaries.

Classification of works.

Government irrigation works are classified under three heads for the purpose of allotment of funds; namely, productive, protective and minor works. Before a work can be classified as productive there must be reason to believe

that the net revenue obtainable from it will suffice within ten years of completion to cover the annual interest on the capital invested. Protective works are those which, while in themselves not directly remunerative, are constructed to protect precarious tracts and to guard against the necessity for periodical expenditure upon famine relief. Minor works comprise those which are not classified as productive and protective, including the small tanks to which reference has already been made, and agricultural works undertaken for the general improvement of the country.

Irrigation in 1920.

During the year 1919-20, the total area irrigated by all classes of works in India, excluding the Indian States, amounted to the astonishing figure of 28 million acres which is more than 13 per cent. of the entire cropped area of 211 million acres. Three million acres greater than that of the previous year, this figure is the largest on record, being two million acres in excess of the earlier maximum figure of 1916-17. The increase was mainly due to the favourable nature of the monsoon of 1919, which caused a plentiful supply of water in the rivers. The total length of main and branch canals and distributaries from which this irrigation was effected, amounted to more than 66,000 miles. The estimated value of the crops irrigated by Government works amounted to £173·6 millions, or more than double the total capital expenditure on the works. Towards the area irrigated, the productive works contributed 18¾ million acres, the protective works 0·7 million acres, and the minor works 8½ million acres. The area irrigated by productive works was greatest in the Punjab, where a figure of over 8¾ million acres was recorded. Next came Madras Presidency with an area of nearly 3¾ million acres, followed by the United Provinces and Sind, where the area irrigated by productive works amounted to 3 million and 1⅓ million acres respectively. The total capital outlay to the end of the year 1919-20 on productive works, including works under construction, amounted to £58 millions. The gross revenue, amounted to £8·1 millions and the working expenses to £2·4 millions. The net return on the capital outlay was therefore over 9 per cent. The total capital outlay to the end of the year 1919-20 on protective works amounted to over £11 millions, of which a large proportion was incurred on works under construction which have not yet commenced to earn revenue.

Schemes.

In last year's Report reference was made to certain major irrigation schemes awaiting sanction or under investigation. Great progress has been made in

these projects and several of them have either been sanctioned or submitted for sanction. The project for the Sarda Kichha Feeder in the United Provinces has been sanctioned; while projects for the Sarda Oudh Canal, for the Sukkur Barrage and canals in Sind, and for the Damodar Canal in Bengal have been forwarded to the Secretary of State for sanction. The project for the Kharung Tank, a protective work in the Central Provinces, was sanctioned during the year, together with two smaller schemes. It will be of interest to describe very briefly the scale and objects of these new works.

Sarda Kichha and Sarda Canals.

The Sarda Kichha Feeder is a part of the scheme for utilizing the water of the Sarda river for the irrigation of the province of Oudh. A weir will be built across the Sarda river near Tanakpur and a canal will run in a westerly direction across the Tarai, the main object of which is to supplement the supplies of the existing Rohilkhand Canals and to permit of their further extension southwards. The estimated cost of the feeder is £2 millions, and the canals will irrigate 345,000 acres and are expected to return 6·3 per cent. on the capital outlay. The Sarda Oudh canal will take off from the Sarda Kichha Feeder, and will run in a south-easterly direction carrying 8,000 cubic feet per second, and protecting the north-eastern districts of Oudh, now extremely liable to scarcity. The scheme will cost £7·5 millions, but will irrigate 1,368,000 acres. The combined Sarda Kichha and Sarda Canal systems entail the construction of no less than 4,200 miles of channel.

Sukkur Barrage.

The Sukkur Barrage and Canals project contemplates a barrage across the Indus at Sukkur with three canals on the right bank and one on the left bank. At present, whenever the Indus fails to rise high enough to render proper inundation possible, millions of acres go out of cultivation. The new canals will irrigate 5⅓ million acres, and the whole scheme will cost £18·4 millions; but it has been calculated that the value of the crops lost in 1918-19 alone through drought would have sufficed to pay the cost of the whole project. The Damodar Canal in Bengal has been designed to secure an adequate supply of water to the existing Eden canal, and in addition to protect a considerable area in the Burdwan district now extremely liable to scarcity. The scheme will cost £0·7 million, and will irrigate an area of 196,000 acres. The Kharung Tank, in the Bilaspur district of the Central Provinces, will consist of a large storage reservoir with canals taking off on either side. It will cost £0·59 millions, will irrigate 97,000 acres and will protect some 200 villages.

Sutlej Valley canals.

A very important project for the Sutlej Valley Canals, which is at present under consideration by the Government of India, will consist of three weirs on the Sutlej river and one on the Panjnad—as the Sutlej is called below its confluence with the river Chenab—from which twelve canals will take off. The existing inundation system of irrigation will be fully protected by this scheme, and given a controlled supply; while new irrigation will be provided for enormous tracts, in the Punjab as well as in the States of Bahawalpur and Bikaner, which are at present desert waste. Some $3\frac{3}{4}$ million of acres of waste land will thus be brought under cultivation. The cost of this project will be shared between the British Government and the Indian States concerned, the share of the former being estimated at £5·4 millions. The scheme promises to be extremely remunerative, a return of more than 11 per cent. on the capital outlay being anticipated from water rates and enhanced revenue alone. This figure will rise to more than 31 per cent. if indirect credits such as interest on the sales of Crown waste land are included.

Grand Trunk Canal.

During the year under review a project has also been sanctioned by the Secretary of State for a new canal for navigation purposes which will increase the trade facilities of Calcutta. This Grand Trunk Canal, as it is called, is designed to connect Calcutta with the main river system of Eastern Bengal, and will consist of a locked length of $22\frac{1}{2}$ miles, with an initial width of 250 feet and depth of 10 feet. By the more direct route which this canal will afford, the voyage from Calcutta to Khulna will be reduced from 261 miles to 140 miles, and that from Calcutta to Goalundo from 535 miles to 271 miles. The cost will be a little over £3 millions, and it is anticipated that some $2\frac{3}{4}$ million tons of merchandise will be transported by it annually.

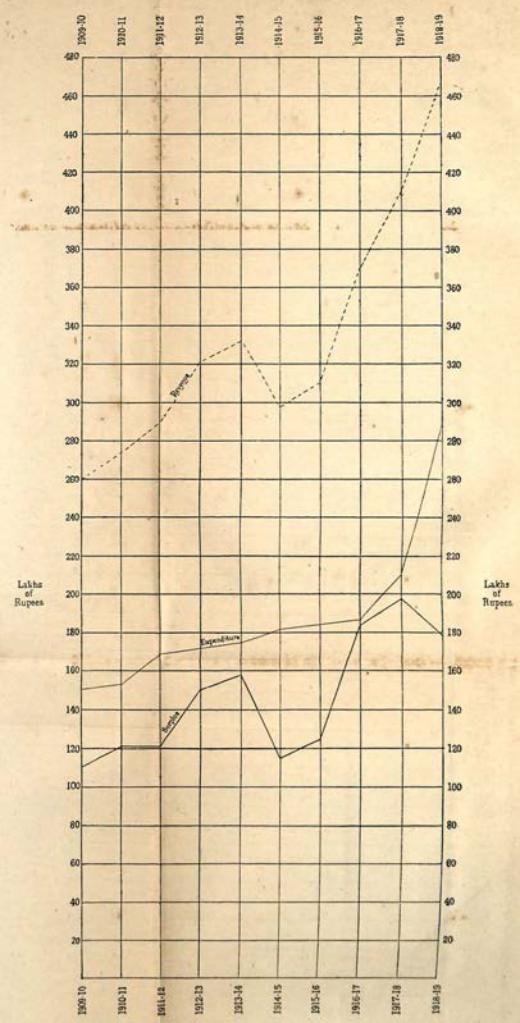
Future Programme.

The works of which mention has been made are those which have now reached their final project stage and will, it is hoped, be commenced in the very near future. They in no way exhaust the irrigation programme. In Madras there is a project under consideration for a reservoir on the Cauvery; while three schemes of considerable magnitude are under examination in the Punjab. The Bhakra Dam project to improve and extend irrigation from the Sirhind Canal by means of water stored in the upper reaches of the Sutlej, will, if constructed comprise the highest dam in the world and a large connected canal system. Several protective works are also under consideration in the United Provinces For all these, definite

DIAGRAM SHOWING

ANNUAL FOREST REVENUE, EXPENDITURE & SURPLUS

FOR THE 10 YEARS 1909-10 TO 1918-19.



projects have been prepared; there are in addition schemes under examination in other provinces which have not yet reached the project stage.

It will be apparent from these few pages that the Indian irrigation system is very highly developed. The country possesses other natural resources, however, the exploitation of which is still in a stage of comparative backwardness. Among these may be selected for special mention her forests and her fisheries.

Forests.

Already, despite shortage of staff and hampered development due to financial restrictions, Indian forests yield a considerable profit to the State. In the year 1919-20 the surplus of revenue over expenditure from the Indian forests amounted to £2·2 millions. It must be realised that the forest areas in India cover more than a quarter of a million square miles. So far only 60,670 square miles have been brought under regular scientific management prescribed by working plans.

Expansion.

The increased demand for timber and other forest products brought about by war conditions has undoubtedly greatly stimulated Forest development in the Indian Empire. Large schemes for the reorganization of staff have recently been sanctioned or are under contemplation, with a view to facilitating and expediting proper developments. Not only have circles and divisional charges to be sub-divided if forest development is to proceed upon an orderly plan, but it is also necessary to provide special posts for utilization and for research work, as well as to augment largely the staff of the Central Research Institute. One of the most important advances in the last five years is represented by the formulation of proposals for a regular Forest Engineering Service. This has resulted from the deputation to America and Canada of an officer of the Indian Forest Service, whose reports upon the methods of lumbering practised in these countries, as well as upon the forest wood-working industries to be found there, have provided useful help and guidance in solving some of the problems with which India is faced. The possibility of development is indicated by the fact that in 1918-19 the outturn of timber and firewood from all sources amounted to just under 344 million cubic feet, which represents only 2·1 cubic feet per acre of all classes of forests. For the reserved forests this figure works out to 3·3 cubic feet per acre, as against 3 cubic feet per acre five years previously. The fact that there has been an increase is satisfactory, but it remains to be noted that the present yield is far less

than the forests of the country are capable of producing under more intensive systems of management, and by aid of more up-to-date methods of extraction, than exist at present.

Commercial Aspects.

Considerable progress has already been made in establishing and consolidating definite relations with the commercial world. The possibilities of bamboos for paper and pulp are now firmly established, and the number of firms to whom grants or concessions have been made for this purpose has increased. The excellent prospects which lie open before the development of the paper industry in India may be gathered from the fact that the consumption of paper and paste-board in the country amounts to some 60,000 tons per annum, of which India herself supplies only a little over one half. A considerable part of the enormous forest areas of bamboos and savannah grass could no doubt be utilised for the manufacture of the paper and paste-board now imported. In the same way large private concerns are now undertaking the extraction of timber, the manufacture of ply wood and the like, on long term leases. Much is also hoped from the British Empire Timber Exhibition which was held in London in July 1920. Excellent arrangements were made for the display of a comprehensive exhibit from India by Messrs. Howard Brothers and Company, the Government of India's Agents for the sale of Indian timbers in Europe. The introduction to new markets of hitherto little-known Indian timbers, which was one result of the exhibition, cannot fail to be of advantage alike to the consumer in other parts of the world and to the development of India's Forests. There is already reason to believe that, as a consequence of this exhibition, the demand upon India for her woods will be considerably extended.

As will be seen from a study of the diagram on the opposite page, the profits derived from the working of the Indian forests during the last half century have increased over fourteen fold. With the increasing development of forest industries, there is every reason to hope that India's forests will be a great asset to her financial prosperity. Minor Forest industries are becoming of increasing importance. Large numbers

Forest Industries.

of indigenous species of timber previously considered of little or no importance have recently been exploited and utilized, and experiments have already been made as to wood suitable for ordnance work, for aeroplane construction, for cooperage and for bobbins. Among the most important of the minor forest industries, is the resin industry, located entirely at present in the United Provinces and the Punjab. The reduction in the direct imports

Growth of Forest Revenue & Expenditure by Quinquennial Periods since 1864-69
Lakhs of Rupees
Revenue
Expenditure
Surplus
Quinquennial Periods
1864-69
1869-74
1874-79
1879-84
1884-89
1889-94
1894-99
1899-04
1904-09
1909-14
1914-19

of American turpentine during the year 1917-18 has given it an impetus, which, it is hoped, will have lasting results. A French manufacturing plant modified to suit Indian conditions has been installed at Jallo in the Punjab, and the new distillery at Clutterbuckganj in the United Provinces will, when completed, largely increase the total outturn. When extended, as it can be, and also fully developed, the Indian resin and turpentine industry will ultimately be in a position not only to meet the whole of the country's own requirements but in addition, those of the other Eastern countries. The profits from the resin industry in the United Provinces during the year 1919-20 amounted to £45,000. The industry is in a fair state of development, although still capable, of course, of considerable expansion.

Among the more interesting lines of work for the improvement of India's forest conditions, may be mentioned the steps which have been taken in the United Provinces for the afforestation of denuded ravine lands. In the course of the past six years, an area of over 3,000 acres of ravines has been converted into plantations, the results obtained showing that success can be assured at an average cost of about £5 per acre. The cost of afforestation is borne by Government and is recouped from the revenue received, the profits thereafter being paid to the owners of the soil. As a result of this policy, erosion is arrested, good crops of grass obtained, and tree growth is established.

Forest Research.

Side by side with the development of the means for commercial exploitation and the improvement of forest conditions, must go research into forest economics and the investigation of the problems of reproduction and protection of forest crops. The Indian Industrial Commission to whose Report a reference was made in "India in 1919" has laid stress upon the necessity for expert investigation into these and cognate problems upon a more extensive scale than has hitherto been possible. The Commission considered that the Forest Research Institute of Dehra Dun did not possess an equipment sufficient to meet the calls made upon it. Accordingly, a general scheme for the enlargement of the Forest Research Institute and of the scope of its activities has been sanctioned. The arrangements for expansion, to which effect is already being given, involve large increases in the research staff, and the construction of an entirely new and enlarged Institute, as well as residential accommodation upon a new site which has been acquired for the purpose. The staff of the Institute has already been augmented by the addition of specialists in wood technology, timber seasoning and testing, wood-working, pulp and paper-making, tan

stuffs and destructive entomology. Up to-date machinery and plant is being obtained from America and Great Britain for installation in the new buildings. With the completion of this project the Government of India should possess as efficient an institution for forest research as is to be found in the world. The Institute will become increasingly important in future, as the necessity for developing Indian forests is more widely realised. Already it may be noted, arrangements have been made to initiate recruitment in India for the Imperial Forest Service, and this will ultimately entail the exercise by Indians of an ever-growing share in the direction of forest policy.

Indianisation.

As was mentioned in last year's Report, India possesses in her fisheries considerable national wealth, to which attention has only lately been directed. The Report of the Indian Industrial Commission gave striking evidence of the future which awaits more active development in this sphere. In many parts of India the quantity of fish consumed in cities and towns within reasonable distance from the coast is considerable. In Bengal in particular, the importance of the fish trade is very great, since fish forms a staple food of a large proportion of the population. It was calculated that during the year 1918-19 more than eleven thousand tons of fish were transported from places of catchment to different parts of the province. To meet the steadily increasing demand, continuous and ruthless fishing is carried out in this locality throughout the year, while even spawn and fry are not spared. In consequence of this, the fisheries are getting very seriously depleted. The first necessity of the situation is the spread of sound ideas among the fishermen, who are at present of low caste, ignorant and uneducated. In addition to this, they have a meagre standard of comfort and are mercilessly exploited by middlemen whose exactions lessen the supply of fish and add greatly to its cost. Unless popular interest can be aroused in the subject in the near future, the damage, it is feared, will be irreparable. The Governments both of Bengal and of Bihar and Orissa are alive to the gravity of the situation, but the scale upon which the problem is presented makes rapid improvement difficult. During the year 1919-20 the Fisheries Department lost the whole of its superior staff owing to such causes as retirement and death. This state of affairs proved a severe handicap to the Department, the scientific research work of which suffered in consequence. The year, however, saw the introduction in three districts of the experiment of District Fishery Officers, which was foreshadowed in the last year's report. These officers were mainly employed in making

Fisheries.

a complete survey of fisheries and in the initiation of co-operative societies amongst the fishermen. Of four such societies established in Bengal and three in Bihar and Orissa, six were organised by the District Fishery Officers. The problem of breeding carp in confined waters is reported to be in progress of being solved, and the local Government has under consideration a scheme for the establishment of a centre for investigations in the culture of carp. During the year 880,500 selected fry were supplied to the public by the Department, including 100,000 supplied free of cost to fishermen in the district of Bankura during the famine. Some idea of the kind of work which can be accomplished by a well run Department of Fisheries may be gathered from the record of Madras. This Department has been in existence for nearly 15 years, and has proved a remarkable success. The Directorate staff includes a Director with three assistant Directors, one in charge of the marine section, who is mainly concerned with sea fisheries; another in charge of the inland section, who is dealing with the problems regarding fresh water fish, including the breeding and distribution of the larvicidal fish used in anti-malarial operations; and the third in charge of the coast section who deals with fish after it has landed, including the problems of fish cure, manufacture of fish-oil and guano and fish marketing. There is also a Marine Biologist who is concerned with the identification of the marine fauna and the supply of marine zoological specimens to educational institutions and museums. The scale of operations is indicated by the fact that during the year 1919-20 in the coast section alone, over 120,000 lbs. of fish were cured and sold, while 260 tons of sardine were treated, yielding 585 gallons of oil and more than 44 tons of guano. The number of private factories manufacturing guano increased by nearly 200 during the period under review, and 24,000 tons of guano were manufactured during the season. The value of the oil manufactured was nearly Rs. 3,75,000. The efforts of the administration are not confined to the encouragement of the fishing industry and the opening up of fresh channels of activity for those employed in it. Much work is also done to improve the standard of education and methods of living of the fishing community. Co-operative Societies have risen from 31 to 47 during the year under review, with a corresponding increase in membership. Taking into consideration the inexperience and illiteracy of the great majority of the members, the movement has spread in a most satisfactory manner. The educational scheme mentioned in last year's Report for providing specialised primary education to the fisher community is flourishing, and on the West coast at the end of the year

Madras.

there were ten day and ten night schools maintained for the fishing community. In Bombay also a considerable future awaits the fishing industry, for the present supply of fresh fish is inadequate. Steps have been taken to secure an experimental trawler from England and if, as is hoped, it is found that suitable trawling beds exist, the industry will become one of considerable importance. The fishery section is shortly to be placed in charge of a Marine Biologist whose services have been obtained on loan from the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries. Land has already been taken up by private enterprise for the organisation of fish oil factories, and there are good prospects of developing a profitable industry by the manufacture of oil and guano. In the Punjab the main problems confronting those responsible for the conservation of the fisheries include the imposition of necessary restrictions, and adequate propaganda to avoid the ill-informed hostility of local fishermen. Accordingly, a system of lectures and of personal propaganda among the classes most interested has now been introduced ; but great caution has to be exercised in the extension to new districts of licensing rules for the protection of breeding grounds. The system which is being introduced involves considerable benefit to the fishermen, of which perhaps the most important is the removal of the monopolist contractor; and if only those engaged in the industry can be made to understand what the administration is driving at, there are always good prospects of securing their co-operation.

Bombay.

In the present chapter, we have briefly reviewed the course of India's economic life during the year 1920, and the progress which has been accomplished in the development of her natural resources. It now remains to describe the condition of what is perhaps the most indispensible of all requisites to her prosperity—her system of communications. Quite apart from the vast distances which have to be traversed, and the natural obstacles which have to be overcome, in passing from one region of the Indian sub-continent to another, the internal communications even of a restricted area frequently break down altogether in the rainy season. An instructive essay could be written to demonstrate the influence which communication-difficulties have exercised upon the history of India's political, as well as of her industrial, development; but it is sufficient here to say that the same rock upon which the Mughal Empire finally split still remains, despite the breaches made in it by railways, telegraphs, motor transport, and other expedients undreamed of in older days, as a formidable obstacle to

Communications.

the progress of modern industry. Unceasing effort and expenditure upon a scale hitherto impossible will be necessary, if the communications of India, whether by road or by rail, are to be adequate to the requirements of the country. During the period under review, the utilization of mechanical transport in India for military and other purposes has increased steadily. Already this development has proved of some service in relieving the railway congestion; and with the increasing improvement of road communication, the system probably admits of almost indefinite extension in the near future. The pressing demands for mechanical transport on the frontier for military purposes have served to stimulate the development upon the civil side.

Roads.

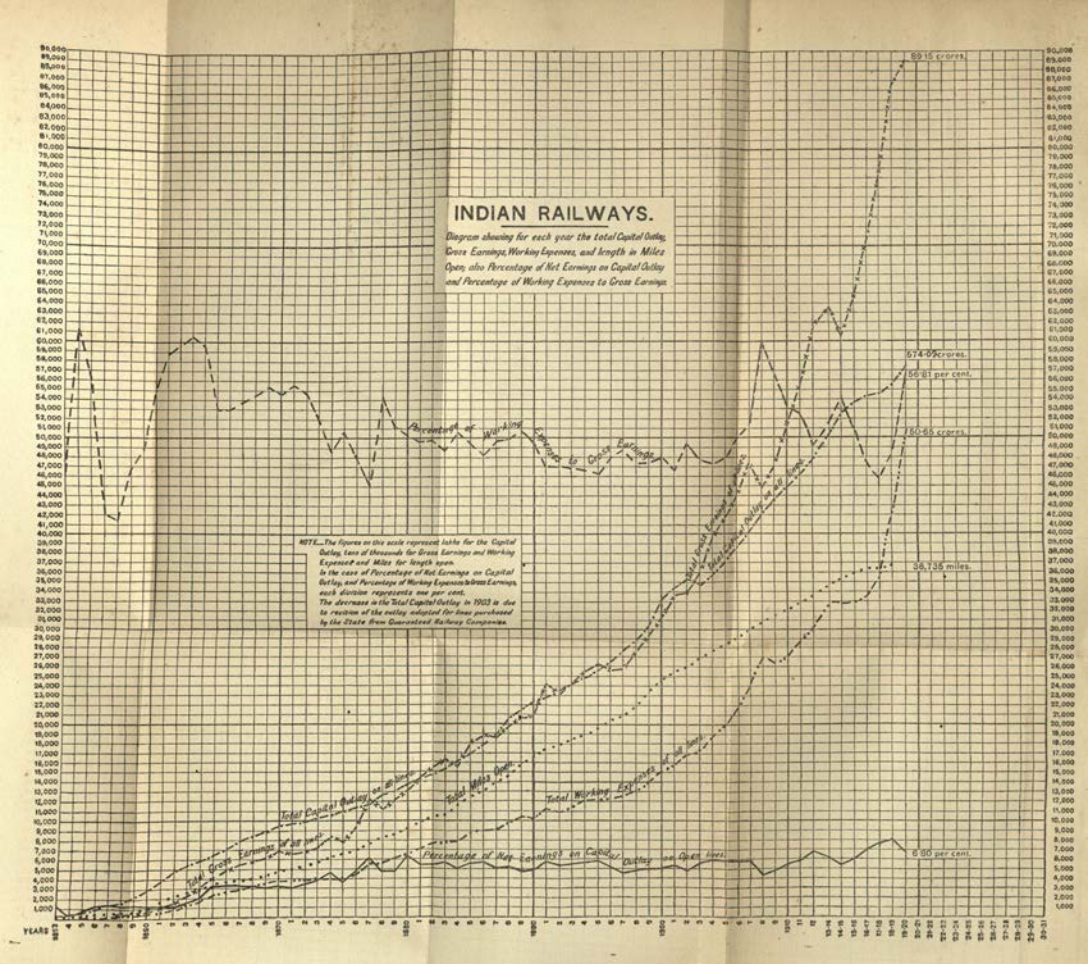
But before mechanical transport can play any considerable part in the solution of the communication problem, a great development of India's roads must take place. At present the economic loss caused by the inaccessibility of many agricultural districts in the rainy season is very great; and this cannot be remedied until the system of trunk roads is extended. Steady progress is being made every year; witness the fact that the mileage of metalled roads maintained by public authorities increased from 54,000 in 1916 to 55,000 in 1917; and of unmetalled roads from 142,000 to 144,000. But the total mileage, which according to the latest figures available, was just under 200,000 in 1917, is quite inadequate to India's requirements. The matter has for long been receiving the attention of the authorities; and if only public interest can be aroused, rapid progress may result. A very useful step forward has been taken by the Government of the United Provinces, which has recently constituted a Provincial Board of Communications, upon which both official experts and non-official representatives of the general public serve. If this example is followed in other parts of India, a great impetus will be lent to the improvement of communications in general, and of road communications in particular.

Indian Railways: Difficulties.

But of all means of communication in India, the most important is the railway system. In last year's Report, mention was made of the difficulties against which the railways have been struggling ever since the outbreak of the war. Their capacity has been seriously overtaxed to carry munitions and stores essential for the prosecution of hostilities, and in addition, their ability to handle the growing traffic of India has been increasingly impaired. Not only have locomotives, rolling-stock and railway material been supplied

to Mesopotamia and other theatres of war, but great difficulty has been experienced, even subsequent to the armistice, in obtaining from home material essential for the upkeep of the existing services. The task of handling a constantly increasing volume of traffic has also been complicated by depletion of the supervising staff. Generally speaking the year 1919-20 was one of relaxation and withdrawal of the various forms of traffic control which had been introduced to cope with the unprecedented problems arising from the increase of public and military traffic during the war period. In September 1919, the office of Controller of Traffic was abolished; and just at the beginning of 1920 the priority certificate system, which had been introduced eighteen months previously to enable railways to discriminate between the more urgent classes of preferential traffic, was also abolished. But on account of the volume of military traffic to and from the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan, and the small margin left for the movement of public traffic, it was found necessary to retain the system in relation to the North-West Frontier, so that the small margin of traffic available for such necessary goods as food grains, should be utilised to the best possible advantage. As was mentioned in last year's Report, the problem presented by the transport of coal is a vital factor in the congested conditions now obtaining on the railways of India. Upon the adequacy of the coal supply, as it is hardly necessary to point out, depend both the industries and the railway system of the country. The coal traffic presented a serious problem throughout the whole of the period under review, and required handling of the most careful nature, since of itself it engaged at one time more than half the available waggon supply of the country. The difficulty of arranging for the adequate transport of coal was increased by the shortage of shipping in Indian waters. Formerly, all the coal required at the ports of Western and Southern India was sent by the sea-route from Calcutta. The cargo and bunker coal alone, shipped for the ports of Bombay and Karachi, amounted to nearly half a million tons during the year, and the necessity of its diversion to the all-railway route across India, permanently occupied more than 2,500 waggons, which therefore ceased to be available for the carriage of public coal and merchandise. Towards the end of the year 1919-20, the position became so acute that the Railway Board was obliged to urge proposals for the early re-diversion to the former route of all coal required for the Royal Indian Marine, for Railway, and for bunkering purposes. The appointment of Coal Controller, as mentioned in last year's Report, terminated in April

Coal.


INDIAN RAILWAYS.
Diagram showing for each year the Total Capital Outlay, Gross Earnings, Working Expenses, and length in Miles Open; also Percentage of Net Earnings on Capital Outlay and Percentage of Working Expenses to Gross Earnings.
NOTE.—The figures on the scale represent lakhs for the Capital Outlay, Lacs of thousands for Gross Earnings and Working Expenses and Miles for length open.
In the case of Percentage of Net Earnings on Capital Outlay, and Percentage of Working Expenses to Gross Earnings, each division represents one per cent.
The decrease in the Total Capital Outlay in 1903 is due to revision of the outlay adopted for lines purchased by the State from Guaranteed Railway Companies.
89·15 crores.
57·4·09 crores.
56·81 per cent.
150·65 crores.
38,735 miles.
6·90 per cent.
Total Capital Outlay on all lines.
Total Gross Earnings of all lines.
Total Miles Open.
Total Working Expenses of all lines.
Percentage of Net Earnings on Capital Outlay on Open lines.
Percentage of Working Expenses to Gross Earnings.
YEARS

1919, but a portion of his duties was taken over by an officer called by the new designation of Coal Transportation Officer, Railway Board. During the remainder of the calendar year 1919, it was found necessary to continue the special indent system under which waggons were supplied to collieries on certificates issued by the Coal Transportation Officer, the order of allotment being in conformity with the list in which the various consumers were classified according to their relative national importance. By this means it was possible to effect economy in transportation; although the fact that the more important consumers generally limited their demands to the higher grade coal, caused considerable complaint on the part of the owners of collieries raising the poorer classes of coal. On the last day of the year 1919 the coal special indent system was withdrawn, the intention being that the pre-war system of waggon allotment should be re-introduced. Unfortunately the waggon supply in the coal fields continued in defect, with the result that it became necessary for the Coal Transportation Officer to grant certificates entitling holders to preferential treatment in the matter of waggon supply. This special supply system ensured regular supplies of coal to the more important consumers. Several attempts were made to relinquish it during the course of the period under review, but the poor waggon position of railways generally and the difficulty of effecting any considerable improvement therein, necessitated its continuance in the public interest.

Coal Transportation.

Some idea of the importance of the coal supply to the life of the country may be gauged from a study of the railway diagram on the opposite page. It will be seen that the total gross earnings of all Indian railways amounted to the record figure of £59·43 millions, while the net working profit from State railways alone, after meeting interest and other miscellaneous charges, amounted in the year 1919-20 to £6·96 millions. The falling off from the previous year in the net profit is due to increased working expenses, caused by a larger programme of special repairs and renewals, by enhanced scales of pay of all grades, and by increase in the train mileage run. A study of diagrams on the next page shows the number of passengers and the tonnage of goods carried on all Indian railways, together with the earnings therefrom. It may be mentioned that the increase in the passenger traffic during the year 1919-20, as compared with the previous period, is due to the general development of traffic consequent upon the relaxation of restrictions which followed the termination of the war. It will be noticed that there is a slight falling

Working of Indian Railways.

off in the goods traffic as compared with the year 1918-19. This is largely accounted for by a reduction in the transport of military stores subsequent to the cessation of hostilities. There was also a smaller traffic in coal, edibles, grains and sugar, due partly to waggon shortage and partly to the restrictions upon the transit of the two first mentioned commodities, to which reference has been made in another place. Turning now to development, we notice that the programme for 1919-20 was designed to provide, as far as possible, for the deficiencies of existing open lines. New construction has, therefore, been almost wholly confined to the completion of lines in progress. The length of lines of all classes opened for traffic during the year under review was approximately 120 miles, bringing the total mileage of all railways open at the end of the year 1919-20 up to 36,735 miles.

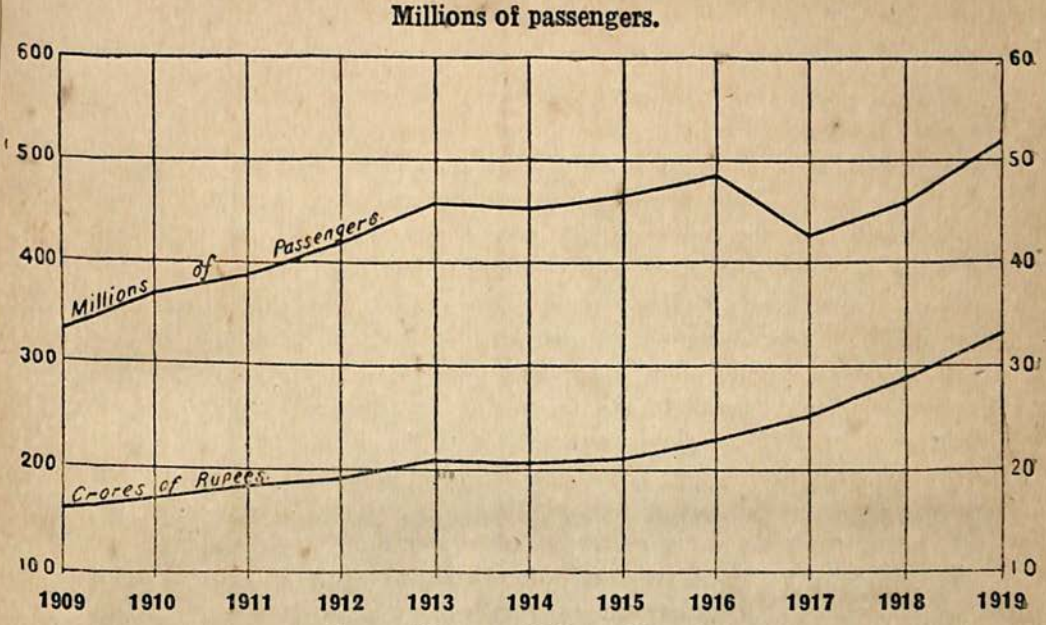
Rolling stock.

During the year under review, considerable improvement took place in the condition of rolling stock. But it will take some time before the pre-war standard can be again attained. In the meantime, the improvement of rolling stock and repair facilities is being given a foremost place in the railway programme. In the grant of £21·98 millions which has been sanctioned for the financial year 1920-21, the sum of some £13 millions is to be devoted to rolling stock. During the year 1919-20, 364 additional engines were on order of which 43 were actually placed on the line. Of goods stock, more than 14,000 additional waggons were on order of which under 4,000 could be placed upon the line, the remainder being carried forward for delivery during the current year. Progress is being made in the standardization of broad and meter gauge rolling stock ; sample waggons to the standard designs already prepared are under erection for special examination from the manufacturer's point of view. Owing principally to labour difficulties in the United Kingdom, a considerable portion of the large orders for new rolling stock, which have been placed there since the conclusion of the armistice, has yet to be delivered.

The Railway Committee.

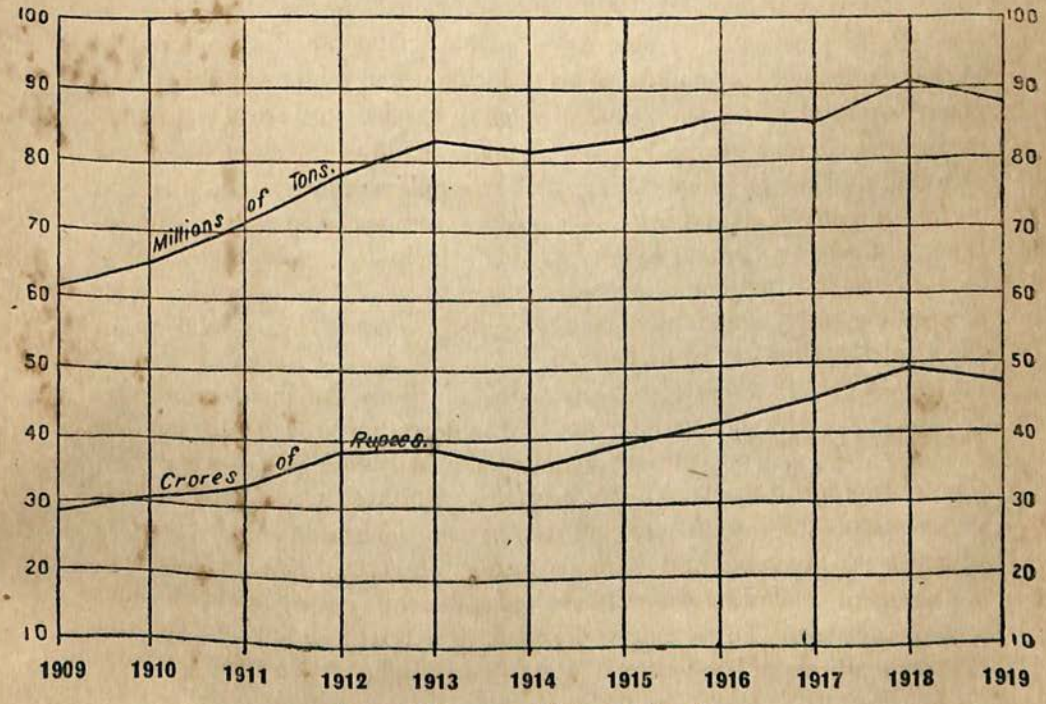
In last year's Report, reference was made to the institution of an enquiry as to the desirability of modifying the present management of Indian State-owned railways. In consultation with the Secretary of State, it was decided that the scope of enquiry should embrace the consideration of the relative advantages, financial and administrative, of certain special forms of management, including direct State management ; management through a company domiciled in England and with a Board sitting in London ; management through a company domiciled in India with a Board sitting

PASSENGERS CARRIED AND EARNINGS FROM INDIAN RAILWAYS.



Crores of Rupees. Millions of Pounds.

TONNAGE AND EARNINGS FROM GOODS TRAFFIC ON INDIAN RAILWAYS.



Crores of Rupees. Millions of Pounds.

in India, and management through a combination of the two last methods. The Committee was to advise as to the policy to be adopted when existing contracts with the several Railway Companies are terminated; and to examine the function, status and constitution of the Railway Board, and the system of control exercised by Government over Railway administration. It was also to consider arrangements for the financing of railways in India, and in particular the feasibility of utilizing to a greater degree private enterprise and capital in the construction of new lines. The Committee was also to report whether the present system of control by Government of rates and fares, and the machinery for deciding disputes between railways and traders are satisfactory. During the period under review, the Committee was duly constituted under the presidency of Sir W. Ackworth. Among its members were included representatives of railway, financial and commercial interests both in England and in India. After a short preliminary session in England the Committee commenced its enquiry in Calcutta in December 1920, and after proceeding to Bombay, Madras and other centres will return to England in the spring of 1921 to complete its investigation and to issue its Report. The interest excited by its public sessions has been very great; for Indians have long desired to obtain a greater share in the management of a matter so vitally connected with the prosperity of their country as is the railway system. There have also been stock grievances, such as the accusation that preference is given in the supply of waggons to European-owned industries, which can only be disproved by a full and frank investigation into the causes of complaint.

Posts and Telegraphs.

There can be no doubt that there is growing popular interest in the communication facilities of India. Conjoined with this is a steady demand for their improvement, of which an index is afforded by the unchecked progress of the traffic handled by the Posts and Telegraphs Department. When the Postal Service of India was formed into a separate department with a Director General in 1854 it started with 700 offices. The number in 1919-20 was roughly 20,000—which is still only one to every 93 square miles of country—with 100,000 postal officials and 160,000 miles of main line. Mails in India are carried by such various means as runners, railways, horses, and sea and river craft, mail carts, camels and tongas; but where practicable the slower modes of conveyance are gradually being replaced by motor transport. During the year under review the length of the motor mail lines increased to nearly 2,000 miles; but it is a remarkable fact that

the mail runner is still employed on no less than 57 per cent. of the mail lines. The public utility of the Indian Post Offices is not confined to the collection, conveyance and delivery of correspondence. In addition, it acts as a banker and agent of the public, it enables them to do their shopping from all distances, it sells quinine, it insures the lives of Government employés, it collects custom duty, it receives salt revenue and it pays the pension of retired soldiers of the Indian Army. It may be mentioned incidentally that India possesses the highest Post Office in the world at Pharijong which is 14,300 feet above sea-level. She may also claim the post office in the wettest situation, for at Cherrapunji the annual rainfall is about 50 feet.

The Post Office.

Owing chiefly to the favourable conditions of trade in the year 1919-20, the business of the post office expanded in all branches. The total number of postal articles of all kinds, excluding money-orders, transmitted during the year is estimated at 1,367 millions. The net surplus of receipts over expenditure amounted to £0·74 million as compared with £0·38 million in the previous year, despite the fact that a general revision of pay and the introduction of a time-scale, totalling in all a cost of £1 million, have been introduced as a result of the Committee whose appointment was mentioned in last year's report. This large increase in the surplus is directly due to a general growth of the work of the department. Among the branches of post office work which showed considerable increase was the Savings Bank, the number of active accounts being 1·76 million, while the average credit balance of each depositor rose from £11 to £12.

Telegraphs.

In the Telegraph Branch, the volume of traffic disposed of during the year 1919-20 was some 6 per cent. less than that of the previous period. This is attributable apparently to the delays to which telegrams are subjected on account of shortage of staff and insufficient wire accommodation. The difficulty of obtaining material for expansion has continued during the year, but in spite of this, nearly 12,000 miles of wire and cable conductors were added to the system, which at the end of 1919-20 consisted of just under 90,000 miles of line and cable carrying 370,000 miles of wire. During the year the urgent necessity for improving the pay and prospects of the Telegraph Department led to the appointment of a Committee of Enquiry, which made recommendations as to the improvement of pay and working conditions, in order to remedy the discontent which was making itself manifest among the staff. Increases

of pay and of overtime rates have been sanctioned; and house rent allowances to members of the staff not provided with free quarters have also been granted. Steps have been taken to recruit and train additional men during the year, in order to make up the shortage of staff which exists on account of the large number of men still absent on field service, and on deputation in Mesopotamia and elsewhere.

The growing congestion of the telegraph wires of India and the seriousness of the delays which occasionally arise owing to extent or interruption of traffic, lend particular importance to the progress of wireless telegraphy. A special Wireless Branch of the Telegraph Department has now been set up under the charge of five experts brought out from England. Unfortunately, atmospheric disturbances, which interfere with wireless working, are specially troublesome from April to October in India during which period reliable communication by wireless is impossible for a considerable part of the day. New apparatus has been imported which considerably improves the efficiency of the several stations equipped with it, particularly as regards receptivity during unfavourable conditions. During 1919-20 valuable assistance was given by the wireless system from time to time when communication by the land lines was interrupted from one cause or another. Another means which it is hoped before long will remedy the congestion of the telegraph system is the increased employment of telephones. The demand during the year continued to grow, but owing to the difficulty of obtaining instruments, underground cables and switch-boards, it could not be met in full. There is no doubt that when material is available the telephone service will expand very rapidly. At the beginning of 1920 there were still only 245 exchange systems worked by Government with just under 9,000 connections, and 325 independent systems with just over 1,000 connections. The number of connections supplied by the Department only increased to the extent of 2,000 during the year under review, while almost the same number of new connections were supplied by the licensed telephone companies, which worked 13 exchanges and 18,000 connections during the same period. There was however a growth in the trunk lines available for public use, the length of which at the close of the year amounted to roughly 1,600 miles. The only thing that hinders expansion in this as in other branches of telephonic activity is the difficulty of obtaining necessary material.

Wireless.

Among other means of communication which in the future will probably play a great part in the development of India must be mentioned aviation. As was stated

Aviation.

in last year's Report, an Air Board has been constituted to advise on matters connected with Civil Aviation. Surveys of the primary air routes between Bombay and Calcutta, Calcutta and Rangoon, Calcutta and Delhi, Karachi and Bombay, Delhi and Karachi, have been completed, and it is hoped in time to provide aerodromes at the terminal stations of these routes, together with landing grounds at suitable intermediate points. Unfortunately the cost of providing aerodromes and landing grounds at all these places has been discovered to be prohibitive, and it has been decided that the route from Bombay to Rangoon *vid* Allahabad and Calcutta should be tackled first. Attention is being concentrated at the beginning on the preparation of the Calcutta-Rangoon section, and as soon as this route or a sufficient length of it is complete, tenders for an air mail service over the completed section will be called for. But the general financial situation of India, to which reference has been made in other places, renders it unlikely that funds will be forthcoming in the near future for the preparation of this route. That Civil Aviation is merely in its infancy in India may be indicated by the fact that during the year under review only two aeroplanes were registered and thirteen licenses issued to pilots and ground engineers; but the 100 aeroplanes presented by His Majesty's Government to India have arrived, and so far about half this number have been disposed of. Some have been accepted by local Governments and Administrations, others have been presented to Ruling Princes and 20 have been made over to the Royal Air Force for instructional purposes. The remainder are being distributed to aero-clubs, companies and individuals for purposes of demonstration and instruction.

CHAPTER V.

The People of India.

Food.

In last year's Report mention was made of the remarkable manner in which the population of India weathered the economic storm of the year 1918-19. During that period, as was pointed out, there was sustained the worst crop failure recorded since the famine of 1899-1901. None the less, even throughout the areas most seriously affected, there was a marked and impressive absence of visible signs of distress. Furthermore, the maximum number of persons on relief in 1919 was less than 1-10th of the corresponding number in 1900. But the period of distress through which India passed did not fail to cause serious hardship to the masses. Fortunately the harvests of 1919 and the spring harvest of 1920 were good, with the result that the prices of food grains have shown a distinct tendency to fall during the period under review. It is true that the last two harvests have enabled depleted stocks of food grains to be replaced to a considerable extent; and another good season might very easily induce prices to fall still further. But good harvests, while relieving distress, cannot provide an immediate remedy for the economic depression consequent upon the war, which has affected India seriously, if less seriously than other countries. The increase in the price of food stuffs cannot be divorced from the increase in the price of other necessaries of life, and the cost of grain cannot be very low when the price of everything else is high.

Effect of high prices.

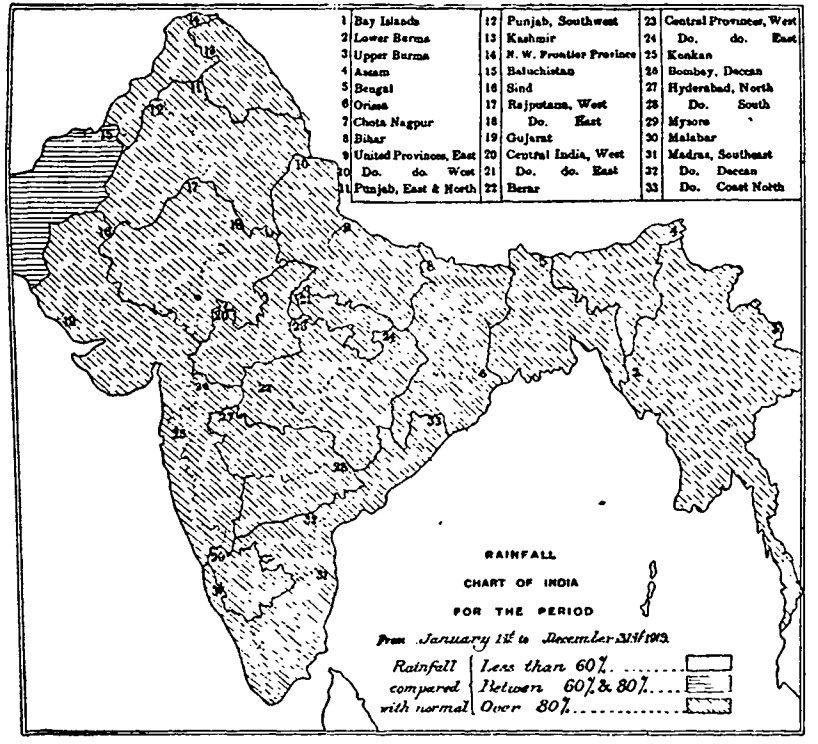
The precise effect of such a rise in prices as that which has been a universal consequence of the world war, upon the condition of the rural population of India—that is to say upon 90 per cent. of Indians—is a matter upon which differences of opinion have been manifest. It has been held on the one hand that since landholders and village people generally depend upon the prosperity of the land for their own prosperity, the fact that they can obtain higher prices for their produce must lead to

their general economic advantage. On the other hand, it is stated that in practice every rise in prices has led to more distress and greater poverty in rural areas. Economists in India have devoted considerable attention to this problem, which is of immediate practical importance, since in the periodical land assessments which occur in India, changes in prices have always been considered a valid factor in determining changes in the settlement. Some interesting conclusions as to the effect of a rise in prices upon the condition of the rural population have recently been published by Dr. Harold Mann, whose investigations into certain villages in the Deccan have led him to formulate general canons of considerable importance. It seems that where prices rise without increase of wages, the gulf between the solvent and the insolvent classes of villagers tends to widen, the vast majority of the people who were previously solvent becoming more solvent, while the position of the insolvents deteriorates. On the other hand, since the rate of interest, which is always high in India, does not increase with the rise in prices, those who have incurred large debts previously suffer less in proportion than the others. It would further appear that a 50 per cent. rise in prices, without a corresponding increase in wages, makes for the advantage of those people who have sufficient land, which they work with their own labour, to maintain them in a sound position; but the man who benefits most is the non-cultivating proprietor. Where, as is so frequently the case, there is a combined dependence upon land worked by a family and upon income from that family's labour, the position depends solely upon the proportion between the income derived from the land and the income derived from the labour. But the general effect on the village population of a rise in prices without a corresponding rise in wages is apparently disastrous; and the annual deficit of expenses over earnings in the families belonging to a given village increases enormously. On the whole, it may be said that a rise in prices tends to emphasize economic differences throughout the rural population of India, those who are well-to-do becoming more well-to-do, and those who are poor becoming poorer.

Condition of the Rural Masses.

Since the average margin of subsistence is very small, the tendency of wages to lag behind prices has been responsible for a good deal of distress during the period under review. Without an extremely elaborate and costly survey, such as there is little chance of organising in

RAINFALL CHART OF INDIA 1919.



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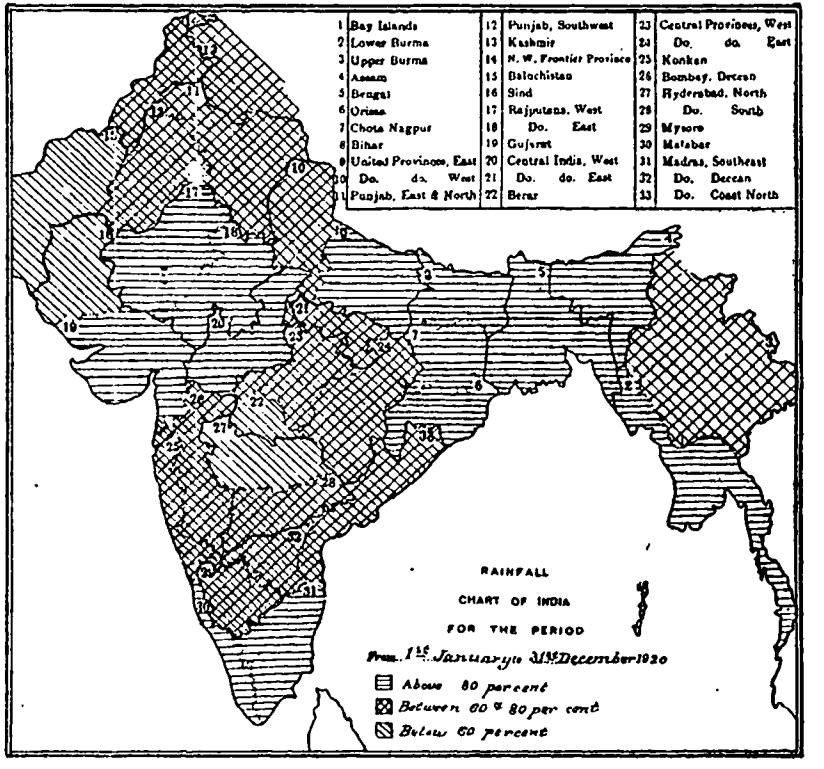
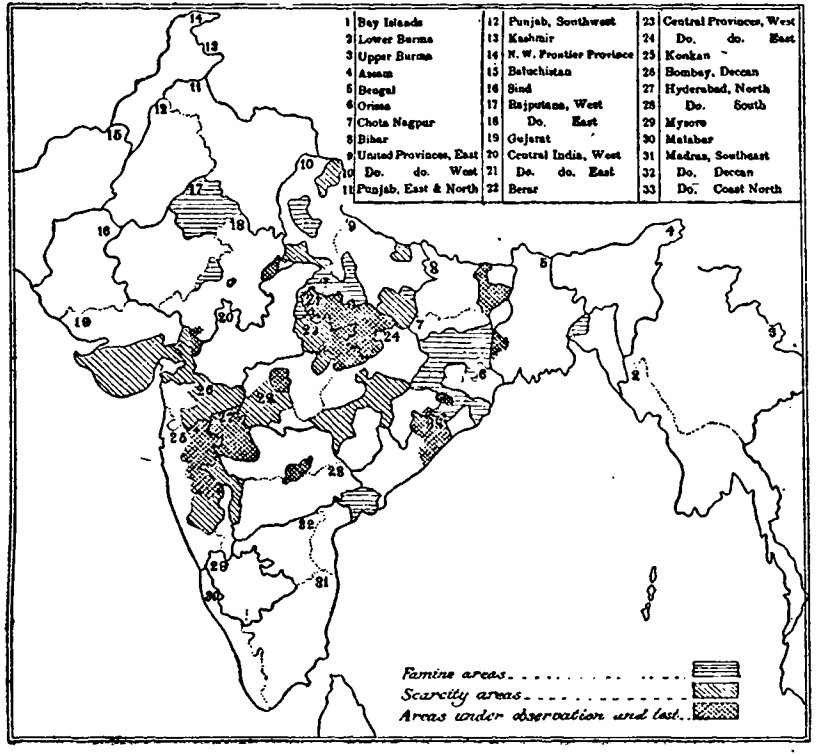
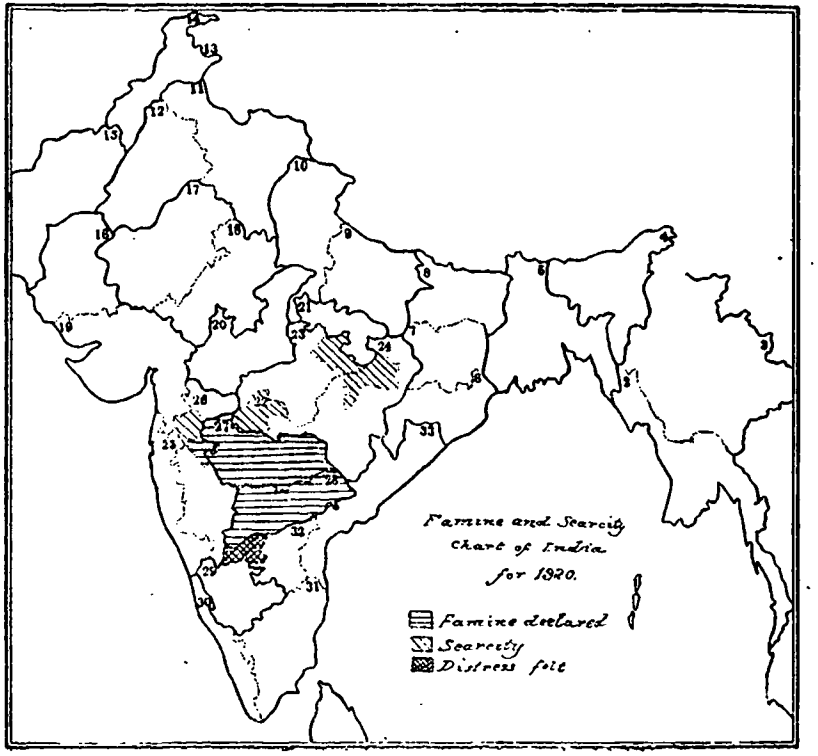


SCARCITY CHART OF INDIA 1919.



SCARCITY CHART OF INDIA 1920.



India for some time to come, it is impossible to strike a balance which will indicate the average economic position of the Indian peasant. Nor indeed, it may well be argued, would such an average, even if reasonably accurate, be of much practical service; for conditions as well as habits of life vary between extremes so widely separated for different parts of India, that any average must be misleading. It is therefore impossible to settle with exactness the problem, which is constantly propounded in the public press, whether the masses of India are becoming poorer under British rule. The evidence to the contrary is apparently very strong, even if it be indirect. The increasing popularity of railway travel, as witnessed by the ever-growing numbers of third class passengers, would seem to indicate that more money is available, over and above the bare necessaries of life, than was previously the case. The recent greatly increased absorption of rupees, which two years ago threatened the whole currency-system of India with inconvertibility, combined with the growing employment of silver for purposes of adornment by classes of the population previously, and within living memory, accustomed to brass and iron, would seem to point in the same direction. Further, the gradual substitution of a monetary for a natural system of economy, with its accompaniments of dependence upon imported cloth, imported mineral oil and imported metal utensils for domestic purposes, would seem to show that those who advance India's claim to increasing prosperity have something more than personal prejudice upon which to base their contention. But symptoms of increasing prosperity such as have been described, cannot blind the observer to the poverty which besets masses of the Indian population—poverty of a kind which finds no parallel in the more exigent because less tropical, climate of Europe. That the resisting powers of the poorer classes are on the increase, may fairly be deduced from the manner, already mentioned, in which the famine crisis of 1919 was surmounted; but it is equally true that the recent high prices have been the cause of much suffering which is not the less real because of the silent endurance of the sufferers. It is little indeed that any administration can do to mitigate the gigantic problem of Indian poverty, although, as was amply apparent in 1919, Governmental action may in times of crisis avert sudden disaster. Even to-day with all the knowledge and science of the West at his disposal, man can in India do little as compared with the monsoon. As time goes on, it may be hoped that the increased development of India's resources

will gradually create a *per capita* figure of wealth which will suffice for her needs as a nation. But the industrial regeneration of two hundred and forty millions of people, the majority of whom are poor and helpless beyond Western conception, is not a matter which can be accomplished in a few years.

Cost of living.

Throughout the year under review the main object of the administration has been to get rid so far as possible of those measures of food control which the critical situation of 1919 rendered inevitable. Internal control was completely abolished from the beginning of May 1920, and while this was accompanied by a small rise in prices in certain parts of India the general effect was beneficial. But owing to the high prices prevalent in foreign countries, continuance of the control over the exports of principal and minor food grains has been necessary. In England, it may be noticed, the cost of living is 135 per cent. greater than in pre-war days, in France 220 per cent. and in Italy 306 per cent. Unrestricted export of grain from India, under these circumstances, would have quickly exhausted the Indian market; and the result would have been to force Indian prices up to a level corresponding with those in other countries. As has been pointed out in previous Reports, such a consequence would have been nothing short of disastrous, since the ordinary margin of subsistence of the cultivating classes is probably smaller in India than in any other country with an equal claim to civilization. Accordingly, during the year under review, exports of minor food grains have been permitted only to a very limited extent to those countries which have a large Indian population. But towards the close of 1920 a general fall in prices rendered it possible to relax in small degree the export restrictions. The price of rice fell very considerably throughout the year. If the pre-war price be taken as 100, calculation reveals the fact that at the beginning of the year 1919, rice stood in Bengal at 162, a figure which at the beginning of 1920 had risen to 192. But as the good spring crops threw their continually increasing weight into the market, the index number of the price of rice declined to 147. Mention was made in last year's Report of the steps taken to control Burma rice exports for the benefit of the Indian market. At the beginning of 1920, a scheme was introduced which had as its object the keeping down of internal prices in Burma, under which scheme 0·93 million tons of rice were shipped to India at cost price during 1920, while 0·89 tons were

Falling prices.

sold and shipped to foreign countries by the Rice Commissioner. The profits of these latter sales amounting to some £9 millions were made over to the Burma Government to be expended for the benefit of the cultivators. But during the latter part of 1920 the world price of rice fell considerably, and rendered possible the re-establishment of free trade between Burma and India, and the removal of control from trade between Burma and foreign countries, except that exports to foreign countries are only allowed under license up to a fixed limit of some 900,000 tons. But should the Burma prices rise beyond the level of the controlled rate fixed in 1920, the power has been reserved to re-impose restrictions. In wheat also, thanks to a good harvest, it was found possible to sanction the export of 400,000 tons at the end of September 1920 within the price limit of Rs. 5-8 per maund of 82 lbs. at Lyallpur, and arrangements have been made for the purchase of the quantity which is forthcoming within this limit, and for its shipment and sale to foreign countries on Government account through six principal wheat-exporting firms at Karachi acting as direct agents to the Government of India. The quantity purchased and sold up to the end of the year 1920 amounted to some 150,000 tons.

The Annual "Food-Drain."

The high prices which were prevalent at the beginning of the year led to considerable complaint on the part of the educated classes, and of those with small fixed incomes. Despite the fact that a rigid control of the export of food grains had been for some time in existence, there was a widespread popular belief that this export trade was responsible for the prevailing high prices. But as was pointed out in last year's Report, even prior to the introduction of the system of control, the average net export of grain and pulse from India in the ten years ending 1918, has averaged less than 1·5 million tons per annum as against a total production of food stuffs estimated at somewhere near 80 million tons. This small exportable surplus, kept in the country by the restrictions imposed last year, undoubtedly assisted India to pull through the crisis caused by the monsoon failure in 1918-19; but its smallness seems to show that the country relied rather upon her food stocks than upon the quantity which she would normally have exported. The fall in prices, towards the end of the period under review, may be taken as an indication that the food reserves of India are now approaching their normal level. The general justification for the restrictions on export enforced during the year lies in the fact

that though the prices of food stuffs in foreign countries have in many cases risen, prices in India have generally shown a decline.

Food control.

At the same time it would be a mistake to maintain, as is frequently done in certain sections of the Indian press, that a complete and permanent restriction on the export of food grains would conduce to the benefit of India. Already there are signs that the Indian cultivator, who is as alive to obvious economic facts as his prototype in other countries, is beginning to turn his attention from food grains to crops which fetch a better price in a wider market. In certain parts of India, for example in Bengal, the decrease in the provincial area under food crops caused by the growth of the area under such crops as jute is exciting a certain alarm.

Promises belied.

Towards the close of the period under review, the promise held out by the prosperous season of 1919 was unfortunately not fulfilled. In certain parts of India the monsoon of 1920 has been seriously in defect, and it has become evident that scarcity and famine will again have to be faced. Until about the middle of November 1920, leaving aside some distress in parts of Bihar and Orissa, Burma, and Hyderabad, there was no scarcity or famine. But the early cessation of the monsoon and the lack of winter rains has since then caused the agricultural situation in other parts of the country to deteriorate, with the result that famine has been declared in one district of the Bombay Presidency, while scarcity exists in another district and in seven districts of the Central Provinces. Famine conditions in Hyderabad have also become more pronounced; and distress has prevailed in certain districts of the Madras Presidency. In consequence of this, by the end of the year 1920 the famine-relief machinery of India was set in motion for the benefit of some 92,000 persons. Grants of money have been sanctioned for the affected areas, and relief works and gratuitous relief have also been provided. Revenue has been remitted on a generous scale, and preparations have been made to meet future developments.

Despite all the efforts of the Administration, the economic conditions of the last two years have pressed heavily, both upon the urban and the rural population of India, producing inevitably discontent and restlessness. Labour problems have come to the front as never before, and have acquired a new prominence in the public eye on account of the wide-spread demand, described in a previous chapter, for rapid industrial development.

Labour.

It has been pointed out with much force that Indian labour has not been up to the present the cheap commodity that it appears to be. Although it is paid low wages as compared with British or American labour, it is often untrained, inefficient and inclined to be slovenly in its work. Indian employers, speaking with a knowledge of the country which Europeans can hardly hope to emulate, have asserted that in such industries as spinning and weaving, the efficiency of the Indian workmen is at least 50 per cent. below that of his European fellow, and that in India two or three times the number of men are required per spindle and loom unit as compared with those necessary in European countries. Further, although the nominal hours of work in the Bombay mills, for example, are ten per day, mill owners who speak with an intimate knowledge of working conditions assert that the actual number of hours worked by the individual operatives is not more than ninety per cent. of this period, on account of the general custom of substitution. It has long been an axiom with Indian employers that the labourer prefers long hours with lax discipline to shorter hours with strict discipline. But during 1920 there has been a tendency to give the latter plan a trial. The shorter hours which workmen have successfully insisted upon in Ahmedabad, Bombay and elsewhere, have, indeed, rendered this inevitable. There are, nevertheless, certain difficulties. Indian labour inclines to be irregular in its attendance, being prone to take days off when it feels so inclined. It is therefore a truism to assert that the industrial progress of India will come despite rather than through low paid labour. The efficiency of the Indian workman must be raised considerably before he can turn out as good work as his rival overseas. The first step towards raising his efficiency is to raise his standard of living ; and before this can be effected, the wages, housing and general conditions of labour in India will have to be improved considerably. Already serious efforts are being made to tackle the last two problems.

Housing conditions.

The Improvement Trusts in great cities such as Bombay are spending large sums of money in an endeavour to relieve the congestion which threatens to make the housing conditions of labour intolerable. In Bombay itself, which is still far behind other industrial centres, in the period under review more than one million sterling has been spent on land acquisition ; and great progress has been made in providing modernised dwellings for the workers. Attention is also being directed more and more prominently in the great industrial centres to what is known in

the West as welfare work. The Social Service League in Bombay is now carrying on welfare work among the operatives employed in the two groups of mills under the agency of Messrs. Currimbhoy Ibrahim and Messrs. Tatas. Welfare work on an extensive scale is also being conducted in the Tata industrial city at Jamshedpur. There can be no doubt that a great future awaits work of this character in India, as Indian capitalists learn to keep themselves apprised of the corresponding developments which have taken place in England and America. That there is ample scope for it is obvious from the conditions under which the Indian labourer is at present forced to live. There is a great future also for co-operative credit societies among mill hands, who as a class are thriftless and liable to fall into the clutches of extortionate shopkeepers and money-lenders. But before very much progress can be made in ameliorating the lot of the Indian labourer, some systematic attempt must be made to give him sufficient education to enable him to perceive his own interest more clearly than is the case at present. Many of the more enlightened mill-owners in India maintain schools for the education of the children of their employees; but the energy which has so far been directed towards the education of the mill hand in his spare time has not been proportionate to the magnitude of the work involved. Private organisations, such as the Social Service League, are doing valuable work in this direction in Bombay and elsewhere; but the matter has not received the attention it deserves either from the mill-owners themselves or from municipalities.

Welfare work.

During the period under review, self-help has overshadowed both voluntary and official efforts to improve the lot of the Indian labourer. The year 1920 has been one of unprecedented economic restlessness in India—restlessness which has afforded a great stimulus to the organisation of labour. Mention was made in last year's Report of the formation of labour unions in India. During the period under review, these labour unions have come prominently before the notice of the general public on account of the magnitude and frequency of the strikes which have taken place. It must be mentioned that hitherto the generality of these unions have not possessed any clear-cut organisation. The majority of them are run in a fashion which makes comparison with the corresponding institutions in the West very misleading. There are certain unions in India, such as the Seamen's Unions, the Indian Telegraph Association and the Railway Workers' Association, which

The year 1920.

possess their own paid staffs, and are well on the way to that completeness of organisation which marks the trade union system of the West. But the major portion of the 70 or 80 labour unions now nominally existing in India are really more of the nature of strike committees, and can hardly be said to possess any permanent organisation at all. This is partly to be explained by the fact that in many of the importans industrial centres the labour population is floating—that is to sayt the average labourer is domiciled in a locality comparatively remote, from that in which he works, and he expects to return once more to his village after a comparatively short period spent in mill or factory; and partly by the fact that many labourers dislike the idea of regular contributions and union discipline, so that a given union rarely embraces more than a small percentage of the men employed in any establishment. In consequence, the authority which can be exercised by the smaller unions over the men as a whole is very restricted —a limitation which naturally prejudices their powers of collective bargaining. In this connection, although it would be misleading to over-stress the point, it may be noticed that the phenomenon known as the "unauthorised strike" has made its appearance in India; and that in the case of a trades union so well organised as the Railway Workers' Association. The need for increased efficiency in organisation among Indian trades unions has made itself amply apparent during the period under review. It is significant that in November 1920 an all-India Congress of trades unions assembled in Bombay, and passed a number of resolutions on different labour problems. So far as Bombay and Madras are concerned this gathering was representative in character; and the mere fact of its assembly constituted an interesting forecast of that tendency towards articulation which must be fostered if Indian trades unionism is to flourish. Near the end of 1920, an important decision of the Madras High Court revealed the necessity of legislation for the protection of trades unions in India. As the law now stands, it is possible to obtain an injunction restraining a trades union official or organiser from influencing labourers to break their contract with their employers by striking to obtain an increase of wages. It is to be regretted that this point should have come up for decision thus early in the history of trades unionism in India; for the movement is as yet only in its initial stages; and the precipitation of an issue so grave before the main lines of development have had time to settle

Trades Unions.

Their difficulties.

themselves, will probably not be without prejudicial effect. The task of devising a formula for the protection of trades unions, which with one or two notable exceptions at present hardly exist in a coherent form, is necessarily one of extraordinary difficulty from the point of view of the Legislature.

Strikes.

As has already been mentioned, high prices and poor conditions of living have produced their effect in strikes during 1920, serious dislocations of industry occurring from time to time. During the period under review, nearly 200 strikes, some of them of considerable importance, have taken place up and down India. Not a few were protracted, involving the general public in considerable inconvenience. Among the most important of these, may be mentioned the strikes of the mill hands in Ahmedabad and in Bombay. The latter strike was reckoned to have caused a loss in production alone of £8 millions. There was also a serious strike at the great Tata works at Jamshedpur in February and March. Before the middle of the year there was a serious strike on the North Western Railway system; and at the close of the year a strike of the postal employees at Bombay, which was productive of great hardship to the mercantile community and to the general public. Protracted strikes, accompanied in some cases with disorder, occurred in most of the important industrial centres of India, particularly Madras, Calcutta and Bombay. But one leading characteristic of this strike epidemic has been the prevalence of short strikes, leading to the intermission of work for a few days only. Many strikes throughout the year have been followed almost immediately by an increase of wages ranging from 10 to 30 per cent. and a reduction of working hours. It is probable that a certain number of the strikes in 1920, more particularly those in the coalfields as well as in the railways and postal services, were not unconnected with the non-co-operation movement to which reference has already been made in an earlier chapter. But in general it may be said that the strikes throughout the year have been predominantly economic in origin, and in most cases directly caused by the fact that wages have lagged seriously behind prices in their upward course.

Political influences.

The tendency of some observers to discover political motives in the majority of Indian strikes is probably to be explained by the fact that hitherto those who organise these strikes have been drawn as a whole from the educated classes.

and in individual cases, may have already made themselves prominent by political activity in other spheres. It is also undeniable that certain advocates of non-co-operation have utilised labour unrest, purely economic in origin, for the purpose of embarrassing Government. But the genuineness of the labour movement in India is revealed by a tendency, noticeable towards the close of the period under review, in the direction of the control of the labour unions by the labourers themselves, and the gradual exclusion from positions of responsibility of those persons who have no direct connection with the trade or industry concerned.

The seriousness of the present condition of economic unrest in India arises from the fact that if the country is to make any real progress towards responsible government, there must be a substantial and continuous increase in her resources. This increase depends chiefly upon industrial advance, and nothing will do more to check it than continuous conflict beteen employers and employed. Accordingly efforts have been made by the Indian administration to convince responsible opinion of the supreme necessity of preventing the flames of industrial discord from rising higher. In his speech at the opening of the Imperial Legislative Council on the 20th August 1920, Lord Chelmsford made a strong appeal to the capitalists of India to prevent strikes by removing their causes:

Labour *v.* Capital.

"I would earnestly impress upon employers the necessity for sympathetic consideration of the claims of Labour. It has too often proved the case that employers, after a long and ruinous struggle, have been forced to concede claims that they might have allowed with honour and with profit as soon as they were presented. It too frequently happens that employers are in imperfect contact with those they employ, and are consequently unable to redress grievances that finally result in very serious disputes. Workers are beginning to demand not merely the right to live in comfort but a living interest in their work. This is a claim that must be taken seriously, and I see no reason why we should not make our new start abreast of the most advanced European countries. So long as Indian industry was organised on a small scale, the close personal contact between the master and each of his men secured intimate, if not harmonious, relations. With the inevitable growth of great factories and mills this contact, in its original form, has become impossible, and there is a tendency to allow the bond between employer and employed to

become a purely commercial one. It is essential that machinery should be devised which will re-establish under modern conditions personal contact and good understanding. One of the latest developments designed to meet this need elsewhere is the Works Committee, which is intended to enable the employer to realise the difficulties and hardships of his men, and to give the employed an opportunity of making known their needs and of influencing directly the policy of those who control the factory or workshop in which they serve. I have observed with pleasure that this idea has already commended itself to some of the leading employers in India. We are endeavouring to establish similar committees in the few industrial establishments under our control. The welfare of workers, and especially the care of women and children, and provision for the education of the latter, are matters that are engaging the attention of many employers at the present time. My Government is preparing itself, in consultation with local Governments and employers, to furnish advice and help in this important matter. I sincerely believe that employers, who are willing to meet labour in this spirit and to treat their business as being as much the concern of their workers as of themselves, will find their reward not merely in increased profit, for that will not be lacking, but in the gratitude and loyalty of their men, and in the knowledge that they are furthering in the best way possible the contentment and the happiness of their country."

"To those who are endeavouring to influence and focus the aspirations of labour I would counsel a similar sympathy and forbearance; their responsibility is even greater than that of the employers. Labour in India is as yet scarcely articulate. But large numbers of working men are being enfranchised and they will look to the leaders of Indian opinion for guidance and help. It will be a tragic and irreparable disaster if India is forced to repeat the long history of industrial strife in England. There will always be men ready to foment strife; some hope to achieve notoriety and influence out of the quarrels of others; more create mischief through ignorance. The great majority of disputes admit of easy settlement, and there is no direction in which sane and sagacious political leaders can exercise a greater influence for good. In any strike it is the workers that suffer first and longest. And if we have to go through a long period of strife, industry will be crippled and the good start that we are making will be lost. To Hon'ble Members I would say: if you can bring capital and labour closer together, if you make it your duty to persuade them that their interest lies in

co-operation and not in conflict, you will do more in a few years to better the condition of the workers in India than can be achieved by a life-time of agitation. The future of industrial India is in your hands."

But in India as elsewhere, labour has now become an international as well as a domestic question. The International Labour Conference organised under the League of Nations Covenant held a special meeting at Genoa during the months of June and July 1920 to consider a number of questions relating to seamen, such as the hours of labour, manning scales, accommodation, the provision of facilities for finding employment, the prohibition of child labour and other cognate questions. The Government of India, as a Member of the League of Nations, sent to the conference two Government delegates and two delegates representing respectively the employers and the work people. The draft conventions and recommendations which were adopted at the conference have been received from the Secretary General of the League of Nations, with a view to their ratification by the Government of India, and are now under consideration.

International aspect of Labour.

Mention was made in last year's Report of the presence of Indian representatives at the International Labour Conference held in Washington at the close of 1919. Both at this Conference and in subsequent communications with the International Labour Office, the Government of India found itself handicapped by the inadequacy of available information regarding labour in India. Since India is an original member of the League of Nations and has assumed certain responsibilities *vis à vis* the League in regard to labour, the possession of the necessary information is a matter of considerable moment. Further, the large share which the administration is now assuming in the industrial progress of the country, has compelled it to take into its most serious consideration all the problems connected with Indian labour. As a first step towards this, a Labour Bureau has been created which collects information on labour conditions, keeps in touch with similar organizations in other countries, and systematically gathers statistics regarding strikes, lock-outs, wages and cost of living. The Labour Bureau has of late been dealing with the draft conventions and draft recommendations adopted by the Labour Conference at Washington. These recommendations necessitate the revision of

Labour Bureau.

the Indian Factories Act and certain other steps, a task which has now been undertaken.

Legislation.

At the end of the year 1920, proposals were on foot for the revision of the Factories Act in certain important directions. Provisions are to be inserted for enforcement of the sixty hours week.. It is proposed to raise the minimum age of children from 9 to 12, and to amend the definition of "factory" so as to include all establishments employing not less than 20 persons and using power, while giving local governments authority to extend the application of the Act to any "factory" employing not less than 10 persons whether power is used or not. A further important change proposed is the abolition of the distinction between textile and non-textile factories, which will result in the extension to the latter of the limitation of daily hours of work for male adults to 12 hours and of children to 6 hours. It is also proposed to provide for an interval of at least an hour after six hours' work, and of at least half an hour to children who work for more than five hours. In addition to this, certain improvements are necessary in the provisions relating to health and safety, into which a comprehensive enquiry is shortly to be made. Two articles of the Washington Conference have been ratified without the necessity for legislative action. But there are certain other conventions which cannot be adopted in their entirety owing to the peculiar conditions of Indian labour. The delegates of India at Washington found that few of the delegates from other countries had any true conception of India's needs and conditions, and quite a number desired to enforce on India the same restrictions as countries with radically different climate and economic conditions are ready to accept. For example, the provision included in the draft Convention concerning unemployment, requires the regular furnishing of all available information and the creation of free public employment agencies, with representatives of employers and of workers to advise regarding their operation. It is difficult to apply this provision to India, first because, in the present unorganised state of Indian labour it will be impossible to furnish returns of the kind expected; but mainly because the demand for industrial labour has for long exceeded the supply, and the unemployment of agricultural labour is unknown in ordinary seasons. There already exists in the Famine organisation a machinery for dealing with exceptional unemployment on a most extensive scale. This machinery concerns itself not only with the agriculturist and the agricultural labourer, but also

Washington Conference.

with the village artisan whose livelihood depends on the custom of the agriculturist. During the famine season, employment is found not only for labourers thrown out of work, but also for the small cultivators who have been deprived of their crops.

From all that has been said, it will be apparent that throughout India there is great need for a systematic effort towards the uplift of the masses. Probably the most powerful single agency for improving the conditions of Indian labour, both rural and urban, is to be found in the co-operative movement.

Co-operation.

During the last decade, co-operation has made rapid strides in India and has gone far afield. Agricultural societies have made steady progress, and societies have been organised for the joint sale of agricultural produce, for the joint produce and sale of implements and manures, and for such useful purposes as irrigation and the consolidation of holdings. Their work has spread into many channels which bring practical benefits not only to their members but also to the surrounding locality, through the opening of dispensaries and schools, the introduction of improved methods of cultivation, the improvement of communications and the like. There is an immense field for co-operative work in India, as is amply apparent from the fact that there are still only a little over 33,000 societies in the country. As was mentioned in last year's Report, public confidence in the movement shows obvious signs of growing. The proportion of loans and deposits from non-members has nearly doubled in the course of four years and now represents one-third of the total capital. The progress which has been accomplished during the year under review, may be considered satisfactory. In all provinces, the policy of steadily pruning away hopeless societies and carefully scrutinising all new applications for registration has been followed. Despite this, the vitality of the movement is proved by the fact that the number of agricultural credit societies has considerably increased and the reserve funds have grown to a remarkable degree. In every province of India there has been a considerable growth in the number of co-operative societies. In Bombay, for example, the number of agricultural credit societies has increased roughly from 1650 to 2,000 in the course of 1919-20, the working capital has arisen from £0·8 million to over £1 million, and the reserve funds from £50,000 to £70,000. The movement in Bombay is particularly remarkable for the

Bombay.

growth of non-credit agricultural societies, which concern themselves with such useful matters as the supply of manure, of seed and of implements. There are also societies for dairy produce, for cattle breeding, for cattle insurance and for the sale of cotton. As was mentioned in last year's Report, the foundation of the Central Co-operative Institute in Bombay has been productive of very useful results. Well attended training classes for Secretaries of co-operative societies have been organised and the instruction given is said to have been valuable in improving their work. Vernacular monthlies on co-operation are issued, and provincial conferences of co-operators are held from time to time. Madras shows a net increase of over one thousand in the number of agricultural credit societies, bringing the total up to more than 4,000, with a working capital of £1·6 millions. Purchase and sale societies also show a considerable growth, their membership having risen from 1,800 to 3,300. The general public attitude continued to be cordial. Village societies enlarged their trade activities, purchasing and selling agricultural and domestic implements, and similar commodities. Shoemakers and locksmiths started special types of societies; while officers working under the Labour Commissioner organised a number of societies solely for field labourers. In Bengal the year has been attended with considerable improvement, most of the more unwieldy societies having been now split up and the bad cases either reconstituted or placed under liquidation. The co-operative movement has received great impetus from the personal interest in it displayed by the Governor, Lord Ronaldshay. There are now some 6,000 societies, as compared with 4,000 a year ago. The membership of agricultural credit societies has risen from 128,000 to 148,000, while the development of agricultural non-credit societies has been steady. Irrigation societies, whose number increased by four during the year, have done very useful work. For example the Salband society provides for the irrigation of more than 1,000 acres and is still extending its operations. The Naogaon Ganja Cultivators Co-operative Society, of which mention was made in last year's Report, has continued its career of general usefulness in spheres other than the cultivation of the narcotic *Ganja* with which it is primarily concerned. An agricultural station has been opened, and the society acts as an agent in the distribution of tobacco seeds, sugarcane cuttings and other commodities supplied by the provincial Agricultural Department. Three sons of Ganja cultivators have been

Madras.

Bengal.

The Naogaon Society.

sent to learn tobacco cultivation. A charitable dispensary has been opened, a medical ward has been established, a qualified veterinary assistant has been appointed to look after the cattle of the cultivators. In addition the society has contributed to various charitable funds, and has put £150 at the disposal of the local board for the improvement of roads. The society has further established a colony of weavers, and trained them to produce cloth, which is sold faster than it can be made. An astounding improvement has taken place both in the moral and material condition of Naogaon. Thrift is taking the place of extravagance, expenditure on useless ceremonial has largely decreased, and litigation is on the wane. Considerable stimulus towards the progress upon sound lines of the co-operative movement in Bengal has been afforded by the foundation of the Bengal Co-operative Organisation Society, which acts as a central bureau of information and advises on matters relating to co-operation, besides performing useful propaganda work. In the Punjab, the number of agricultural societies has increased from 5,200 to 6,800, and the working capital from £1·6 millions to £1·8 millions. The amount of outstanding debt has undergone considerable reduction. It is interesting to notice that promising experiments are being made by societies for arbitration, consolidation of holdings, land mortgage redemption, irrigation, cattle breeding and the like. As many as 20 societies with nearly 700 members were formed during the year under review for the object of consolidating the scattered holdings which afford such a hindrance to improved methods of agriculture. Each individual applying for membership agrees to the general principle of consolidation, and promises to abide by any method of partition approved by two-thirds of all the members, further agreeing to give up possession of his land for four years in accordance with any plan of repartition so approved. Cultivating possession is given for this period, at the end of which period the old possession must be restored unless all the members unanimously decide otherwise. It is expected, however, that the trial will make the advantages of consolidation so clear that permanent exchange of ownership will ultimately result; and it is encouraging to note that in some cases owners have agreed to permanent exchange at once. The Punjab co-operators as a body are now taking a lively interest in the improvement of agriculture; and during the year under review, they were instrumental in selling a large number of improved implements. Many of them set aside small plots of land for the demonstration of new methods and

Punjab.

for the testing of seeds of improved varieties. The United Provinces showed an increase in the number of agriculture societies from just under 3,200 to just under 3,500, but membership fell by nearly 3,000, and the working capital sank from £0·5 million to £0·48 million. This fall in membership and working capital is ascribed to the liquidation of some of the moribund societies which are a heritage from the policy of indiscriminate expansion pursued in the past. But the registration of 654 new societies means a real advance, in view of the great care now taken before registration is permitted. An encouraging feature of the year was a considerable decrease in arrears. The Co-operative Department is now joining hands with the Agricultural Department to introduce improved seeds, implements and manures; while a large industrial association has been formed with headquarters at Allahabad to push the development of industries which lend themselves to co-operative methods.

United Provinces.

In the Central Provinces the number of agricultural credit societies showed a rise of from 3,800 to 4,400 with corresponding increases in the membership. The working capital increased by not less than 34 per cent., and profits also show a large surplus. The average loan per member rose from £10 in the preceding year to £13 in the year under review; but the recovery of loans has been more satisfactory than in the past, and members have begun to realise the necessity of punctuality in repayment. Non-credit societies are also doing well, and the unions for the production and distribution of pure seed had a satisfactory season. There are two cattle-breeding societies which continued to do good work, and a cotton ginning society which made a net profit of £156.

Central Provinces.

In Burma the number of credit societies rose from 2,600 to 3,320, while individual membership rose from 57,000 to nearly 73,000. There was no fall in the average standard of repayments, and the working capital and reserve fund showed a steady increase. Co-operation has attained a firm hold upon the people, and the introduction of improved crops and implements through the societies is making steady progress. Several societies have arranged among themselves for the construction of an irrigation channel two miles in length.

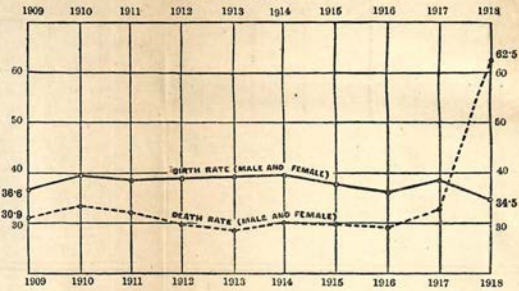
Burma.

The province of Bihar and Orissa shows satisfactory progress in the expansion of the numbers and membership of agricultural credit societies. Societies for the sale of agricultural produce did useful work, and

Bihar.

Birth rate and Death rate per 1,000 of population in British India

I



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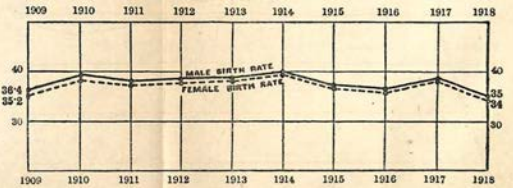
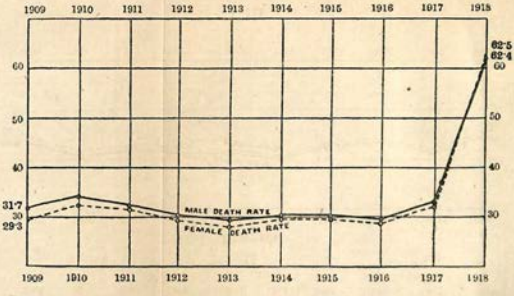


III



those in the Khurda sub-division succeeded in minimising the middleman's profits, to the extent of about five annas for every rupee's worth of grain. The advantage of combination for marketing agricultural produce is being increasingly appreciated by the cultivators. There is urgent need for an increase of the supervising agency, in the face of widespread demand for the extension of the movement. Unfortunately, there is a considerable amount of hostility from certain landlords, which will probably not disappear until the movement is more firmly established.

Among the lines of progress to which co-operation can powerfully contribute, is one most necessary to the well-being of the Indian people, namely Sanitation.

Sanitation.

In last year's Report mention was made of the difficulties attending the task of sanitary reform in India. The meagre resources of the administration, it was pointed out, have hitherto been able to accomplish but little in the face of widespread popular apathy. Until the enthusiasm, rather than the passive acquiescence, of the educated classes can be enlisted in the task of uplifting the sanitary condition of the masses, it will be almost impossible to safeguard India from a heavy death-rate punctuated by disastrous epidemics. It has been well remarked that the primitive condition of sanitation in rural India amounts to the virtual negation of any sanitation at all. The improvement of the economic and social condition of the masses through the spread of primary education may be relied upon in time to bring in its train ideas more in harmony with modern scientific conceptions of public health; but meanwhile there is urgent need of implanting the seeds of elementary sanitary knowledge. The value of fresh air, pure water and wholesome food, as well as the elements of domestic and personal hygiene have to be brought into the every-day life of the population. Some idea of the scope which exists for improvement in this direction is afforded by a study of the Indian death rate, as depicted in the diagram given on the opposite page. The startling steepness of the rise due to influenza mortality should not blind us to the high level which normally prevails. Even more startling are statistics of infantile mortality; for it has been calculated that every year no fewer than two million Indian babies die, while many others survive only to grow up weak and feeble, from unhygienic surroundings during infancy.

Popular education necessary.

Difficulties.

The difficulty of the task which confronts the administration in India can hardly be estimated by those without first hand knowledge of the conditions of the country. Great progress has already been made in research into diseases; but the more difficult task of applying on a large scale the beneficial results to which research leads, has not been tackled with anything like the same success. It is much to be hoped that in the sphere of sanitation, as in that of education, the transfer of the work to popular Ministers will be attended with the desired result of bringing home to the people at large some of the elementary principles of personal and civic hygiene. But it would be a mistake to imagine that the administration has been idle. During the year under review, sanction was received to the constitution of a Central Health Board to advise the Government of India and the Local Governments on technical matters and on sanitary policy; and the question of forming provincial Health Boards was taken up. A small Central Bureau was constituted to supplement work in the provinces, connected with the preparation of lantern slides and lectures for diffusing a knowledge of elementary hygiene among the people; and it is hoped that before long an Imperial Medical Research Institute will be established, which will strengthen the central organisation for combating epidemic diseases and for dealing with medical research. It is proposed to form an Epidemiological Bureau for the collection of statistics, and to maintain a body of epidemiologists who would ordinarily work in the provinces under the administrative control of the Local Governments, but who could be concentrated at the orders of the Government of India in any area afflicted by a severe epidemic.

Plague.

During the year under review, the perpetual warfare against the diseases with which India is afflicted, continued without intermission. The total extermination of bubonic plague from India is now regarded as a matter of persistent and organised effort, and the Government of India during the period under review has proposed the initiation of a more extensive fight against this disease. It is encouraging to notice that during the year 1918-19 the mortality sank to less than one-sixth of the mean mortality during the past two decades. An important part of the anti-plague campaign is the erection of rat-proof grain stalls which result in the diminution of the black rat responsible for the outbreak and spread of the disease. In those parts of India which are afflicted by malaria,

special projects are now undertaken; and in Bengal in particular have been responsible for reducing the death rate from malaria in certain districts where operations are in progress from 2·6 per mille to 1·15 per mille. The distribution of quinine through post offices has had considerable success as an anti-malarial measure. Against leprosy also, warfare is being waged; and thanks largely to the devoted labour of the Mission to Lepers in awakening public opinion to the seriousness of the leper problem in India, steps are being taken to prevent the spread of this disease and to ameliorate so far as may be the lot of those who suffer from it. Beneficial results have already been noticed from a new curative treatment introduced by Sir Leonard Rogers, and the whole problem is now receiving serious attention. The terrible epidemic of influenza to which reference was made in last year's Report, did not revisit India during the year under review; although in January there were some fears of an anticipated recrudescence. Prompt measures were at once taken by the administration to awaken public opinion to the danger, which, it is gratifying to record, failed to materialise. During the year 1920 plans to deal with any threatened importation of yellow fever were completed, as well as those to prevent the spread of epidemic diseases by pilgrims returning from the Haj pilgrimage to Mecca. The establishment of properly equipped quarantine stations in the various ports therefore received considerable attention throughout the period under review.

Malaria.

Leprosy.

Influenza.

Yellow fever.

From what has been said it will be apparent that ever-increasing efforts are being made both by the Central and the Local Governments to arouse public opinion to the desirability of interesting itself in the improvement of Indian sanitation. A noteworthy feature of the year has been the progress of the infant welfare movement, which owes much to the interest of Her Excellency Lady Chelmsford. Very successful exhibitions have been held in Delhi, Bombay, Madras, and other important centres, which have been responsible for awakening the public to the problems of infantile mortality. In certain parts of India this mortality attains almost incredible heights. For example, it has been calculated that no less than 50 per cent. of all the children in Bombay die before reaching the age of 18 months; while in Delhi, one infant out of every four born in 1919 was doomed to die within

Infant welfare.

the first year. Very little can be done to remedy this terrible state of affairs until the support of Indian womanhood can be enlisted. This is difficult of accomplishment save through female agency; and since upon the Indian woman depends the success or failure of every attempt to introduce hygienic principles into Indian homes and to improve the conditions of child birth, there can be no doubt as to the immense importance of educating the female population in the elementary principles of sanitation. The medical work which is being accomplished by the National Association for the Provision of Female Medical Aid to the Women of India, is of the utmost moment, and the efforts of this organisation are being supplemented by voluntary agencies in almost every part of India. But there is so much ignorance, indifference and poverty on the part of Indian women at large, and so much opposition on the part of the indigenous midwives who consider their livelihood at stake, that the progress which is being made is very slow.

Growing popular interest.

The work which has been accomplished during the year under review in other directions is more encouraging. Considerable interest has been aroused among the educated classes in the problem of improving the sanitary conditions of the people at large. In the United Provinces, for example, a committee has recently been constituted to discuss the best methods of sustaining the Lady Chelmsford League for maternity and child welfare, while in Madras a private hospital for children, managed entirely by Indian doctors, constitutes a tangible sign of growing interest in one of India's greatest health problems. In almost every province a Board of Health is either constituted or contemplated; and there is a marked tendency on the part of District Boards to appoint full-time health officers for their localities. The employment of Sanitary Inspectors in growing numbers is another encouraging sign, as is also the commencement of organised propaganda, under the control of the Sanitary Commissioners, in Bombay, Bihar and other provinces, directed towards increasing a knowledge of hygiene among the leaders of the community. In almost every part of India considerable progress is being made with drainage and water works schemes, and the Health Associations which have been established by voluntary agency in all important towns are continuing their useful work. It is hoped that the extension of the sanitary education of India will proceed at an enhanced rate with the transfer of this important branch of nation-building to the control of the elected Ministers of the people. As has been already indicated in the course of this brief summary, the

question of India's health really depends upon bringing into the lives of the people the results achieved by the research of those engaged in investigating the hygienic problems of the country. Among the particular advantages which, it is to be hoped, will ensue from the transfer of sanitation to popular control, may be reckoned the multiplication of those voluntary agencies which have already accomplished such invaluable work. Public Health Conferences have been held from time to time during the year 1920, and there are encouraging signs that the educated classes of India are rapidly awakening to the importance of the work which awaits them in this most important matter.

Closely connected with the problems of sanitation, many of which depend upon the domestic customs of the people, is the question of Social Reform.

Social Reform.

Probably in few spheres of human activity have the democratic ideals encouraged by the war period proved more beneficial than in the impetus afforded to social reform in India. Mention was made in last year's Report of some of the problems which there beset the path of democracy. These problems may broadly be said to centre round the institution of caste, which, intimately bound up as it is with the structure of Hindu society, presents an obstacle almost insuperable to an alien Government attempting to advocate modern ideas. There can be no doubt that a satisfactory advance towards remedying the evils in which the Indian social structure abounds can only be accomplished by Indian administrators. One clue to the magnitude of the task which confronts them may be derived from the fact that the existing social system has frequently been employed as an argument against India's claim to political concession.

The problem of the depressed classes.

Among the most difficult of the problems which await the social reformer in India is the elevation of the depressed classes. As a distinguished exponent of reform, Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, said in the course of the year under review :—" With the liberalizing forces of the British Government, the problem is leaping into full light. Thanks to that Government, it has become more than ever before an all-India problem. The curse of untouchability prevails to this day in all parts of India. It is not mere untouchability. It is worse than that. While all of the depressed classes have been for centuries untouchable, some have been unshadowable, some unapproachable and some even unseeable by the higher castes, and this degradation has been imposed by these castes

of Hindu society on one-fifth of the total population of their own country, race and creed—on 30 per cent. of the Hindu population of India. Out of every ten Hindus, three are treated as beyond the pale of decent humanity."

Depressed classes in Madras.

Early in 1920, the Commissioner of Labour in the Madras Presidency prepared a remarkable note on the depressed classes in that area. He pointed out that in no fewer than six districts of the Madras Presidency more than one person in every five is theoretically not allowed to come within a distance of 64 feet of the higher castes without pollution. The depressed classes fall into the three groups of aboriginal and hill tribes, criminal tribes, and untouchables. The raising of the first class presents considerable difficulties. Not only are the districts they inhabit extremely malarial and infested with wild beasts, but most of the hillmen carry battle axes which they are not afraid to use on provocation. The country is hardly opened up, and even when communications are improved and the danger from malaria diminished, the money lender, the drink seller and the litigant come in. But Government has been tackling the problem systematically. Co-operation properly supervised seems to present the most promising opportunities for the uplift of these people. A typical example both of the difficulties which beset the work and of the success which can be achieved is afforded by the case of the Chenchus, whose headquarters are in the hills of Kurnool. These hills contain the largest compact area of reserved forests in India, and under the original settlement the Chenchus are allowed privileges in regard to minor forest produce, grazing, hunting and other rights. They are supposed to be the hereditary keepers of the Srisalam temple and they levy a tax on pilgrims who go there through their jungles. They also claim fees for watching the crops in villages, which is in point of fact little better than blackmail. Carrying bows and arrows, they shoot at the slightest provocation, and are so elusive that in the tall grass of their jungles it is almost impossible to catch them. Lately a special officer with experience of criminal tribes has been endeavouring to civilize them by teaching them agriculture, by giving them work in splitting bamboos, by opening special schools for them and by looking after them when they are sick. He has gained their confidence in an extraordinary manner and his labours should ultimately bear fruit. Unfortunately the place is extremely malarious and his work has been continually hampered by irreconcileables who lead the young men astray

Hill tribes.

into highway robbery and other crimes, often undoing in a day what it has taken him months to accomplish. But his hands are now to be strengthened to deal with the offenders, and it is hoped that the Chenchus may gradually be won from their wild life, and induced to earn an honest livelihood. It must not be supposed that the case of this tribe is an isolated one. In the majority of the provinces of India there exist territories inhabited by tribes whose methods of livelihood do not seem to have changed appreciably for many centuries; wild savages who have always preyed upon their more peaceful neighbours; who will remain a blot upon India's fair name, until they can acquire some rudiments of civilization.

Criminal tribes.

In the second category of the depressed classes in the Madras Presidency come the criminal tribes. It is rare to find a whole caste or tribe which has thieving as its chief profession, but sections of many tribes are hereditary thieves and even assassins. Government's work among the criminal tribes in Madras, as elsewhere, has been mainly directed to granting them land and establishing settlements which secure their economic freedom by making them independent of the necessity of earning their living by crime. Their children and younger members are educated and shown the advantages of a civilised life. The more reliable of the settlers are given work as wardens; and it is the policy of Government to exclude as far as possible the activities of the regular police from the settlement, as they are a continual reminder of the old criminal life of the tribe.

Panchamas.

The Madras Presidency includes no fewer than 6·5 million persons belonging to the untouchable class. Particularly on the west coast, some of the restrictions which encompass these unfortunates in their dealings with the higher castes are almost incredible. In nearly every village the public water supply is absolutely forbidden to a population which numbers one-sixth of the people of the Presidency. The report of the Madras Commissioner of Labour mentions that last year an English gentleman, while driving through a municipal town with a student, was surprised at a request from his neighbour that he might be allowed to get down and walk and join him later on. He was still more surprised to find from his companion that his reason for descending was that owing to his caste he was not allowed to pass through a particular street. Theoretically all Government offices are open to persons of every class and creed, but a rich and respected gentleman recently returned from abroad was

made to go outside a certain public office when it was discovered that he was of a low caste. These extraordinary social restrictions, so it is related, operate so powerfully that on a respectable Panchama gentleman being appointed to a seat on a Municipality, five members, including a Muhammadan, immediately sent in their resignations and were with difficulty induced to withdraw them. The disability extends also to education. Though in theory all schools financed with public money are open to every class of the community, in practice there has been great difficulty in giving effect to this policy. The administration can legislate as much as it likes, but until the social sense of the community in general has advanced to a level which will enable it to disregard these heritages of a more primitive age, the disabilities under which the lower castes labour will persist. As has already been indicated, the disabilities extend at present to the minutest operations of daily life, and a labourer or small farmer belonging to the depressed classes is continually a loser in buying his ordinary purchases or in disposing of his produce, through his inability to enter a shop or even to pass through many of the streets where the shopkeepers live.

Education of depressed classes.

The most obvious method for the uplifting of the untouchables, as indeed of the other depressed classes of India, lies in education. In the last quarter of a century the number of Panchama pupils in public institutions of Madras has risen from 30,000 to well over 150,000; an increase of 400 per cent. It is moreover encouraging to notice that whereas in 1892 there were only eleven primary schools for girls of the depressed classes in the Madras Presidency, there are now 100. The work of the various Christian Missionary Societies in giving education to the Panchamas is beyond praise. They have now over 3,500 schools with nearly 100,000 pupils. The pioneer work of the missions has not been confined to the education of the depressed classes in their own schools. By resolutely insisting that members of the depressed classes should be admitted to higher educational institutions under mission control, they have gradually created a body of public opinion in favour of treating these classes as fellow human beings. Excellent work is now being carried on by a number of societies other than Christian. In Madras city, schools are maintained by the Theosophical Society, by the Depressed Classes Mission, by the Brahmo Samaj, by the Social Service League and by other religious and philanthropic societies. Concurrently with this educational progress, slow though it is among the depressed classes of the Madras Presidency, the co-operative move-

ment, which teaches the Panchama the virtues of thrift and self-respect and gives him an ambition in life, has made rapid advance. There are now over 14,600 Panchama members of co-operative societies, nearly three times the number that existed five years ago.

In order to deal with the problem of the depressed classes and to carry out schemes for their betterment, the Madras Government has appointed a Commissioner of Labour, whose chief care it will be to see that their interests are advanced. Under his guidance, it is hoped, a large staff will be maintained to attend to such matters as the improvement of the water supply, the advance of education, the institution of co-operative societies, the improvement of housing conditions, the foundation of mission or co-operative colleges, and such similar means as may suggest themselves for the amelioration of the lot of these classes.

Progress elsewhere.

The manner in which the depressed classes problem is being tackled in the Madras Presidency is but typical of the efforts which are being made by the provincial Governments in other parts of India to deal with it, and it is encouraging to notice that public opinion among the educated classes, particularly in Northern India, is awakening rapidly to the necessity of taking energetic steps to cope with the evil. During the period under review, a large number of conferences have been held by the various societies which exist for fostering social reform; and a noteworthy feature of these conferences has been the decision to embark not only upon propaganda work with the object of arousing public opinion to a realisation of the problem, but also upon the formulation of practical schemes for the social amelioration of these helpless elements of the population.

The Indian peasant.

Nor is it merely among the depressed classes that a great work awaits the social reformer throughout India. The general condition of the peasantry up and down the country can only be described by saying that the average cultivator is poor and helpless to a degree to which Europe can afford little parallel. Ignorant and without resources, he is always liable to be oppressed by those richer or more influential than himself. Mention was made in last year's Report of certain settlement operations in Chota Nagpur, which have disclosed the fact that agricultural labourers in that region are not infrequently compelled in time of stress to mortgage their personal liberty. In return for a small sum of money, which they may happen to need at the moment, they agree to serve the individual from whom they have borrowed. The rule is that a man who has so bound himself gets from two to four rupees a year as pocket money and two

pieces of cloth. His labour belongs to his creditor. The debt extends to the children, who remain bound till it has been discharged. There are therefore in Chota Nagpur people who have inherited servitude and who in turn have passed it on to their children, although slavery has long been illegal in India. During 1920 legislation has been undertaken with the object of terminating this inhuman system; but in the absence of informed and enlightened public opinion it is difficult to cope with abuses of this kind, which grow up, as it were, unperceived.

Self-help.

The year under review has been marked by an increasing amount of self-help on the part of the classes among whom social reform is gradually percolating. At the end of May an All-India Conference of the depressed classes was held at Nagpur, in which vehement protests were made against the humiliation to which these classes are subjected and a firm determination enunciated to be free from it at any cost. A notable feature of the gathering, which of itself suffices to lend it a unique character, was a strong expression of gratitude towards Government for its impartial treatment of all classes, combined with bitter criticism against the attitude of social intolerance assumed by certain members of the Nationalist Party. This growing class consciousness of the depressed castes in India is a feature which is full of hope; but if not properly guided it will cause anxiety in the future. In places where these classes have tangible economic grievances, the tendency to disorder resulting from the growth of class solidarity is marked. Reference has been made in another place to the increasing importance of the Tenants' Union movement in Northern India, which, if its direction should fall into unscrupulous hands, may easily lead to trouble of a serious kind throughout a large portion of the rural areas affected. On the whole, however, the tendency towards combination, whether for the formulation of grievances or for the initiation of collective bargaining, which has been a notable feature of the history of the poorer classes of India during the year under review, is as potent for good in rural areas as it is among the urban proletariat, in which sphere it is better known by the title of trades unionism.

Kisan Sabha movement.

But the social problems of India are far from being confined to the lower classes. Among the middle and upper classes, the existing social life contains many features which are repugnant to the

Social reform among the Upper classes.

reformer. Denunciations, for example, of the seclusion of women behind the pardah frequently made their appearance in the public press during the year under review. Unfortunately, the voice of the reformer is too frequently that of one crying in the wilderness. The pardah system is considered fashionable, and no sooner does a class of society, which has not hitherto observed this custom, rise in the economic scale, than the seclusion of women is gradually introduced as being something which is a hall-mark of social rank and of "good form." Further, it is idle to deny that in many quarters there is to be found an opinion unfavourable to the education of women. In part this may be due more to the shortcomings of the education for which facilities now exist, than to any inherent antipathy to education itself. There can be little doubt that until women are allowed the same opportunities as men of mixing with the world around them, it will be difficult for them to achieve even the modest standard of literacy which characterises the male population. More detailed reference to this topic will be made later; and it is sufficient here to say that upon the education of Indian womanhood the nation's progress really depends. Fortunately there is a slowly growing body of upper class opinion against the seclusion of women, and ladies of rank are in many respects securing a certain degree of emancipation. To-day Hindu and Muslim ladies in increasing numbers are contenting themselves with wearing a long veil in public; and in political and social gatherings the proportion of seats reserved for women is increasing. The same general remarks are applicable to the caste system. The vehemence with which it is denounced by social reformers shows no signs of diminishing; but bound up as it is with the very web and woof of the Hindu socio-religious structure, it may be doubted whether its hold over the community is weakening in essentials. There is indeed an obvious tendency towards its modification in directions where it threatens to conflict inconveniently with modern custom. For example, drugs, ice, mineral waters, biscuits, and certain other Western commodities are generally regarded as exempt from the ordinary restrictions which govern the taking of food. The growing habit of railway travel, which is increasing year by year, has in point of fact done something to modify those features of caste which threatened to interfere intolerably with modern conditions of life. But it would be unduly optimistic to assert that in its essentials the system shows any signs of breaking down. As an illustration of the tenacity with which it grips the

Emancipation of Women.

imagination of the orthodox, it may be mentioned that even Mr. Gandhi incurred a good deal of obloquy in the course of the period under review, when he proposed to throw open his newly founded educational institutions to children belonging to the lower castes. Further, a modest Bill which was introduced into the Indian Legislative Council, with the object of making marriage between various castes permissible without imposing upon the contracting parties the necessity of renouncing their Hindu religion, excited an extraordinary volume of opposition in certain quarters, and its passage had to be postponed until such time as the new Indian Parliament should afford a more reliable index to the condition of public opinion than was provided by the old Legislative Council.

Progress during the year.

A general survey would seem to show that the year 1920 has not been devoid of encouraging symptoms. Much prominence has been given in the Indian Press to the utterances of social reformers; and an increasing amount of propaganda has been carried on both from the platform and in the newspapers. The beneficent activities of such societies as the Servants of India, the Seva Samiti, the Bengal Social Service League and other similar organisations have continued unceasingly; and the number of these organisations is increasing year by year. The activities of such societies include welfare work both in the towns and in the rural areas, relief work in times of public calamity from fire or flood, the imparting of sanitary education by leaflets and lectures, and the opening of schools. Among much work which is being done by voluntary agency of this type, mention may be made of the Bhagini Samaj. This society has been founded for a little over four years, and it has in Gujarat fifty centres, all occupied with female education and the elevation of the status of women. During the famine crisis of last year, the society carried on relief work in Kathiawar, visiting nearly 1,500 villages and affording relief to about 23,000 famine stricken persons. To the Western observer one of the most attractive features of the work of this and other societies is the unobtrusive and business-like manner, free from all parade and ostentation, in which it is being carried on.

From all that has been said in the preceding pages of this chapter, it will be realised that the uplift of the Indian people, economic, physical, and moral, really resolves itself into question of education. Without education, the labourer, whether rural or urban, will continue as at present poor and helpless, with little incentive to self-help. Without

education, hygienic progress among the masses is impossible, and social reform a vain delusion. India's educational problems, framed as they are upon a Gargantuan scale, must find their solution writ proportionately large. Expenditure to a figure hitherto undreamed must be faced courageously and speedily. For without education, India will be confronted in no long time with that supreme peril of modern states, an uninformed democracy, omnipotent but irresponsible.

The educational position.

In the last two reviews of the Moral and Material Progress of India, emphasis was laid upon the unsatisfactory educational position. That situation may be described in a very few words. Although the year under review has witnessed an increase of over a quarter of a million in the number of pupils in British India, there are still only 8·2 millions in all the educational institutions put together. That is to say, only 3·36 per cent. of the population is under instruction, this figure being made up of 5·5 per cent. of the males and 1·2 per cent. of the females. And although expenditure has increased by 15 per cent., the total sum expended upon education in India during the year 1919-20 amounted to only £14·89 millions. About 2·5 per cent. of the population is enrolled in primary schools, and less than 3 per cent. is undergoing elementary instruction of any kind. In secondary schools on the other hand 0·5 per cent. of the population is under instruction, an abnormal figure comparing very remarkably with the 0·6 per cent. which has been estimated as the figure in Great Britain. Considering that the female population of the secondary schools is very small, it would seem that if the male population alone be reckoned, no less than 0·9 per cent. is found in the secondary schools—a proportion far greater than the corresponding figure for England and Wales, and approximately equal to that of Germany before the war. In University education, the percentage of the Indian population undergoing instruction is no less than 0·027 per cent., which, considering that here again the female population of India may be almost eliminated, compares remarkably well with the 0·054 of England and Wales. As was mentioned in last year's Report, an examination of the proportion of the college-going population to the total population of single tracts like Bengal, indicates that with a population approximately that of the United Kingdom, the proportion of the educated classes who are taking full-time university courses is in such tracts almost ten times as great as in England.

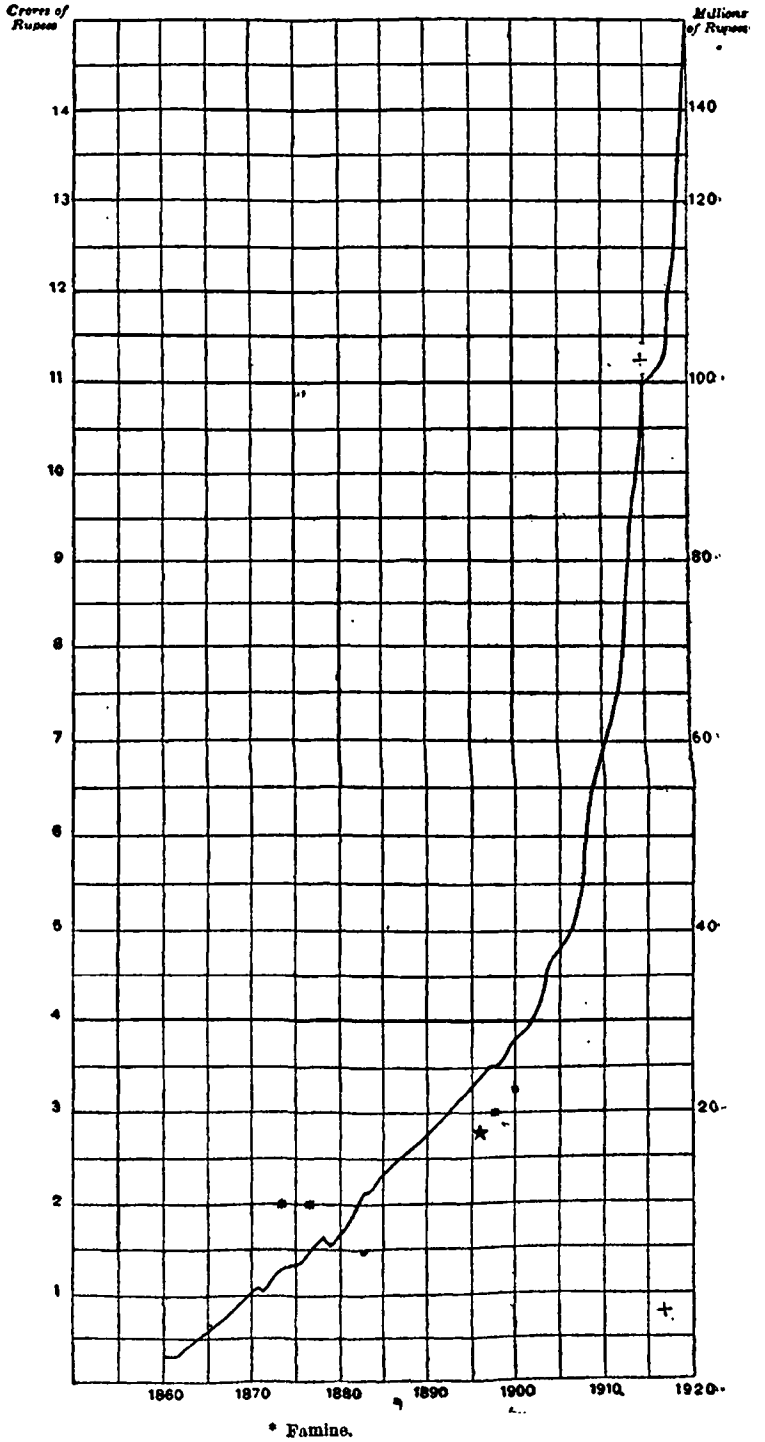
There are thus good grounds for the criticism, so frequently directed against Indian education in the press, that its structure is top-heavy. The lower classes are largely illiterate, while the middle classes who constitute the bulk of the *intelligentsia* are in point of numbers at least educated to a pitch equal to that of countries whose social and economic conditions are far more highly developed. The reasons for this peculiar situation must be sought in history; but in the main they resolve themselves into the statement that the total educational funds, being small, have come to be concentrated upon meeting the demand of those who perceive the benefits of education rather than upon cultivating a desire for education where it does not at present exist. As might be expected from the abnormal distribution of education among the population of India, the form which it has actually assumed, reveals corresponding defects. Since it has been framed primarily with a view to meeting the demands of the *intelligentsia* it is of a predominantly literary type. Only 0·05 per cent. of the population is undergoing instruction in professional colleges and other institutions which provide technical training, as against over 3 per cent. which is found in non-technical institutions. Up to the present time the courses which have been most popular among the middle class *intelligentsia* have been literary, because they lead to Government employment, and are a preliminary to the pursuit of the legal profession. Fortunately there are indications that public opinion is becoming alive to the necessity of encouraging technical education; and it is hoped that in the future there will be a much needed expansion in this direction. From the point of view of the educational expert there are three principal defects which determine the peculiar limitations of the Indian system.

Indian education top-heavy.

Three principal defects.

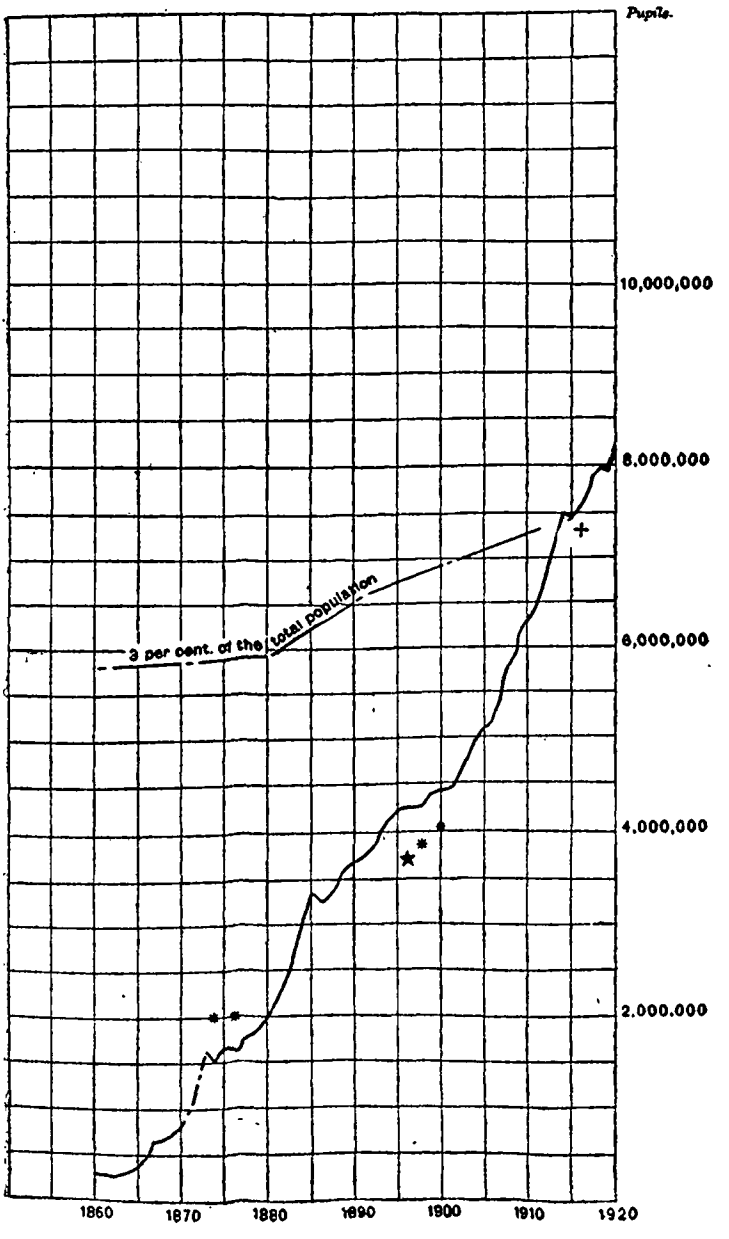
In the first place, properly trained teachers are sadly to seek. Out of a total of 204,000 teachers of vernacular in India, only 70,000 were trained at the end of the official year 1919-20. In the Anglo-Vernacular schools, out of a total of 100,000 Anglo-Vernacular Teachers only 35,000 were trained, and only 11,000 possessed a degree. It is this condition of affairs which has produced a second defect in Indian education, namely that there is little incentive for men of the right sort to enter the teaching profession. Teachers are seriously handicapped by small salaries and less estimation, with the result that with honourable exceptions the profession is not popular among men of high capacity, and there are often obstacles preventing that enthusiasm which more favourable circumstances might

EXPENDITURE ON EDUCATION IN INDIA.



* Famine.
★ Commencement of Plague.
\+ Indian States omitted.

TOTAL NUMBER OF PUPILS UNDER INSTRUCTION IN INDIA.



* Famine.
★ Commencement of Plague.
\+ Indian States omitted.

evoke. In the third place Indian education has hitherto been dominated by an examination system. Fortunately, there is reason to hope that this particular difficulty, which has exercised a paralysing blight upon true educational progress for many years, may before long be remedied as a result of the salutary recommendations of the Calcutta University Commission.

As will be seen from this brief statement, the educational situation with which India is faced upon the eve of responsible government is extremely serious. The only method by which the ideal of nationhood can spread among her vast population, including as it does a multitude of diverse races, castes and creeds, is through a genuine system of national education, which shall enlist in the work of nation-building the generous emotions of Indian youth. Just as the United States of America has been compelled to direct her energies towards the "Americanisation" of the foreign elements which flock to her so readily, so on her own larger scale must India endeavour to focus towards a primary national ideal the secondary provincial ideals of various portions of her population. As has already been indicated, larger funds must at once be allocated to the work. For many years past, the demand for such allocation has figured prominently in the Indian press, but hitherto there has been little conception of the national sacrifice which is involved in the requisite effort. Out of her revenue of something over £180 millions, at the new ratio of the rupee, India is already spending £15 millions upon education, and inadequate as is this sum in proportion to the calls made upon it, it represents a fraction of her public resources which compares not unfavourably with that devoted by other countries to the same purpose. But India is a poor land, and the section of her small revenue available for education is inadequate to the demands made upon it. However it is not easy to see how the figure can be substantially increased. As was pointed out in previous reports, there are many heavy charges upon the resources of the country; of which the most important are the defence of a long land frontier and the maintenance of law and order among great masses of a widely varying population. Vital as educational progress may seem, its foundations will sink in shifting sand unless there are certain pre-requisites to its existence. The stability of the administration and the security of the individual, whether from external aggression or from internal disorder, must first be achieved. It is charges for these ends that have hitherto crippled the efforts of administrators to

Finance.

set the educational structure of India upon a foundation sufficiently extensive for the requirements of the country. It is to be hoped that the Indian agencies henceforth in charge will be able to solve this problem. Conviction on their part of the necessity of a great educational campaign directed towards preaching the gospel of Indian nationhood, can alone awaken those upon whom the pecuniary sacrifices will fall to the benefits which will be derived both at the present and in the future from such a project. The difficulty lies not merely in the magnitude but also in the urgency of the problem. If the funds cannot be found and the educational structure of India cannot expand in proportion to her needs, the realisation of responsible government, with all which that realisation implies in the way of national progress, may be long delayed. Nor is it merely necessary to consider the population of school-going age, of whom at present roughly two-thirds never make their way into an educational institution of any kind. A very large part of the education needed in India is adult education—education which will supply the great new electorates with some guidance in the use of the power which constitutional reforms have placed in their hands; which will encourage them to effort on behalf of their own communities, and impel them to grapple with the poverty which now hangs like a miasma over so large a part of India. In this work, there is a great field for the university extension movement, which might well provide an agency for adult education upon a scale adequate to the requirements of the future. Some such solution of India's problems will unquestionably come in time, and with the rapid multiplication of new universities, of which an account will be given hereafter, its potentialities as a nation building force can with difficulty be overestimated.

Magnitude and urgency of the problem.

Adult education.

A study of the official figures for 1919-20 shows that the year under review has been one of steady progress. In this all classes of institutions have shared, the number attending colleges rising from 0·064 million to 0·066 million; while pupils in secondary schools have increased from 1·21 million to 1·28 million, and in primary schools from 5·9 millions to 6·1 millions. The percentage of the population under instruction varies in different parts of India from 4·75 in Burma, which has an advanced indigenous system*

Progress in 1920.

* The amount of education imparted in Burma is larger than that indicated in the official figures, on account of the existence of monastery schools.

of education to 2·03 in the North-West Frontier Province. It may be mentioned in passing that education in this latter portion of the empire is attended by difficulties peculiarly its own: for example in the year under review, it was found necessary for the headmaster and the boarders of a Kohat school to suspend their studies for the purpose of defending their hostel against the attacks of a gang of trans-Frontier raiders. Madras, Bombay and Bengal come fairly close to Burma with percentages ranging from 4·48 to 4·18, Assam has 3·47 per cent. of her population under instruction, while figures for the United Provinces, the Punjab, the Central Provinces and Bihar and Orissa, range from 2·57 to 2·15. It is obvious from these percentages that the most pressing need of the moment is a rapid extension of primary education. At present primary education in India is not merely defective in quality but also unsatisfactory in results. The great majority of children attending primary schools learn to read and write for not more than three years, and on returning to agricultural pursuits soon forget these attainments. The only cure for this evil is the introduction of the compulsory system, under which children can be retained in school until the primary course has been completed. Mention was made in last year's Report of the fact that the Government of India had been much occupied during 1918-19 with projects for securing this development. In the United Provinces, the Punjab, Bombay, Bihar and Orissa and Bengal, Madras and the Central Provinces, primary education Acts now exist, which permit municipalities, and save in the case of Bombay and the United Provinces, District Boards, to impose the principle of compulsory education under certain conditions. In the United Provinces and in the Punjab, both of which areas have hitherto been particularly backward, a vigorous campaign for the extension of primary education has been inaugurated. In the former province, the local Government has taken full responsibility for finding the money required by the advance, which will, it is estimated, raise the recurring cost of education to half a million sterling within the next three years. In the first year of its existence the primary education programme has been instrumental in increasing the total number of primary schools from 11,500 to 13,500, while the number of boys under instruction rose by 11 per cent. A corresponding attempt to popularise primary education among Muhammadans has met with considerable success, the number of schools for boys of this section of the population having risen from 284 to 492. In the Punjab also, good progress is

Primary education.

being made with the five-year programmes which have been completed by each District Board on the basis of its financial capacity. Government has pledged itself to meet a fixed proportion of the cost of a number of schemes, it being the declared aim of the administration to establish District Board schools at every centre where an average attendance of not less than 50 children may be expected. In Bombay, which is relatively forward in the sphere of primary education, it is hoped to open up primary schools first in every village with 1,000 inhabitants and secondly in every village containing more than 500 inhabitants. Important reforms have recently been inaugurated in the curricula for vernacular training; and nine more district training schools have been opened. Government has provided a notable encouragement to municipal effort in the direction of free education by promising to contribute half the cost. Several municipalities have already made primary education free, and four of them in addition have made it compulsory. Primary schools have increased by more than 700 in the course of the year under review, and the cadre of teachers has risen by 800 of whom 40 per cent. were trained. During the period under review, a Primary Education Act was passed for the Central Provinces, allowing compulsion to be introduced for both sexes between the age limits of 6 and 14. No fees are to be charged and the local authority of any area to which the Act has been applied will be responsible to any primary school maintained wholly out of provincial or local funds for any loss of income caused by the remission of fees. The Act has been completed by the provision of certain penalties for those who prevent children of the prescribed ages from attending school. In Madras also, the year witnessed the passage of an Elementary Education Bill, and the additional rules were so amended as to render compulsory the admission on half fees of poor pupils belonging to backward classes and communities. During the year under review, more than 500 elementary school buildings were constructed in this Presidency, and Government distributed nearly £90,000 among local bodies to enable them to pay increased salaries to their teachers. There was also an attempt, not unsuccessful, to extend elementary education among Muhammadans by introducing secular subjects into schools where hitherto only the Quran had been taught.

Expansion.

So far we have been dealing principally with the education of Indian boys. It now remains to consider the education of Indian girls. The problem of female education is beset by many difficulties. As was mentioned in last year's Report, rapid expansion depends first upon an

adequate supply of competent women teachers, secondly upon devising a course that shall commend itself to conservative opinion which regards female education suspiciously; and thirdly, upon an alteration of the existing structure of education, which is unsuited to the needs of Indian women. The main difficulty remains, as hitherto, the lack of effective demand. During the last few years there has been a substantial improvement in the number of women under training, and in the provision of women's colleges. At the present moment in India there are 16 women's colleges and 118 training schools for women. Altogether there are a little over 1,200 women undergoing university education, and about 3,500 in training schools. It will be difficult to increase this number to any considerable degree throughout India at large until such institutions as pardah, early marriage and the like, can be modified by the growing enlightenment of public opinion. The importance of overcoming the existing female illiteracy is shown by the fact that throughout India only 1·38 million women and girls are under instruction of any kind. Female illiteracy constitutes a serious bar to educational progress, since with half the population growing up almost without education, the incentive to education in the other half must be appreciably lowered. Mention was made in last year's report of a resolution issued by the Government of India outlining the main difficulties to be overcome in this sphere and indicating the lines along which future expansion might proceed. The two principles which underlie the proposals of the Calcutta University Commission in regard to female education, namely, modification of the curriculum to suit the needs of different classes and the utilization of the advice of ladies in formulating a suitable scheme for instruction, have been accepted by the administration. Unfortunately, there is every reason to believe that public opinion is far from realising the importance of educating Indian womanhood. But now that the problems of education are made over to Indians for solution, it is to be hoped that means will be found to break down the apathy which has hitherto operated to hinder the expansion of female education. Only a great social change can call forth the teachers who are the primary requisite for such expansion. The Calcutta University Commission pointed out that peculiar difficulties and dangers surround young women who set out to teach in lonely village schools. " The fact has to be faced," the Commission reported, " that until men learn the rudiments of respect and chivalry towards

Female education.

Female illiteracy.

Public opinion.

women who are not living in Zenana, anything like a service of women teachers will be impossible." It will therefore be seen that the problem does not merely depend for its solution upon the good will of the administrators.

In the sphere of secondary education, the year was one of considerable progress, the number of secondary schools in British India increasing by more than 500 and now standing at the figure of 8,700. But the whole structure of secondary education in India is very unsatisfactory. As was pointed out by the Calcutta University Commission, this branch of educational work is of poor standard and badly regulated. The demand for it is almost inexhaustible and all efforts at reform seem at present to be swamped beneath an overwhelming supply of cheap and bad institutions. However inferior the education available may be, the proprietors of private schools are able to manage their institutions at the lowest limits of efficiency without fear of losing their pupils; and since the most necessary ingredients of education, as generally understood, namely, discipline, social life, good physical conditions and a reasonable standard of class work, are not demanded, they are not supplied. Public opinion does not often support the schoolmaster, and parents are only too ready to listen to any complaints of their children against strictness and discipline. As was pointed out in previous Reports, political agitation often occupies the minds of boys to an extent which tends to hinder true education; and during the last few years it has been found necessary in several provinces to issue orders prohibiting schoolboys from attending political meetings. On the whole, the main indictment against the structure of secondary education in India is that it has hitherto failed to equip those who undergo it for citizenship. Very largely on account of its intrinsic defects, every Indian boy who desires to obtain an education worthy of the name finds himself compelled to pass from the secondary school to the University, even though his aptitude and choice of future avocation do not in themselves fit him for university status at all. The reorganisation of secondary education in India is one of the first tasks which will await Indian Ministers. At present, the schools have no spiritual life which touches a boy's innermost being, and contain nothing which may satisfy his emotional desires. Since by far the largest proportion of the population of any country can scarcely, even under the most favourable circumstances, hope to pursue its formal education beyond the completion of the full secondary stage, it is of the first importance that the structure of secondary education should be sound and

Secondary education.

well-balanced. Unless this is the case in India, the major portion even of those boys who pass through the full secondary course must necessarily enter the world with no training for citizenship, with unformed ideals and with no aspirations save those connected with personal gratification. The establishment of a new system is therefore urgently necessary; and if, as is devoutly to be hoped, it follows the lines laid down by the Calcutta University Commission, it will entail a remodelling of the existing departments of public instruction. The erection in the several provinces of Boards for Secondary and Intermediate education, representative not only of official, educational and sectarian interests, but also of industry, agriculture, medicine and the like, will be necessary before the structure of secondary education can be so framed as to support the responsibilities which will rest upon it for training in nationhood the future citizens of India.

New system wanted.

During the year under review considerable progress has been made in the reorganization of the Indian university system. Here an invaluable lead was supplied by the recommendations of the Sadler Commission, which advised the adoption of the centralized unitary university as the ideal for India. The essence of this system is the constitution of the university as a unitary teaching body, wherein all formal instruction is given by university officers under the direct control of university authorities, without the interposition of collegiate education between these authorities and the students. The contrast between this future university, arranged, as it may be hoped, upon a residential basis, and the existing university system of India, is most marked. Up to the present, as has been pointed out, the system in vogue in India has generally been that of affiliation. A university has hitherto consisted of scattered colleges, one often separated from another by hundreds of miles. With inadequate staff and meagre equipment, these colleges have in the majority of cases attempted to perform the function of miniature universities. The university itself has possessed merely a phantom existence as an examining and controlling body. In consequence, the university standard has been something external to the colleges, naturally therefore tending to lower itself to the capacity of the weakest institution. It is refreshing to record that during the year under review the transformation of the Indian university system has proceeded apace. The Dacca University Bill, which set up an organisation of the unitary residential type upon the model provided by

University education.

New Universities.

the Calcutta University Commission, was passed into law in March 1920, and Mr. Hartog, a former member of the Sadler Commission, was appointed as the first Vice-Chancellor. Towards the end of the same year, a new university came into existence at Lucknow. The scheme has been framed in consultation with representatives of all shades of opinion, and save for a few minor deviations it follows closely the model of Dacca. Almost at the same time the great Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh was constituted into a University of the teaching and residential type. This institution promises to be of peculiar interest, providing as it does special facilities for the imparting of Muhammadan religious education and for the pursuit of Islamic studies. It represents a counterpart to the Hindu University at Benares, and, it is hoped, will offer, along with that institution, the opportunity of realising ideals of national education developed by indigenous agency. Yet a third university project came into existence at the close of the period under review. The Calcutta University Commission had cordially endorsed the projected establishment of a University at Rangoon, and although the institution as finally established did not coincide entirely with the model laid down by the Commissioners, it none the less reproduced its more essential features.

In addition to the establishment of these three Universities, much attention was directed during 1920 to the reform or creation of other institutions of the same grade. The Calcutta University, which from its size and congested condition presents a very difficult problem, still remained unreformed during the year 1920. The Government of India had invited the views of the University, and were prepared to introduce legislation, in which, however, the Secretary of State saw difficulties. It was therefore decided to carry out at once only that part of the Commission's recommendations which involved the transfer of control over the University from the Government of India to the Government of Bengal. Legislation to this end was passed in March 1921. It will now be for the Government of Bengal and the Bengal Legislature to consider what further steps should be taken. The project for a university at Nagpur in the Central Provinces continued to receive attention, and before long, it is hoped that the preparation of a university bill will be undertaken. Proposals have also been put forward for the establishment of a university at Delhi and a Committee has been appointed to work out the details of the scheme. A site has been reserved in the

University reforms.

new imperial capital, and estimates for the buildings are now being prepared.

Turning to the special branches of educational work, we notice that

Muhammadan education.

Muhammadan education in India presents peculiar problems of its own, since it is necessary that every boy who undergoes educational training must spend a considerable time in religious instruction. This naturally reduces the period available for secular instruction. Generally apeaking, the community is backward as compared with the Hindus; but as a result of increased efforts both on its own part and on that of the administration, the percentage of Muhammadan pupils to pupils of other communities now bears almost the same proportion as do the Muhammadans themselves to the entire population. Greater appreciation among Muslim leaders of the necessity for increasing the educational level of their co-religionists is a most encouraging feature of the situation. Conferences have been held from time to time during the year under review with the object of awakening the interest of the community in educational problems, and directing attention to their shortcomings in this respect. A great impetus towards educational advance may confidently be expected to result from the erection of the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College of Aligarh into a centralised residential university of the most modern type. In Bombay a scheme for a new government Muhammadan college is under contemplation. In the sphere of school education almost every provincial Government has shown considerable activity during the period under review. In the United Provinces, as already mentioned, special provision has been made in the primary education programme for the encouragement of Muhammadan schools; while in Madras two new training schools, one for masters and the other for women teachers, have been opened. There is still considerable leeway to make up almost everywhere in India, but it is reported that on the whole Muhammadan education is gaining ground in a very satisfactory manner.

In the education of Europeans and of the domiciled community, progress continues to be made. As might be expected, in this sphere education does not suffer from many of those defects which have operated to cripple it in wider circles. The European and Anglo-Indian community is comparatively small, realises the neces-

European education.

sity for education, and is prepared to pay for it. Towards the education of the domiciled community, a certain amount of State aid is necessary. This however is

caused not by any unwillingness to recognise the advantages of education, but by sheer lack of the necessary resources. Indeed, redoubled efforts are being made by the Anglo-Indian community to acquire for its members an education which will fit them to hold their place in India under the new conditions. More than 60 per cent. of the cost of education in this branch is met from private resources. During the year under review progress has been made with a scheme for the establishment of a training college at Ootacamund, and a new college for European teachers is to be established at Sanawar in the Punjab.

Depressed classes.

Turning now to the education of backward and depressed classes, we have already noticed that some progress has been made in the admission of Panchamas into schools under public management in Madras; the total number of scholars belonging to this depressed class in public schools increasing by nearly 4,000 boys and more than 2,000 girls in the year under review. It is interesting to record that from many parts of India a general desire on the part of backward and depressed classes for education is reported; but it appears that the type of education now supplied does not always meet their demands. In Berar, for example, the backward classes appear to be recognising that the breakdown of social barriers is impossible until a more satisfactory level of economic equality with the superior classes has been established. Accordingly, they prefer to send their children for industrial training rather than for Anglo-Vernacular education—an interesting example of superiority to the prejudice under which many of the *intelligentsia* themselves still labour. Among aboriginals and criminal tribes, the Missionary societies and in particular the Salvation Army have continued to carry on admirable work. These private agencies have been particularly successful in dealing with children of the criminal tribes. There is still ample scope for further efforts, as may be gathered from the fact that only approximately ½ per cent. of the total criminal tribe population in India, reckoned at 4 millions, is at present under instruction. Of the aboriginal population which is reckoned at under 10 millions, approximately 1½ per cent. is at school.

Technical education.

Technical education continues to occupy a large share of the attention both of Government and of the public. In consequence of the Industrial Commission, the control of technical and industrial education has now been turned over to the provincial departments of Industries. It is therefore in the records of the Provincial Governments that the progress of industrial education during the year under review is to be discovered. Public

opinion is fully alive to the importance of increasing both the quantity and the quality of the facilities now available for training Indians in commercial pursuits. There are still only 82 colleges and schools of commerce in the country, with under 6,000 students. This number is plainly inadequate to the needs of a population so large as that of India, and the old difficulty of placing in suitable positions boys who have passed through institutions of this character is already rapidly disappearing. In the Punjab a good beginning has been made by the opening of a Government Institute of Commerce at Lahore, which is affiliated to the Punjab University and prepares students for a diploma. Doubtless owing to the reorganisation of control which has been undertaken during the year under review, the number of students in engineering colleges, of which there are only four in India, slightly decreased; but it is satisfactory to notice that in the 17 schools of engineering which are scattered up and down the country the attendance of pupils increased from just over one thousand to over twelve hundred. A College of Engineering has recently been opened at the Benares Hindu University which promises to exercise a great influence in overcoming the hereditary distaste which many boys of the educated classes display to technical and manual pursuits. In future, the control of technical education will be vested in the popularly elected ministers, and it is to be hoped that the enthusiasm with which projects for the extension of this important branch are now everywhere greeted will translate itself into practical development.

Agricultural education.

For a very long time to come, the sphere of technical education which will be of the most immediate benefit to the people of India is agricultural education. In another place, mention has been made of some of the work done in the higher branches by the Agricultural Research Institute at Pusa. We should notice that there are agricultural colleges in Bombay, Madras, the United Provinces, the Punjab, the Central Provinces and Bihar. Similar institutions are shortly to be opened in Bengal and Burma, where the need for them is already great. It is hoped that the scheme for an Agricultural Institute at Dacca in Bengal, which aims at affording a thorough practical training to young men who have already been through a course in pure science, will shortly be given a trial. In matters relating to agricultural education, it is interesting to note, Bombay is still ahead of other provinces so far as numbers are concerned. The Agricultural College at Poona is increasing its students, which now come not only from adjoining provinces and states, but from localities

farther afield. Perhaps the best proof that this college is beginning to realise the aims of its designers lies in the fact that an increasing number of agricultural graduates now prefer to return to the land and put their knowledge to practical application, rather than to enter Government service. The majority of the agricultural colleges in India run two separate courses, a longer and a shorter, with the idea of attracting two distinct classes of people. The long courses are steadily increasing in popularity among the sons of landholders, who are beginning to consider the possibility of taking up agriculture as a profession. The shorter course, which is generally a vernacular course, is patronised principally by the sons of less wealthy men, who desire a certain amount of scientific training in order to obtain the best results from their own holdings. But in addition to the training given in the colleges, which, whether in the long or in the short course, is of a comparatively advanced nature, efforts have for some time been made to stimulate agricultural education of a more elementary type. In Bombay, for example, there are six vernacular agricultural schools, which are doing very useful work. This type of training has yet to commend itself to the people for whom it is primarily planned. The two new agricultural model schools, started in the Central Provinces, of which mention was made in last year's Report, did not prove much of an attraction to students belonging to the landholding classes. Enquiries seem to reveal that the curriculum followed was somewhat too technical for the taste of the people, who desire their sons to obtain rather a general education on a sufficiently broad basis than an education in which practically everything is taught with a strong bias towards agriculture. But the propaganda work of the Agricultural Department is producing every year a keener demand for manures, for improved implements and for scientific methods. As a result of this, the demand of the cultivating classes for an education which will enable their sons to apply effectively the results of agricultural research work, is steadily springing up. In rural elementary schools up and down India increased stress is being laid on the provision of elementary agricultural training. In the Punjab, the logical development of this idea has already been followed up, and teachers are being put through a practical course of agriculture at the Lyallpur College. It is also interesting to notice that a course of agricultural education for soldiers has been initiated at the Jullundur demonstration farm in the Punjab—a line of advance which promises to be of considerable importance in the future.

Popular interest.

CHAPTER VI.

Government and the People.

Hitherto, we have been dealing mainly with certain progressive activities upon which, in India as elsewhere, the prosperity of the country directly depends. We have now to consider very briefly those more primitive functions of the administration, apart from which stability and progress alike dissolve into a welter of anarchy. Of these functions, not the least important, and probably the most remarkable, is the maintenance of the public peace among the millions who inhabit British India.

Peace and order.

Some outline of the various difficulties encountered by the police in the course of their task of preserving law and order among a population of 240 millions, has been given in preceding Reports. In order to appreciate these difficulties, it must be remembered that the people of India are composed of races more diverse from one another in language, customs and physique, than any to be found included in the boundaries of Europe. While many are in a state of civilization which will bear comparison with that of any Western country, there are others who, habituated for centuries to a life of disorder, are only restrained by the strong arm of the administration from re-assuming their predatory habits at the expense of the peaceful and the progressive sections of the population. It is not therefore surprising to find that in the course of any given twelve months, the tasks which have to be undertaken by the Indian Police include many which might well seem characteristic of widely separated centuries in the history of Europe. At the one extreme, there comes the prevention of reckless driving on the part of chauffeurs in the highly westernised cities of Calcutta, Madras or Rangoon; while at the other there comes the task of dealing with free-booting bands in the tropical jungles of Burma. Between the two are the intermittent religious riots, which almost every year convulse for a few days rural or urban populations of normally peaceful character; recurrent highway robberies by gangs of bandits; and peasant mass movements similar in many respects to those which

Difficulties of the Indian Police.

characterised certain periods of European history during the Middle Ages. Throughout the whole of British India the total strength of the civil police is just over 1,000 officers of the rank of Deputy Superintendent, and of higher grades, and some 202,000 officers and men of the lower ranks. In addition to these there are some 30,000 officers and men of the Military Police, of whom more than half belong to Burma.

During the year under review, there have been consistent efforts on the part of the administration to improve the pay and prospects of the Indian Police. As may be gathered from the multifarious nature of their duties, it is extremely important that even the subordinate ranks should recruit men of the right stamp to perform the difficult and responsible task of safeguarding public peace. Accordingly, schemes for providing the rank and file with suitable accommodation, for maintaining a more adequate reserve to enable leave to be granted more freely, and for increasing the rewards for good service, have been put into operation almost everywhere in India. Two years ago, the shortage of men was causing serious anxiety to the authorities; for small pay, heavy work and difficulty of obtaining leave, discouraged many suitable men from joining the service. But as a result of the improvements above mentioned, the police cadres are now beginning to fill up. Discipline shows steady signs of improvement and departmental punishments are on the decline. But the average annual cost of the policeman throughout India is still only £35 per man, including officers; which means that the cost of police protection is something like 7*d* per head of the population. It cannot therefore be surprising that the police system in general, while extremely efficient in proportion to the money spent upon it, does not yet attain the level of the corresponding force in England.

Upon the possibility of recruiting men of the right stamp and placing them in a position of comparative immunity from the many special temptations with which their work is beset, depends the problem of rehabilitating the police in the eyes of the educated public in India. At present, only just over half the policemen of India can read and write, and until the force in other provinces can be brought up to the 91 per cent. standard of literacy that exists in Madras, it will be difficult to expect a much higher standard of efficiency than at present exists. It must be remembered that the variety of work which the Indian police are called upon to perform, and the different classes of criminals with whom they are compelled to deal, makes it extremely difficult for them to satisfy their

Efficiency of the Police.

somewhat exacting critics. The methods which are not only desirable but even essential when applied to the suppression of highway robbery, naturally cause deep resentment when applied a few miles away to a highly educated town population, accustomed to all the amenities of twentieth century existence, and intensely resentful of anything approaching high-handedness on the part of the police. The difficult position of the force has not been eased of late by the tense atmosphere of excitement which has pervaded the politically minded classes in India. The police, being that arm of the administration with which the average citizen is brought most closely into contact, have to bear the brunt of any general unpopularity which the administration as a whole has gained for itself. Accordingly, therefore, the offences of the individual policeman are widely advertised and consistently exaggerated, while the general good work of the force is too often passed over in silence. Public opinion still tends to look upon the policeman as the symbol of oppression and restraint. This is in part due to his function of maintaining order in times of political excitement, of arresting political leaders who have over-stepped the limits laid down by law, and of conducting enquiries regarding alleged sedition. On the other hand, it cannot be denied that there still exists a small but steadily decreasing amount of corruption among low paid subordinates, who are exposed to temptation of every kind. The inherited tradition which identifies executive authority with arbitrary power, and refuses to believe that repression may spring from honest striving after public good, is also a factor in the unpopularity of the police. It is however satisfactory to notice in this Report, as in last year's, a steady decrease in the volume of complaints of individual high-handedness brought against the police by the vocal section of Indian opinion. During the year 1920 there has been in most parts of India a steadily growing measure of co-operation between the police and the public. This may be taken to indicate an increasing appreciation on the part of the public at large of the difficulties and the responsibilities of those whose duty it is to maintain the peace. It is hardly necessary to point out how salutary will be the effect of this growth of responsibility on the part of the Indian community at large. So long as the police were isolated from the public in their fight against the forces of disorder, it was difficult to see how the policeman could ever become in India, what he has for so long been in England, the friend and servant of the individual citizen. But the dissipation of the suspicion

The Force in the Public eye.

with which the police are encompassed is a slow business. A disquieting feature of their present position is the practice, more common perhaps in India than in other parts of the Empire, of bringing false charges against them. It may be mentioned that in Bengal alone, in the course of twelve months, no fewer than 33 civil suits which were proved to be false were brought against members of the police; while of nearly 600 criminal complaints preferred against them by private individuals, over 430 ended in acquittal or discharge. This, as was pointed out by Lord Ronaldshay when commenting upon it, affords a clear proof that the great majority of these suits were brought out of malice.

Difficulties of the period.

During the year 1920, the police system of India has been exposed to a strain which, if less severe than that of the year 1919, was none the less very considerable. As was mentioned in last year's Report, it is a general axiom of administration in India that crime tends to rise in direct proportion to the severity of economic stress. Now during the major portion of the year under review, the good monsoon of 1919 and the high prices of agricultural produce tended to decrease substantially such crimes as highway robbery. There was a comparative absence also of food riots and market looting, which are a frequent cause of disorder when harvests are bad. But throughout rural India, there has been a considerable amount of agitation, not always free from disorder. In the United Provinces and Bihar, in particular, the peasants, who have for long possessed their own definite grievances, have, as already mentioned,

Agrarian trouble.

organised themselves in several districts into Tenants' Unions. Occasionally, under the influence of bad advice either from a political agitator or a Utopian visionary, the peaceful activities of these unions have temporarily transmuted themselves into violence. Certain leaders of the non-co-operation movement, finding that their success among the educated classes was problematical, have turned their attention to exciting ignorant peasants, already sufficiently restive under grievances of their own. Towards the close of the period under review, a serious situation arose in Partabgarh (Oudh), where some thousands of peasants, exasperated by restraints placed upon certain leaders coming into the District from outside,—leaders who, the local authorities feared, were inciting to a breach of the peace—began to loot and rob. The police behaved with great restraint, but were ultimately compelled to fire, inflicting a few casualties. As must unfortunately be the case

in India, exaggerated and misleading accounts of the incident were current in certain of the less reputable newspapers, with the result that a fresh count was added to the long indictment against the police which exists in the minds of many Indians. It has already been hinted that the popular conception of the character of the police in India is such as to make it possible, in theory at least, to bring almost any charge against them with the certainty of it being believed by some sections at least of public opinion. A curious example of this occurred in the Champaran district of Bihar in November, where the looting of certain villages by the population of certain other villages was without the slightest apparent justification laid to the door of the police. Unfortunately in this case, as in others, the persons who framed vague accusations without any attempt to verify the facts can with difficulty be induced to make such reparation as is in their power by publicly withdrawing charges even when they have been proved baseless. Even the arrest, in the same Partabgarh District to which reference was made above, of a notorious bad character who had been terrorising the neighbourhood by his depredations, was distorted by a section of the press of the United Provinces into an accusation that the police were persecuting worthy citizens for no better reason than that they had joined the Tenants' Union.

Dacoity.

During the year 1920, considerable progress has been made in the suppression of gang-robbery, which is generally so formidable in the United and the Central Provinces. It was mentioned in the Report for 1919 that there had been regular pitched battles in that area between the police and bands of robbers. The difficulty of suppressing these dacoits is always increased by the fact that they terrorise the villagers by cruelties so atrocious that few or none can be found to give evidence against them. But during the year under review both in the United Provinces and in the Central Provinces, the police definitely gained the upper hand over the gangs. Individual acts of great gallantry on the part of the force have contributed largely to this success, and the increasing resistance offered by villagers when attacked by brigands is a symptom of their growing confidence in the strength of the forces of law and order. But no little credit for the triumph of the police over this particular form of crime must be ascribed to the hearty co-operation of the authorities of the Indian States. Formerly one of the most formidable obstacles to the suppression of gang robbery consisted in the fact that the robbers, after committing their depredations, would scatter themselves over

a wide area, ultimately taking refuge beyond the borders of the nearest Indian State. But in the year 1920, both in the United Provinces and in the Central Provinces, the authorities of particular States have co-operated most heartily in bringing such activities to a close. Particular mention may be made of the action taken by the State of Gwalior under the personal supervision of His Highness the Maharaja Sindhia himself, which resulted in the arrest and conviction of no fewer than 105 robbers.

Urban crime.

So far as urban crime is concerned, the year 1920 has been for the police a heavy one. In the middle of the year there was a remarkable outbreak of hooliganism in Calcutta which caused the greatest consternation to peaceful citizens. Bands of *Gundas* or professional bravos armed with bludgeons, mainly hailing from provinces outside Bengal, terrorised thronged localities in Calcutta, robbing and beating peaceful citizens and severely handling such police as ventured to interfere with them. The outbreak finally culminated in the murder, by a band of these hooligans, of a rich and respected citizen of Calcutta, who had ventured to remonstrate with them for singing obscene songs in front of his house. Public opinion being aroused, it was possible for the police to deal with the outbreak in a firm and thorough-going manner, with the result that by the end of the period under review, the trouble had to a great extent disappeared.

Religious disturbances.

Religious disturbances unfortunately made their appearance once more in the course of the year 1920. In southern India there were serious religious riots at Nellore, and in northern India at Agra, Fatehpur Sikri, and Pilibhit. In several cases, these riots occurred on account of the passage of a Hindu procession in front of a mosque. In Agra, it may be noticed, the well meant efforts on the part of the leaders of the Hindu and the Muslim community to avoid a clash during the coincidence of a local swimming fair with the great Muhammadan season of Moharram, broke down, with the result that 25 men were injured and the police were compelled to disperse the rioters. In Rangoon also there were serious cow-killing riots, which resulted in the injury of several Muhammadans.

Labour troubles.

The serious and prolonged epidemic of strikes to which reference has been made elsewhere, threw an additionally heavy burden upon the police throughout the whole of the year 1920. The duty of maintaining order among a crowd of many thousand excited and angry strikers is no lighter in

India than elsewhere; and it must be ascribed to their tactful handling of various difficult situations that the occasions upon which the police were compelled to open fire were few. In no case was firing resorted to save under the strain of persistent stone throwing, which threatened to overwhelm the small parties of police available. None the less the mere fact that firing took place at all did not fail to arouse considerable comment on the part of the thinking public of India. There is reason to believe that strenuous efforts will be made in the future to limit recourse to this drastic step even more narrowly than is the case at present. One difficulty of the situation arises from the fact that Indian mobs are frequently armed with heavy bludgeons, of a type with which mobs in Western countries are fortunately unfamiliar. In combination with stone throwing, the employment of these bludgeons by a mob renders its dispersal much more difficult by the ordinary tactics of a baton charge than would be the case under corresponding circumstances in Europe or America.

Decline of anarchy.

It is encouraging to find that during the year 1920, anarchical crime has still further declined. There is every reason to hope, indeed, that with the increasingly rapid advance of India towards self-governing institutions, the party which hopes to attain self-government by violent ends will steadily disappear. The spirit of the time has indeed changed greatly, and young idealists, similar to those who all too often represented the flower of youthful patriotism in Bengal, can now find an outlet for their energies which is more profitable at once for India and for themselves than the pursuit of anarchical crime. That the party of anarchy is still alive, is unfortunately proved by the occurrence of certain robberies with political motives during the period under review. But it must be plain that these crimes, regrettable though they are, represent a considerable improvement upon the condition of affairs indicated by the Mainpuri conspiracy case of which mention was made in last year's Report. The steady growth of effective public opinion against enterprises of this kind is perhaps even more responsible for their suppression than the devoted activities of the Criminal Intelligence Department. The ready help which was afforded during the year under review by multitudes of peacefully disposed persons in bringing dangerous criminals to justice, serves to indicate a development which is full of promise for the near future.

It may be noted in passing that the central offices of the Criminal Intelligence Department in India are now equipped with scientific

apparatus which facilitates the employment of the latest resources of detection for the confusion of the criminal. As an illustration mention may be made of the work which is done by the Government Examiner of Questioned Documents, Mr. F. Brewester. Photography plays an important part in the examination of documents with a view to determining their genuineness. The Government Examiner has at his disposal a well equipped laboratory completely equipped with up-to-date scientific appliances. He has to deal with references of various kinds in a great variety of languages from all parts of India and Burma, as well as from such distant points as Shanghai, Baghdad, Mombassa and Ceylon. In consequence of the large tract of country from which references are received, the variety of work is very great. Probably in no other country do the same facilities exist for the study of questioned documents. As an example of the kind of scientific detection work which is handled by this office, mention may be made of a case concerning an elected Member of an Indian Council, who was sought to be unseated on the allegation of having signed a typewritten letter, which, if genuine, rendered him entirely unfit for participation in any public body. But the identification of particular typewriting machines is now a matter of scientific certainty, and it was proved conclusively that the letter was not typed on any machine to which the Member in question could possibly have had access. Another interesting case is connected with a recent election petition. The genuineness of the nomination paper depended upon whether a signature was placed upon a thumb impression, or *vice versâ*. It was satisfactorily proved by the Government Examiner that the signature had been written first and the thumb impression placed upon the paper afterwards. Many other instances might be given as to the utility of this interesting branch of detection; but enough has been said to indicate that the Indian Police authorities have at their disposal methods and facilities which may challenge comparison with those in use in other countries.

Examination of questioned documents.

The detection of the criminal is a necessary preliminary to his incarceration. The jail remains in India as elsewhere a necessary part of the machinery by which society secures its own protection.

Mention was made in last year's Report of approaching changes in the Indian jail system. At present, mainly on account of the great size of the Indian continent, jail management is conducted by local Governments in widely

The Indian jail system.

different fashion. There is too little inter-communication between the agencies responsible for this work in the different provinces, which are thereby to some extent deprived of the benefit which they would otherwise derive from pooling their experience. To a considerable degree, uniformity of procedure in all provinces is not merely undesirable but also impossible, on account of varying conditions. But there is reason to think that certain general principles governing the treatment of criminals might receive more extended application throughout India than is at present the case. Accordingly as was mentioned in "India in 1919" a Committee was appointed to investigate the whole question of prison administration with the object of applying to the system at present in existence in India the most valuable of the experience which has resulted from western progress. This Committee visited many prisons and industrial and reformatory schools in Great Britain, in addition to touring in the United States, Japan, the Philippine Islands and Hongkong. Their work came to an end in the summer of 1920, when after an extensive investigation of prison conditions in India and Burma and a lengthy visit to the Andamans, their report was placed in the hands of the Government of India. This report is the first general survey of Indian prison administration that has been made for thirty years, and contains many recommendations which are likely to have a far-reaching effect. Published just subsequent to the close of the period under review, it is at present under consideration, and already an official announcement has been made that one of the most important of its recommendations, the progressive abandonment of the Penal Settlement in the Andamans, has been accepted by Government. In general, it may be said that the Report lays stress upon the necessity of improving and increasing the existing accommodation; of recruiting a better class of warders: of providing education for prisoners: and of so shaping prison industries as to meet the needs of consuming departments of Government. It recommends the creation of children's courts: the adoption of the English system of release on license for adolescents, and the separation of civil from criminal offences.

The Jails Committee.

The Report.

While there are grounds for supposing that the administration of Indian jails has a good deal to learn from improvements which have been introduced of recent years into Western countries, it would be a mistake to imagine that many of the problems which the Indian Jails Committee has been asked to investigate have not for many years been

the subject of study in India. Here as elsewhere increasing attention is now paid to the ameliorative treatment of criminals, and to the possibility of reclaiming them for decent society. Much progress in this direction has been made; and prisoners are now taught useful trades which will enable them on their release to earn an honest livelihood. This is simplified by the fact that by far the largest proportion of prisoners—some 100,000 out of an average daily prison population of less than 127,000—come from the agricultural community. The experiment is now being tried of teaching these men the latest agricultural improvements under the supervision of the local agricultural department. Classes of prisoners are taken round the various fields of demonstration farms, and jail farms now exist in many places. It is hardly necessary to point out that jail industries of various kinds such as printing, oil-pressing, brick and tile making, carpet making, paper making and weaving have long been carried on with success and have now attained a development which enables them to pay some portion of the expense of the whole system. During the year 1919, for example, £250,000 out of a total cost of £1,500,000 was paid by the earnings of the prisoners themselves. It is hoped that with the increasing development of jail industries, this proportion will be considerably enlarged.

Recent development.

The treatment of youthful prisoners in India follows the lines now laid down by modern administrations in other parts of the world. The Borstal system is flourishing in two provinces, and excellent work is being done by the boys in the industrial classes. The provision of sound industrial training for youthful prisoners and their segregation from hardened offenders, is of course a generally accepted policy. But in India as elsewhere, the ultimate success of any movement for reclaiming prisoners, whether youthful or adult, must remain in the hands of the general public. Valuable work is now being done in caring for discharged prisoners by the voluntary welfare organizations which exist in various parts of India. The Salvation Army, in India as elsewhere, makes a special point of caring for discharged prisoners and providing a respectable livelihood for men conditionally released. In Bombay and in several other large centres the Released Prisoners Aid Society is performing a valuable function; and during the year under review, efforts were made to inaugurate a Prisoners Aid Society in Madras. But all that is at present accomplished by such voluntary organizations

Welfare work.

is a mere fraction of what might be done for the reclamation of released prisoners; and if only the general public can be sufficiently interested in this most important social question, the progress in the near future may be expected to be more satisfactory.

From this brief consideration of the machinery which aims at the preservation of law and order, we turn to a survey of the field which exists for the cultivation of those positive virtues of citizenship, apart from which any community, however law-abiding, must remain apathetic and lifeless.

Local Self-Government.

As to the importance of the part to be played by local self-government in India today, there can be no two opinions. It is in this sphere, and in this sphere alone, that administrative experience and communal ideals can be implanted in the population at large; but probably in no other branch of civic activity is the contrast between India and progressive countries at present so marked. In Europe and in America, institutions of self-government are planted deep in the consciousness of the people, and upon them the fabric of nationhood has been solidly erected. In India the situation is different. The ideal of nationhood is, it is true, making its way in an ever-increasing degree among the educated classes; but it has yet to penetrate into the masses of the population. Until communal ideals and the civic spirit can be instilled into the Indian masses, it will be impossible to achieve that concentration upon national ends, as envisaged first through realisation of local needs, without which complete nationhood cannot exist.

It is only just to say that the disappointing history of local self-government during the last 25 years is not altogether to be explained by the apathy of those among whom it has been artificially implanted. Historically speaking, the institutions of local self-government in their present form are a creation of the British rule; but there is no doubt that for centuries prior to the foundation of that rule, indigenous institutions framed for ends not dissimilar both existed and worked. During the anarchy of the 18th century, they were in a large measure destroyed by the prevailing system of military despotism; and in the period of re-creation for which the 19th century stood, their submerged foundations were not utilised to the best possible advantage by British administrators. Hence it is that the existing institutions of local self-government are to a considerable degree alien from the spirit of the people, and although they are striking their roots more deeply year-

Reasons for present shortcomings.

by year, it is unfair to expect very rapid progress. Moreover, for the last 25 years they have been administered very largely by highly competent official agency, able and willing to relieve the non-official members of such small responsibilities as were actually allotted to them. In consequence, the institutions of local self-government in India have in large measure failed to enlist the services of that class of public-spirited men, conscious of their ability to wield power when it is entrusted to them, upon which the system depends so largely for its success in England and America. It is much to be hoped that the transfer of local self-government to Ministers elected by the people will result in a transformation of the spirit which now exists. Until this can be accomplished, progress is bound to remain disappointingly slow. Up to the present, it is not unfair to say, municipalities and district boards have proved themselves apathetic because the powers entrusted to them have been as a rule insignificant. These powers have continued insignificant because of the apathy and lack of public spirit of the members. A vicious circle has thus been created, which has only broken down within the last three or four years through a determination on the part of Government to entrust larger powers to these institutions and to confer upon their members a degree of responsibility which must necessarily rouse them from the apathy in which they have too long remained.

A brief survey of the progress of municipalities and district boards during the period under review will clearly reveal, first, the gradual awakening of a new spirit in response to the altered policy of the administration; and secondly, the amount of leeway which has to be made up before the institutions of local self-government in India can range themselves on a footing equal to that of corresponding institutions in the west.

Progress in 1920.

Taking first municipalities, it is to be noticed that there are some 730 municipalities in British India, with something under 18 million people resident within their limits. Of these municipalities roughly 530 have a population of less than 20,000 persons and the remainder a population of 20,000 and over. As compared with the total population of particular provinces, the population resident within municipal limits is largest in Bombay, where it amounts to 17 per cent., and is smallest in Assam where it amounts to only 2 per cent. In other provinces it varies from 3 to 9 per cent. of the total population. Turning to the composition of the municipalities we find that considerably more than half of the

Municipalities.

total members are elected. *Ex-officio* members are roughly 13 per cent. and nominated 32 per cent. Elected members are almost everywhere in a majority. Taking all municipalities together, the non-officials outnumber the officials by nearly five to one. The functions of municipalities are classed under the heads of Public Safety, Health, Convenience and Instruction. For the discharge of these responsibilities, there is a municipal income of just under £10·6 millions, two-thirds of which is derived from taxation and the remainder from municipal property, contributions from provincial revenues and miscellaneous sources. Generally speaking, the income of municipalities is small, the four cities of Calcutta, Bombay, Madras and Rangoon together providing nearly 38 per cent. of the total. The average income of all municipalities other than the four mentioned above is only some £9,000. The total expenditure of municipalities excluding that debited to the head "extraordinary and debt" amounted in 1918-19 to £9·9 millions. The heaviest items of this expenditure come under the heads of "Conservancy" and "Public Works," which amount to 17 per cent. and 15 per cent. respectively. "Water Supply" comes to 8 per cent., "Drainage" roughly to 6 per cent., and "Education" to no more than 7·6 per cent. In some localities the expenditure on education is considerably in excess of the average. In the Bombay Presidency, excluding Bombay city, for example, the expenditure on education amounts to more than 18 per cent. of the total funds, while in Central Provinces and Berar it is over 15 per cent.

District Board.

In view of the fact that only 10 per cent. of the population of British India lives in towns, municipal administration, however efficient, cannot affect in any large degree the great mass of the people. Hence it is that particular importance attaches in India to the working and constitution of the district boards, which perform in rural areas those functions which in urban areas are assigned to the municipalities. In almost every district of British India there is a board, subordinate to which are two or more sub-district boards, while in Bengal, Madras and Bihar and Orissa, there are also Union Committees. Throughout India at large there are some 200 district boards with roughly 550 sub-district boards subordinate to them. There are also more than 850 Union Committees. This machinery has jurisdiction over a population which was some 212 millions in 1918-19. Leaving aside for one moment the Union Committees, we see that the members of the Boards numbered more than 13,000 in 1918-19, of whom 52 per cent. were elected. During

the year under review, as will be seen later, the tendency has been throughout India to increase the elected members of the district boards at the expense of the nominated and the official members. It should be remembered that the boards are practically manned by Indians who constitute 94 per cent. of the whole membership. Only 19 per cent. of the total members of all boards are officials of any kind. The total income of the Boards in 1918-19—the latest figures available at the moment of writing—amounted to £8·7 millions, the average income of each district board together with its subordinate boards being £47,000. The most important item of revenue is provincial rates, which represent a proportion of the total income varying from 20 per cent. in the Central Provinces to 58 per cent. in Bihar and Orissa. This income is mainly expended upon civil works, such as roads and bridges (£3·6 millions) the other principal objects of expenditure being education (£2·3 millions medical and sanitary works (£0·8 millions) and general administration.

Civic improvement.

One interesting feature of the year under review has been the marked activity displayed by the great cities of British India in the direction of civic improvement. Mention has been made in other parts of this Report of the beneficent activities of the Improvement Trusts of Bombay and Calcutta in ameliorating the conditions under which the masses live. Particular attention has been paid in both places to the housing problem, which indeed cries aloud for urgent solution. Development Commissioners, called trustees, have been appointed with the object of accelerating the work of the trusts; the funds available, which have during the year under review been augmented by civic loans, are very large. In refreshing contrast with the apathy and poverty of the municipal administration of many up-country towns, stands the well directed activity and continuous response to public interest of the municipalities in the great cities. Improvement Trusts have recently been constituted in Cawnpore and Lucknow in the United Provinces; important schemes have been sanctioned and are in the course of execution. These projects, however, are naturally of less magnitude than the operations of the Trusts of Bombay, Calcutta and Rangoon, the cost of which runs into millions sterling. The scheme, for example, which has now been projected for the reclamation of Back Bay in Bombay will challenge comparison, both in its magnitude and in the results which its success may achieve, with municipal operations almost anywhere else in the world. In the case of Calcutta, the clearing of congested districts, the development of suburban areas, and the institution of far-reaching

drainage schemes, indicate a breadth of vision and command over resources which would be a source of pride to the inhabitants of any city within the British Empire.

It has already been indicated that only in the largest towns do the institutions of local self-government work in a manner comparable with those of the west. Some reasons for the unsatisfactory nature of the work of the smaller municipalities have already been mentioned; and the shortcomings of the system have for some time attracted the serious notice of the administration. It will be remembered that reference was made in the Report upon the Progress of India in 1917-18 to a comprehensive Resolution of the Government of India, the aim of which was to lay down the lines of a policy along which the future development of municipal self-government might proceed. The importance of this Resolution lay in the fact that it placed in the foreRelaxation of official control.front of the objects of self-government, the training of the people in the management of their own affairs; and laid down in clear-cut form the doctrine that political education must take precedence over departmental efficiency. In consequence of the stimulus which has been afforded by this Resolution, the general relaxation of Governmental control over local bodies is steadily proceeding, and during the period under review there have been notable signs that the additional responsibility thrown upon members both of the municipalities and the district boards is inducing them to take a greater interest in their work. In Bengal there are 115 municipalities outside Calcutta, and the interest taken in civic affairs continues to increase. In most towns the ordinary municipal services are moderately efficient. On the other hand, only 46 of these municipalities have an income of over £3,000 a year, while 26 have actually to carry on their work on less than £1,000 a year. Considering that the total municipal population, leaving Calcutta out of consideration, is some 2 millions, calculation shows that the expenses

Bengal.

of municipal administration amount only to some seven shillings per head of the population. Roads and public works, conservancy, water supply and general administration consume more than half the total revenue, and the remainder has to carry the charges for education, medical relief, sanitation and the like. In spite of revised assessments, it is to be noticed that the income of the majority of municipalities in Bengal remains practically stationary. The official report notices that the real needs are enterprise and a policy of progress. None the less, the record of the year

under review for the Bengal municipalities is not discouraging. The same is true in regard to district boards. The policy of making these institutions self-governing in a more real sense, has been further pursued by the extension, during the year under review, of the privilege of electing their own chairman to fifteen district boards. Twenty district boards out of twenty-five have now been removed from official tutelage; and it has been decided to increase the number of members of the district boards, and also to enlarge the proportion of those elected, from one-half to two-thirds. The experiment, to which reference was made in last year's report, of holding conferences of district board representatives, has tended to stimulate interest in the work of these bodies, and to facilitate the interchange of ideas and the promotion of progress. The income of the district boards in Bengal amounts to £1·3 millions a year, and their opportunities for development and progressive administration are considerable. There is a satisfactory tendency to adopt a more forward policy, particularly in public health administration; but more might be done if the boards abandoned the system of financing capital works from current revenues.

It may be mentioned in passing that the reluctance of the district boards to tax themselves is a feature which is not confined to Bengal. The reports of the administration of district boards up and down India reveal the fact that while the majority of those who serve upon them are quite alive to the advantages of improved administration, they are unwilling to face the corresponding financial obligations. The general impression still remains abroad that the Provincial and Central Governments possess an inexhaustible purse, from which they are only prevented by contumacy from relieving all the financial embarrassments and limitations under which the district boards labour. One method of shattering this simple belief and arousing the people at large to a sense of responsibility for self-improvement, is to be found in the efforts now being made for the institution of village self-government. In certain parts of India, village self-government has now attained a considerable degree of development, with the result that what may be called the civic consciousness of the population has been greatly increased. In other parts of India, such as in Bengal, village self-government has been backward. But here, as well as in other provinces, the administration is alive to the desirability of assisting this very necessary development. In 1919 there was passed in Bengal the Village Self-Government Act, embodying the policy of constituting Union

Village Self-Government.

Boards at the earliest possible date for groups of villages throughout the province. Up to the end of 1920, about 1,500 Union Boards had been established in Bengal, and many more were in the process of creation. Already these new institutions are displaying a keen sense of responsibility and corporate activity, and it is believed that a wide extension of the scheme will result in the development of a strong sense of communal interest, accompanied by a progressive, if modest policy of village improvement through the promotion of public health and general well-being. A similar development may be noticed in Bombay, where an act for constituting or increasing the powers of village committees has been passed by the Legislative Council. In this Presidency, it should be noticed, some 75 out of 157 municipalities had a two-thirds elected majority of Councillors in the year 1919-20; and a distinct step forward has been projected by the administration in the direction of liberalising the constitution of all municipalities. A beginning has been made by reducing the qualifying tax in several of them, and this policy is now being pursued upon a wider scale. The policy of appointing non-official Presidents has been extended both to district and to sub-district boards during the year under review, with the result that 12 out of 26 district boards and 29 out of 219 sub-district boards in the Presidency possessed non-official Presidents by the end of the year. It should be noticed that all the district boards and most of the sub-district boards have non-official vice-Presidents.

Bombay.

In Madras also, the institutions of local self-government continued to progress in an encouraging manner during the year under review. In the year 1919-20, 41 municipal councils consisted entirely of Indian Members as against 32 in the previous year; and out of the actual number of Councillors, amounting to just over 1,000, nearly 700 were elected directly by the rate payers. The average imposition of taxation per head of population, although still very low, rose from three shillings and ten pence to four shillings. Expenditure, a substantial proportion of which was devoted to public works, rose in a comparatively satisfactory manner by £100,000 to a figure of over a million sterling. In the course of the year under review, water works were undertaken in five municipal towns, while improvements and extensions to existing waterworks were under execution in seven other municipalities. The net educational charges amounted to nearly 6 per cent. of the income from general taxation; and the number of educational institutions maintained by municipal-

Madras.

ities increased to 895, a figure which represents an increase of 82 over that of previous year. The number of district boards in the Presidency remained the same, but the maximum strength of two of these has increased. Out of the 800 odd members who took part in their deliberations, nearly 500 were elected by the sub-district boards. The number of these latter continued to be 97, and 50 of them had non-official presidents, while the number of sub-district boards electing their own presidents increased to 13 during the year under review.

United Provinces.

In the United Provinces, there has been considerable if unostentatious progress during the year 1920. While it would appear that some of the boards still display defects and weaknesses, there are signs in others of the growth of stronger public spirit and a clearer realisation of the evils which arise from undue indulgence in dissension. Some of the Boards, whose financial position is admittedly unsatisfactory, are making determined efforts to put their house in order by imposition of additional taxation. It is interesting to note, however, that there is a tendency on the part of some boards to resent expert advice and to display their independence by rejecting the counsel proffered to them by Government officials. This, while a gratifying sign that the municipalities are beginning to find their feet, is unfortunate; for at the present time close co-operation between the municipalities and the officers of Government is more than ever necessary in view of the problems which await them both. The total municipal income fell from £1·19 million to £1·14 million, a decrease entirely accounted for by a reduction in Government contributions. On the whole, the income from municipal sources was much the same as last year, and is still inadequate for a satisfactory programme of municipal improvement. Generally speaking, the municipal authorities here, as in other parts of India, dislike direct taxation; and despite the advantages, from a practical point of view, of a property tax, most of the municipalities prefer to make use of indirect taxation. This tendency may be taken as indicating that the civic sense of the rate payers has not yet sufficiently developed to enable them to face with equanimity expenditure on improvements which they welcome and even demand, assuming that they are not obliged to pay for them themselves. But it is reported that the municipalities are beginning to take a more public view of their responsibilities, and are making up their minds to swallow the somewhat bitter medicine of heavier taxation. Unfortunately, the progress, so

far as district boards are concerned, is less satisfactory. As a whole, they show few signs of vitality; and little interest seems to be taken in their administration either by the members themselves or by their electors. But it should be noticed that in these provinces the boards have no power to impose additional taxation, and the only elastic item of their receipts is represented by Government grants. Doubtless for this reason progress is restricted to departments to which the local Government makes contribution; in particular, to the department of Education, to which large grants have been made in pursuance of the programme, already mentioned elsewhere, for the rapid expansion of primary education throughout the provinces. It would seem that this financial impotence goes far to explain the apathy shown by members; and radical changes both in the constitution and the powers of the boards are necessary. There would appear to be no real reason why the district boards should be so dependent upon the local Government, nor indeed is there any justification for the system under which the burden of financing them should fall to the extent it does on provincial revenues. But the whole question is now one for consideration by the reformed Legislative Council, the members of which will, so it is hoped, give the matter their early consideration.

The Punjab.

In the Punjab, Municipal administration continued to show improvement during the year under review, the general attitude of the members in regard to their responsibilities being full of promise for future progress. Certain municipalities are reported to be conspicuously lacking in public spirit or swayed entirely by personal interest and party factions. But in the majority there are distinct signs of the awakening of civic responsibility. In four municipalities during the period under review, non-official presidents have been elected in place of officials, and this policy of the withdrawal of official control has undoubtedly increased interest in municipal affairs and strengthened the desire among the generality of citizens to become members of the municipal committees. Conscientious efforts are being made in many places to deal with overcrowding; and there has also been further attention to medical institutions. Education has also received a full share of attention, particularly in Lahore and in Multan; and a number of municipalities throughout the Punjab are taking steps to carry out comprehensive schemes of drainage and water supply. Turning now to District Board administration we may notice that the event of outstanding

importance during this period has been the reconstruction of all the district boards in the Punjab, and the institution of new electoral rules. It is hoped that a greatly increased interest in the new elective system will follow from the further reduction of the official element on the district boards, the appointment of non-official chairmen, and the grant of wider powers of taxation. One difficulty which has made itself felt prominently during the year under review, as indeed during previous periods, is the reluctance of members to undertake executive duties, and the breakdown of all attempts to entrust them with such work. The financial resources of the district boards show satisfactory increase. During the year under review, the gross income from district boards in the Punjab amounted to £1·07 millions—double the gross income of ten years ago. So far as expenditure is concerned, we find that the total figure for district boards in the Punjab was £0·98 millions, representing an increase of £170,000 over the figure for 1918-19. Considerable increases in expenditure are to be noticed under the heads of medical, education and sanitation. District boards are also devoting attention to the opening of demonstration farms, to sheep-breeding and to sericulture.

Central Provinces.

In the Central Provinces the year under review witnessed the passing of a Local Self-Government Act, which only awaits the framing of rules to guide into proper channels the undoubtedly growing interest in public matters. The continued reduction of official members and chairmen, and the wider powers of control given to local bodies, will afford an incentive to the development of local self-government leading to an increased sense of public duty and responsibility. Village self-government was also stimulated by the passing of the Village Panchayat Act. But municipalities and district councils alike require development upon the financial side before they can realise the opportunities which lie before them. At present they are mainly dependent upon Government grants, and before their position can be pronounced satisfactory, local sources of revenue must be expanded. Recent grants for educational purposes have drawn attention to the need for an examination of the whole question of proportionate contribution by local bodies, and their use of the enhanced resources which are to be placed at their disposal by the new Local Self-Government Act. The cost to Government is at the present moment very disproportionate to the contributions of the local bodies, being far in excess of what might be regarded as the equitable proportion of one-half.

N.-W. F. Province.

In the North-West Frontier Province, as has been remarked in previous Reports, the institutions of local self-government are somewhat of a foreign growth. Certain of the municipal committees are very lax in the discharge of their responsibility, and meetings are reported to be infrequent. None the less the attendance of non-official members at meetings increased in every municipal committee during the year 1919-20, although the attitude of members towards their duties continued in the case of several municipalities to be disappointing and unsatisfactory. Except where factional and personal considerations are involved, the members of municipalities remain apathetic. The same is unfortunately true of the district boards, whose members, so it is said, do not evince any strong interest in their work. Here as elsewhere, this is probably to be explained by the want of any real authority. Unless the finances actually controlled by district boards can be materially augmented, and some stimulus afforded to the exercise of responsibility in important matters, it is difficult to expect that satisfactory improvement will result. Expenditure on such purposes as sanitation, education, cattle-breeding and the like continued to be a feature of the work of the district boards, but since the greater part of their income was ear-marked for the expenditure of various departments, little opportunity was afforded them for the exercise of direction and responsibility.

As will be seen from this brief summary, the year 1920 has been one of fairly satisfactory progress in the sphere of local self-government throughout India. This progress would unquestionably have been more marked had it not been for the desire of the Government of India and the local Governments to avoid tying the hands of the new popular Ministers, to whose care this sphere of activity is henceforth to be delegated. The difficulties of the existing system are amply apparent from what has already been said; and it must be clear that until means are found for increasing the responsibility thrown both upon the municipalities and district boards, for enabling them to raise taxation locally in pursuit of their own objects, and for encouraging them to cultivate a sense of civic responsibility, no rapid extension of the existing system of local self-government in India can be expected.

Acts passed by Local Councils.

We turn now to a brief survey of the law-making activities of the legislatures during the period under review. In previous chapters some mention has already been made of the important enactments which have been passed in the Provincial Councils. Among the more notable

of these may be mentioned University Acts for Lucknow and Rangoon; Local Self-Government Acts for Bihar and Orissa, and the Central Provinces; Village Self-Government Acts for Madras, Bombay, the United Provinces, and the Central Provinces; Primary Education Acts for the City of Bombay, for Madras and for the Central Provinces: Tenancy (Amendment) Acts for Chota Nagpur, Bihar and Orissa, and Agra. To examine the more important of these enactments which have already received brief notice, and to follow in detail the legislative work of the Provincial Councils of India during the year 1920, would occupy a volume larger than convenience admits. But as was the case in last year's Report, the activities of the Imperial Legislative Council will be followed in some slight detail, since they are illustrative and typical of the work of other Legislative Bodies in India. The sessions of this Council which took place during the year 1920 possess considerable historic importance, since they represented the last to be held under the old Morley-Minto Reforms Scheme. With the termination of the period under review, the reformed Councils of the Montagu-Chelmsford regime have come into operation, and the contrast which they will afford with the old Imperial Legislative Council, the last activities of which are now to be described, will, so it is hoped, be a noteworthy feature of the history of India during the year 1921.

The Imperial Legislative Council.

The Delhi Session of the Imperial Legislative Council commenced on the 30th January 1920. The Council met nineteen times and was not finally prorogued until the 2nd March. It is interesting to remark as exemplifying its increasing activities, that notice was received of 378 questions, 54 ordinary resolutions and 21 budget resolutions. The following are some of the more important resolutions, relating to matters of general public interest, discussed in Council. On the opening day of the session, Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha moved a Resolution tendering to His Majesty the King an expression of the Council's profound gratitude for the Proclamation issued by His Majesty on the occasion of his assent to the Government of India Act. Mr. (now Sir) Surendra Nath Banerjea supported the resolution in a speech of great eloquence, appealing for co-operation and unity. A ready response was elicited from Mr. (now Sir) Walter Crum and Mr. Nigel Paton on behalf of the British commercial community. The Resolution was unanimously adopted and was duly communicated to the Secretary of State for submission to His Majesty.

The Delhi Session 1920.

Mr. Sinha's Resolution.

Later in the session the Viceroy informed the Council that His Majesty had received the resolution with deep appreciation. Another resolution which excited considerable interest was that moved by Mr. Sarma to the effect that the headquarters of the Government of India should be permanently located in one place. A noteworthy feature of the debate was the very divergent views put forward as to the most suitable place for the capital of India, and Sir William Vincent in replying on behalf of Government had no difficulty in pointing out the futility of discussing the merits or demerits of all the possible places mentioned, explaining that Delhi had been selected as the site for the capital after long and careful deliberation with His Majesty's Government, and that it was not for the Government of India to alter a policy which had received such weighty sanction. The Resolution was defeated by a large majority. Industrial matters received a considerable amount of attention upon the Resolution paper. Sir George Barnes on behalf of Government secured the appointment of a Committee to examine trade statistics and to report whether it was or was not advisable to apply to the Indian customs tariff a system of preference in favour of goods of Imperial origin. A non-official Member, Khan Bahadur Ebrahim Haroon Jaffer moved for the appointment of a Commission to enquire into the conditions of factory labour and the desirability of establishing committees of arbitration to settle disputes between employers and workmen. The general opinion of the Council was to the effect that the resolution was premature, and it was ultimately by leave withdrawn. Another non-official Member, Mr. Patel, moved for the appointment of a committee to consider the question of the fiscal policy to be adopted by the Government of India. This resolution, which was pressed to a division, was defeated in view of the resolution previously mentioned. Political matters also received their due share of attention. Mr. Khaparde moved for the appointment of a committee of all the non-official Members of Council to consider the Report on the Rules and Regulations to be framed under the Government of India Act, 1919. Sir William Marris explained on behalf of Government that a small and thoroughly representative committee was already at work, while the large committee suggested by the mover would be unable to complete its task with the required rapidity; and the resolution was pressed to a division and lost, only four members voting in favour of it. A Resolution was moved by the same Member, recommending that the permission of His Majesty's Government should

Other Resolutions.

be obtained to empower Sir Benjamin Robertson to study the status and conditions of Indians settled in British East Africa with a view to placing them in a position of equality with the white settlers there. The Resolution was accepted and adopted in a modified form. Another resolution, also adopted, was one recommending that the fullest effect be given to the letter and spirit of the Royal Proclamation in regard to clemency to political offenders. The Home Secretary, Mr. McPherson, explained that the policy of pardon and conciliation towards political offenders was the accepted policy of the Government even before the Proclamation of December 1919. He proceeded to show in detail how the Royal direction had received the fullest compliance and the most generous interpretation.

The legislative programme fixed for the Delhi Session was a heavy one, and in the event no fewer than 21 bills were passed. Of these the most interesting will be briefly described.

Legislation.

The Provincial Insolvency Act, which was passed as a result of ten years' practical experience of the working of the Act of 1907, embodied the numerous suggestions for amending the existing law which had been made from time to time by local Governments and representatives of the commercial and legal professions. The Workman's Breach of Contract Act was passed to remedy the more serious defects of the Act of 1859, which has long been recognised as unsuitable to modern ideas and conditions. The new enactment fixes the period of limitation for a complaint against workman at three months and confines the utilisation by employers of the provisions of the Act to cases where the advance of money does not exceed Rs. 300, while enabling the Magistrate to refuse to put the Act into operation if he considers the terms of the contract substantially unfair to the workman, and to dismiss a complaint without compelling the appearance of the workman if the complaint is false or vexatious. Another important enactment was the Charitable and Religious Trusts Act, which seeks to simplify and cheapen the legal processes under which persons interested can obtain information regarding the working of religious and charitable trusts, besides facilitating the imposition of a more efficient control over the action of trustees. The Act applies to the whole of British India, but any specified provinces or area or any specified class of trusts may be exempted from its provision. There was also passed in this Session an Act for the establishment and incorporation of a unitary teaching and residential University at Dacca. The provisions of the Act follow generally the

recommendations of the Calcutta University Commission; but certain additions have been made where the recommendations require supplementing, while further modifications were introduced to meet the wishes of the non-official members of the Legislative Council.

Extension of life of Council.

The terms of office of Members of the Legislative Council were due to expire in July 1920. But since it was obviously desirable to keep that body in existence pending the formation of the new Legislature under the Government of India Act, 1919, power was taken to extend the life of the Indian Legislature until the date appointed for the coming into operation of relevant sections of the new Act. The last session of the Imperial Legislative Council commenced on August 20th. The Council met eight times; 221 questions were answered, 27 resolutions were placed upon the agenda paper and no fewer than 28 Bills were passed. The fact that the Council was moribund and the members were looking beyond it to the larger and more powerful Councils to be called into being by the Reforms Scheme, might have been expected to detract from the interest and importance of the session. In addition to this it must be remembered that Mr. Gandhi's non-co-operation movement was now in full swing, and the meeting of the Indian National Congress, in which this movement was finally ratified, had been fixed for the first week of September. Neither of these considerations did in fact affect the session to the extent which might have been expected, the average attendance at the meetings being 50 out of a total membership of 68.

Simla Session 1920.

Resolutions.

Of the 27 resolutions which were placed upon the agenda paper only three were actually moved. Eighteen of these resolutions stood in the names of Messrs. Sastri, Sinha, Khaparde and Ayyengar. But with one exception, which will be referred to below, these Members when called upon to move their Resolutions intimated their desire to withdraw them, as a protest against the disallowance by Lord Chelmsford of a Resolution relating to the Punjab Disturbances of 1919. Reference has already been made to this occurrence in a previous chapter. Lord Chelmsford explained at the close of the Session that Government was taking the measures necessary to prevent a recurrence of the errors and excesses pointed out by the Hunter Committee, and that he had decided to disallow Mr. Sastri's resolution because he felt that if peace and good will were to be restored in the Punjab, further public discussion of the subject must be avoided. Hence it came about that the only resolution upon

which there was a full debate during the session was Mr. Khaparde's motion relating to the causes of the troubles in the Government presses in Simla, Delhi and Calcutta. It may be mentioned that shortly before the session commenced the majority of the workers in the Government Central Branch Press went on strike, with the idea, apparently, of paralysing the business of the session. But the Monotype Press continued to work loyally, and with their aid and by the use of Roneo duplicators, business was carried on much as usual. Mr. Khaparde's resolution was replied to at length by Sir Thomas Holland, and was lost on a division. Two other resolutions by Sir Umar Hayat Khan and Mr. Rayaningar were withdrawn by the movers.

Legislation.

The legislative business was extremely heavy, as many as 28 Bills being passed during the Session. Among the most important of these may be mentioned the Imperial Bank of India Bill, the Indian Elections Offences and Inquiries Bill, the Auxiliary Force Bill, the Territorial Force Bill, the Devolution Bill, and the Aligarh Muslim University Bill. The Imperial Bank of India Bill provided for the fusion into a single bank of the Presidency Banks constituted under the Act of 1876, and sought by the creation of a strong unified bank in close relation with Government to foster and promote the growth of banking facilities in India. In the course of the discussion in the Select Committee on the Bill, as might have been expected, the question of the constitution of the Central Board of the bank was much agitated. Divergent points of view were met by the insertion of a provision allowing four non-official persons to be nominated as Governors of the Bank, as well as by various other modifications of the Bill as first introduced. The Indian Elections Offences and Inquiries Bill was taken up as a result of the opinion recorded by the Joint Select Committee on the Government of India Bill, that a complete and stringent Corrupt Practices Act should be brought into operation before the first elections for the reformed Legislative Councils. The opportunity was taken to supplement the rules regarding malpractices at elections by legislation. The object of the Bill was two-fold: first to make punishable under the ordinary penal law, bribery, undue influence, impersonation and certain other malpractices at elections, not only for the Legislative Councils but also for other public bodies; and further to debar persons guilty of such malpractices from holding positions of public responsibility for a specific period. In the second place the Bill proposed to confer judicial powers

Imperial Banks.

Corrupt practices.

on the Commissioners appointed to hold enquiries in respect of elections to legislative bodies in India, leaving the decision as to other bodies with the local Legislatures. In Select Committee the bill was amended to make the offences of bribery by treating and the publication of certain false statements punishable with fine only and not with imprisonment. An amendment was carried when the Bill was under consideration penalising a breach of the secrecy of the ballot in the case of elections to legislative bodies. The Auxiliary Force Bill was intended to repeal the Indian Defence Force Act of 1917 and its amending Acts, as well as the old Indian Volunteer Act of 1869. It provided for a force recruited by voluntary enrolment, but under the improved organisation and subject to the more efficient standard of training effected by the Compulsory Service Acts passed to meet the emergency of the War. A natural accompaniment of this Act was the Indian Territorial Force Bill, intended to provide a frame-work on which a Territorial Force could be built up in order to provide a second line for the regular army. It may be mentioned that the extension of the Territorial system to India has long been advocated by the educated classes, who, under the new Reforms Scheme, will naturally find the defence of India a matter which they cannot consistently with self-respect leave wholly to the sphere of the non-popular part of the Government. The proposed organisation and terms of service of the Force are to follow the model of the English Militia, with special provision for University Training Corps. In Select Committee the Bill was considerably modified and its provisions assimilated to those of the Auxiliary Force Bill. In particular the provision relating to the application of the Indian Army Act was somewhat relaxed, and the constitution of Advisory Committees was provided for. The Devolution Act constituted an important development of the policy embodied in the Government of India Act, 1919, providing, as it did, for a very substantial delegation of authority from the Governor General in Council to local Governments. The Aligarh Muslim University Act was designed to incorporate a teaching and residential University of that name, after the dissolution of the Muslim University Association and the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh. Mention has already been made in another place of the importance of this particular enactment.

Defence.

Among other enactments which are worthy of mention during this, the last session of the Imperial Legislative Council, the following may particularly be-

Other Acts.

noted. The Indian Coinage (Amendment) Act gave effect to the change from Rs. 15 to Rs. 10 in the legal tender ratio of the sovereign, in accordance with the recommendations of the Indian Exchange and Currency Committee. The Indian Paper Currency (Amendment) Act prescribed the permanent constitution of the paper currency reserve, altering the ratio at which notes could be issued from the Reserve in exchange for gold coin and gold bullion. The Identification of Prisoners Act conferred legal authority for the taking of measurements, finger impressions and photographs of persons convicted of or arrested in connection with certain offences; and the Indian Passport Act provided for the continuance, with certain modifications, of the procedure regarding passports which had been introduced as a war measure under the Defence of India Act 1915, thus bringing the Indian practice into line with that of other parts of the British Empire and of foreign nations. Since information was received of extensive smuggling into India of rouble notes for the furtherance of Bolshevik propaganda in the country, the Rouble Note Act was passed to continue the provisions of the Ordinance of 1919 making the possession of such notes illegal, as described in last year's Report. Mention must also be made of a private bill introduced by Mr. Haroon Jaffer, to declare that the members of the Cutchi Memon community were subject to Muhammadan law. After circulation to local Governments for opinion and the receipt of their respective comments, on the whole favourable in nature, the Bill was modified in Select Committee so as to make it an enabling measure in matters of succession and inheritance, and was passed into law in that form.

The last of the Morley-Minto Councils.

The last meeting of the session of the Imperial Legislative Council on Thursday the 16th September 1920 brought to a close the era which was inaugurated by the first of the Morley-Minto Councils on the 25th January 1910. Limited as the powers of these Councils have been in comparison with those which await their successors, it would be idle to deny that they have performed a work of the highest utility. They have been of the greatest assistance to the administration, placing it far more closely in touch with public opinion than had been possible prior to their existence. Considered as law-making machinery pure and simple, the Morley-Minto Councils have been excellent. They have been able to influence the policy of the administration, in some degree at least, upon many matters in which public interest was excited and they have throughout displayed a policy of hearty co-operation in the

work of Government. Their principal fault, one inherent in their constitution, lay in the fact that the members were not directly elected, and in practice represented the opinions of a very restricted class. None the less, as an index of public opinion, the Councils have been very accurate. In illustration of this mention need only be made of such matters as the passage of the Rowlatt Act referred to in last year's Report. Here the sense of the Council and the sense of educated opinion outside the Council were one. But the natural result of the restricted franchise upon which the elections to the Morley-Minto Councils were based, was to handicap them seriously from the point of view of their influence over the country. The constituencies were small, the system of election indirect. Hence it was that the councils often failed to carry with the administration that weight which could not but have attached to their advice had the members been representative of a wider franchise. But as a training ground for statesmanship and as a means of bringing popular leaders into touch with the hard facts and practical difficulties of administrative work, the Morley-Minto Councils have discharged a most valuable function. That they have, almost since their inception, failed to satisfy the aspirations of educated India, is unfortunately only too true. This however cannot be attributed to any defect on the part of the personnel. The majority of those who have come to the headquarters of Government as elected Members of the Imperial Legislative Council have been men who from their intellectual calibre and their moral earnestness would have done credit to any country. The work which the Morley-Minto Councils have achieved in paving the way for the new Reforms can hardly be over-estimated; and it is but fitting that with their disappearance some small tribute should be paid both to those who planned them and to those who are responsible for their successful working.

Their work.

APPENDIX I.

Sources.

LIST OF INDIAN OFFICIAL REPORTS, ETC.

" (Mostly Annual.)

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Salt Department Reports: Northern India, Madras, Bombay, Sind, Bengal, Burma, Bihar and Orissa.

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Co-operative Societies.

Statements showing Progress of the Co-operative Movement in India.

Reports on Co-operative Societies for each Province.

Reports of Conferences of Registrars of Co-operative Societies, India and Provincial.

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Report on Forest Administration for each Province.

Reports of the Forest Research Institute and the Imperial Forest College, Dehra Dun.

Quinquennial Forest Review.

Indian Forest Memoirs.

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Report on Production and Consumption of Coal in India.

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Indian Trade Journal (weekly).
Statistics relating to Joint-Stock Companies in British India and Mysore.
Report on the working of the Indian Companies Act for each Province.
Report on the working of the Indian Factories Act for each Province.
Report of the Chief Inspector of Explosives.

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Administration Report on Railways.
Reports on Public Works (Buildings and Roads) for Madras, Bombay, Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, and Burma.
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Report on Irrigation Revenue for each Province (except Madras).
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Reports on Municipalities for each Province and for Calcutta, Bombay City, Madras City, and Rangoon.
Reports on District and Local Boards or Local Funds for each Province.
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APPENDIX II.

No. 2.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

HOME DEPARTMENT.

POLITICAL.

To

The Right Honourable EDWIN MONTAGU,

His Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

Dated Simla, the 3rd May 1920.

SIR,

WE submit for your information and for any orders His Majesty's Government may desire to issue the report which was presented on the 8th March 1920 by the Disorders Committee, together with our review of the report and our conclusions thereon. In the ordinary course the report would have been published with a resolution of the Government of India in the Home Department, but we consider the subject so important that after discussion with you we have decided that it is best to communicate to you our views and findings on the report for the information of His Majesty's Government. We desire to add that our views and conclusions are unanimous, except on those points where the dissent of our Hon'ble Colleague, Mr. Shafi, has been expressly indicated. We may also state that our Hon'ble Colleague, Sir George Lowndes, now on leave, concurred in all the conclusions we had reached up to the time of his departure.

2. In Resolution No. 2168, dated the 14th October 1919, the Governor General in Council with the approval of the Secretary of State appointed a Committee to investigate the disturbances in Bombay, Delhi and the Punjab, their causes, and the measures taken to cope with them. The Hon'ble Lord Hunter, lately Solicitor General for Scotland and now Senator of the College of Justice in Scotland, was appointed President of the Committee, which consisted of the following Members :—

(1) The Hon'ble Mr. Justice G. C. RANKIN, Judge of the High Court, Calcutta.

(2) The Hon'ble Mr. W. F. RICE, C.S.I., I.C.S., Additional Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

(3) Major-General Sir GEORGE BARROW, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., I.A., Commanding the Peshawar Division.

(4) The Hon'ble Pandit JAGAT NARAYAN, B.A., Member of the Legislative Council of the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces.

(5) The Hon'ble Mr. THOMAS SMITH, Member of the Legislative Council of the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces.

(6) Sir CHIMANLAL HARILAL SETALVAD, KT., Advocate of the High Court, Bombay.

(7) Sardar Sahibzada SULTAN AHMED KHAN, MUNTAZIM-UD-DOULA, M.A., L.L.M. (Cantb.), Bar-at-Law, Member for Appeals, Gwalior State.

The Committee began its sittings on the 29th October 1919 and after hearing evidence at Delhi, Lahore, Ahmedabad, and Bombay finished its labours in the first week of March 1920, when its report was presented to the Government of India.

Before reviewing the findings of the Committee we desire to make some preliminary observations regarding the scope of the enquiry, the procedure followed by the Committee in recording evidence, and the general character of its conclusions.

3. In order to obtain a general view of the character of the disturbances and of the scope of the enquiry it will be useful to explain briefly the relative geographical position of the chief centres of disorder and to refer to a few salient dates which indicate the sequence of events in point of time. It was at Delhi—the Capital of India and from its historical and commercial importance a determining factor of considerable weight in the attitude of the rest of Northern India—that disturbances first occurred on the 30th March. They were of such a character as required the use of the military to restore order and before this was achieved it became necessary to fire twice on the mob. On the 10th April violent rioting took place at Amritsar and Lahore in the Punjab, and at Ahmedabad in the Presidency of Bombay, and distinct unrest manifested itself in a minor degree at places as far distant as Calcutta and Bombay. Lahore is a city of 230,000 inhabitants and the capital of the Punjab. Amritsar which is 20 miles east of Lahore is a town of more than 150,000 inhabitants and of great commercial importance. Ahmedabad has a population of roughly 280,000 and is an industrial town where 78 mills are located. The distances respectively of Lahore, Amritsar and Ahmedabad from Delhi are roughly 300, 280 and 540 miles. The situation in the Punjab after the 10th April rapidly deteriorated and martial law was proclaimed on the 15th April in the districts of Lahore and Amritsar, and shortly after in three other districts. About two weeks later a thundercloud on the frontier burst and the mobilization of troops for the Afghan war began on the 4th May. This seriously affected the general situation in the Punjab and it was not found possible to withdraw martial law from all the districts concerned before the 12th June nor from railway lands till a later date. These were briefly the events which with their causes and consequences formed the subject matter of the Committee's enquiry.

4. The next point to which the Government of India wish to advert is the decision of the All-India Congress Committee to abstain from presenting evidence before the Committee of Enquiry. As explained by Lord Hunter in his letter of the 8th March forwarding the Report of the Committee, all persons desirous of giving evidence were invited to submit their names and addresses, together with a brief memorandum of the points on which they desired to give evidence, and it was

left to the Committee to decide what evidence they would hear. Lord Hunter has described the circumstances in which the Congress Committee declined after the 12th November further to assist the Committee of Enquiry by appearing before it and tendering evidence, the offer which the same body made on the 30th December to produce their evidence and re-open the enquiry, and the reasons which led Lord Hunter to reject that offer. We believe that Lord Hunter's account of the matter will convince all reasonable people that his decision was fully justified. The point, however, which we wish to emphasize—and it is one which was present to Lord Hunter's mind also—is this, that the material placed at the disposal of the Committee and the evidence laid before it covered the whole field of enquiry. The official witnesses fully disclosed all they knew regarding the events in which they had participated and placed before the Committee all correspondence and other documentary evidence which had any bearing on the nature of the outbreak, the suppression of the disturbances, or the administration of martial law. It is a matter of regret to Government that this was not supplemented by the additional evidence which the Congress Committee had collected and that the evidence which has since been published by that body has not therefore been subjected to examination by an impartial tribunal. They are doubtful, however, where it would have made any substantial difference to the general picture placed before the Committee, although it might have thrown further light on particular incidents. With regard to the firing at Jallianwala Bagh, on which the attention of the public both at Home and in India has been so largely concentrated since December last, the Committee had the most ample materials for judgment and further evidence would have contributed nothing to their knowledge of the facts.

5. The Committee have now submitted their recommendations in the form of a majority and minority report. The majority report is signed by the President and four members of Committee, Mr. Justice Rankin, General Barrow, and Messrs. Rice and Smith. The minority report is signed by Sir C. H. Setalvad, Pandit Jagat Narayan and Sahibzada Sultan Ahmad Khan. While two reports have been submitted, it is a matter of satisfaction to the Government of India that most of the findings of fact are unanimous and that in spite of differences of opinion as to the conclusions to be deduced therefrom there is considerable common ground in this respect also. That common ground covers the whole of the events in Delhi and the Bombay Presidency. It also covers much of the narrative of events and the causes of the disturbances in the Punjab. Nor is the divergence in the Punjab findings altogether basic. It is partly one of degree, partly one of essential difference. Certain measures adopted in the suppression of the disturbances and the administration of martial law are condemned in both reports but with varying degrees of severity. This remark applies in particular to the joint condemnation of the firing at Jallianwala Bagh. The most important point on which there is an essential difference of opinion relates to the introduction of martial law in the Punjab. While the majority find that a state of rebellion existed, necessitating or justifying the adoption of that measure, the minority consider that the disorders did not amount to rebellion and that the disturbances might have been suppressed and order restored without abrogating the control of the civil authorities or calling in military force save as auxiliary to the civil power.

6. It will be convenient to explain at this stage the arrangement which has been followed in the reports. The first seven chapters of the majority report are

devoted to accounts of the disturbances in Delhi, the Bombay Presidency, and the Punjab districts of Amritsar, Lahore, Gujranwala, Gujrat and Lyallpur. In each case the majority briefly review the disturbances and record their findings on the propriety of the measures adopted to check them and to restore order. In Chapter VIII they described the widespread attacks on communications which have an important bearing on the general nature of the disorders. In Chapter IX they discuss the causes of the disturbances with more particular reference to the Punjab. Chapter X contains a brief description of the stages in the introduction of martial law. In Chapter XI the reasons for the introduction and continuance of martial law are considered, while Chapter XII is devoted to a criticism of the administration of martial law.

The minority report follows a somewhat different plan of arrangement. Chapter I sets forth the general extent of the minority's agreement or disagreement with the findings of the majority. The nature and causes of the disorders are discussed in Chapter II. The justification for the introduction and the continuance of martial law in the Punjab is examined in Chapter III. Chapter IV is devoted to the firing at Jallianwala Bagh. The administration of martial law is discussed in Chapter V, the use of armoured trains and aeroplanes in Chapter VI and the working of the martial law courts in Chapter VII.

Although it might have been more convenient to review at the outset the findings of the Committee regarding the causes and nature of the disturbances, we are reluctant to depart from the general plan of the majority report, as any such departure would increase the difficulty of comparing its findings with those of the minority. We accordingly propose to examine the report chapter by chapter, to state our conclusions on the findings of the majority and minority, more particularly where these differ, and finally to explain the action which in our judgment should be taken on the report.

7. Chapter I deals with the disturbances at Delhi. The Committee are unanimous in finding that the authorities handled the situation in an adequate and reasonable manner, that there was no provocative or unnecessary display of military force, and that the firing was justified on the three occasions on which it was found necessary to resort to this extreme measure. The actual collisions between the police and mobs are found to be the bye-products of the *Satyagraha* movement. The majority recognize that Mr. Gandhi's visit to Delhi after the first outbreak, if not prevented, would have been a serious embarrassment to the executive authorities there and might well have proved a source of great danger. The minority, while doubtful of the expediency of his exclusion and, while thinking that his presence might have had a beneficial result, do not deny the possibility of developments endangering the public peace. The only criticism passed by the Committee on the measures adopted by the local authorities is that the Deputy Commissioner made a mistake in enrolling a number of leading citizens as special constables, though, as they point out, these persons were not called on to render any services.

We accept these conclusions and have perused with satisfaction the commendation which has been bestowed by the Committee on the handling of the situation by the local officers. We do not consider that any blame attaches to the Deputy Commissioner for his appointment of special constables, as he acted in accordance with the established practice. We have, however, decided to address local Governments on the question whether the orders now obtaining on the subject in the

various provinces require modification or revision. This is the more necessary as it appears that leading citizens were enrolled as special constables at other disturbed centres besides Delhi.

The Government of India consider that the events described in this chapter have an important bearing on the rest of the report, for they were the first fruits of the *Satyagraha* movements, the first collision between the forces of order and the adherents of the passive resistance or civil disobedience movement. The behaviour of the crowd on the 30th March, which rendered it necessary for the military and police to fire on two occasions, cannot be ascribed to any action taken against Mr. Gandhi or local politicians. Such action has been pleaded in excuse of later mob excesses, but the internment order against Mr. Gandhi was not passed till ten days after the first outbreak of disorder at Delhi.

8. Chapter II gives an account of the disturbances in the Bombay Presidency. They were confined to Ahmedabad City and Viramgam in the Ahmedabad district, to Nadiad in the Kaira district, and to Bombay City. Viramgam is a town of 20,000 inhabitants 40 miles distant from Ahmedabad, and Nadiad, which has a population of 30,000, is 29 miles from the same city. By far the most serious outbreak of disorder occurred in Ahmedabad which is the home of Mr. Gandhi and may be described as the birth place of the *Satyagraha* movement. The disturbances began on the 10th April as soon as the people of Ahmedabad heard of the action taken against Mr. Gandhi, and were not finally checked till the 14th, although military assistance was called in from the afternoon of the 10th. It is not necessary to follow the report of the Committee into the details of the disturbances and the measures taken to quell them but it is important to notice that for two days mob law reigned in the city and the excesses committed included two atrocious murders, brutal assaults on Europeans and Government officers, and the total destruction of the courts and other Government buildings. The efforts of the Police and the military to protect the city and restore order were not successful till the military commander, with the concurrence of the District Magistrate, issued a proclamation on the 12th April warning all people that any gathering of over ten individuals collected at one spot would be fired at, and that any single individual seen outside any house between 7 P.M. and 6 A.M. who did not stop when challenged would be shot. The last occasion on which the troops fired was mid-day of the 13th April and the Committee find that there was not in fact any firing without warning nor was any person fired on, who was not either rioting or encouraging rioters. The outbreak came to an end abruptly on the 14th April and its cessation is ascribed partly to the effects of this proclamation and partly to the return of Mr. Gandhi who, be it said to his credit, used his influence with the people to assist the authorities in restoring order. During the disturbances telegraph wires were cut at eight places in Ahmedabad and at fourteen places outside, and property to the value of nine lakhs of rupees was destroyed. The number of rounds fired by the armed police and the troops was 748, and the number of ascertained casualties amongst the rioters was 28 killed and 123 wounded. The majority report comments thus on the measures taken to suppress the outbreak:—"We are of opinion that the measures taken by the authorities to deal with the disturbances were appropriate. The use of military force was unavoidable and the rioters alone were responsible for the casualties which ensued.

The control of the city was in the hands of the military for less than two days and this has been referred to as a period of martial law. But beyond maintaining order and issuing the proclamation on the 12th April, the military authorities did not interfere with matters of administration. The so-called martial law orders were drastic; but the situation was most serious. The belief that all groups of more than ten men would be fired on without warning did much to restore order, and it appears that this instruction was not in fact literally carried out. We think that the troops behaved with praiseworthy restraint in most trying circumstances, and that the military action taken was not excessive. The Bombay Government have informed us that the behaviour of the military during the period that they were stationed in the city was exemplary. Our investigation leads to the same conclusion."

9. The outbreak at Viramgam was marked by the same ferocity as in Ahmedabad, by arson, murder, the destruction of Government property, and attacks on railway and telegraph communications. The fury of the mob culminated in the savage murder of Mr. Madhavlal, a magisterial officer, who after a relentless pursuit was dragged from a house where he had taken refuge to the public road, soaked in kerosine oil and burnt alive beneath piles of public records, his body being completely incinerated. The outbreak began on the morning of the 12th April and was not finally suppressed till troops arrived from Ahmedabad late on the evening of that day. The Committee find that the total ascertained casualties amongst the rioters were six killed and eleven wounded and that the value of the property destroyed by the mob exceeded two lakhs of rupees. They commend the conduct of the armed police who behaved with spirit and kept off the mob from the public offices for six hours. They consider that the force used against the rioters by the armed police and by the armed peons of the Salt Department under Mr. Caldecott was certainly not excessive, and say indeed that if greater force could have been applied at an earlier stage, an atrocious murder and much destruction of property might have been prevented. They express regret that the murderers of Mr. Madhavlal could not be brought to justice for want of adequate identification.

10. In Nadiad the chief incident was an attempt to wreck a train which was conveying British troops to Ahmedabad. The train was derailed but had a miraculous escape, as it was brought to a stand before running down a steep embankment. Several attacks were made on railway and telegraph communications, but no collision occurred between the people and the troops who were sent here as a precautionary measure.

11. In Bombay City attempts were made to create disturbances when news came of the exclusion of Mr. Gandhi from the Punjab and Delhi, but the situation was well handled by the police and the military, and with the arrival of Mr. Gandhi the disorder subsided. As the Committee were informed by the Bombay Government, "the disturbances were attended by no fatal casualties or extensive destruction of public or private property. There was no suspension of the normal course of administration or of civil control over law and order. Offences committed in the course of the disturbances were dealt with by the permanent magisterial courts. There was no serious dislocation for any considerable time of the normal life of the city."

12. The minority accept the majority report in respect of all the disturbances in the Bombay Presidency, although they consider it almost certain that the unfortunate events at Ahmedabad and elsewhere would not have taken place but for the orders passed against Mr. Gandhi, and add that according to the official evidence his influence on arrival was fully thrown on the side of law and order. They acknowledge the discretion and judgment displayed by Mr. Chatfield, the Collector of Ahmedabad, in dealing with a sudden and grave outburst of mob fury, and compliment the local Government in the following terms:—"The manner in which the Bombay Government, while firmly taking adequate steps for the maintenance of peace and order in the city of Bombay and Ahmedabad and other places, avoided taking measures likely to cause public irritation and leave bitterness behind, displayed to our mind creditable statesmanship."

13. We accept the unanimous findings of the Committee regarding the disorders in the Bombay Presidency. We also endorse the opinions which have been expressed regarding the valuable services of the local officers and the admirable behaviour of the troops engaged in the suppression of the disturbances. In this despatch it is impossible to review in detail the various outrages recorded in the report. A perusal of that document is necessary to appreciate correctly the cruelty of the mob, which was immediately directed against Europeans and Government servants. We desire to place on record our deep sympathy with all those who suffered at the hands of the mob and in particular with the relations of the magistrate and two police officers who were done to death in so dastardly a manner. Steps have already been taken to make provision for the dependents of these persons and to ensure adequate recognition of the services of those officers and others who rendered valuable assistance in this serious outbreak.

14. In Chapter III the Committee turn to the Punjab and deal first with the disturbances in the Amritsar district. They begin by describing the unrest and ferment which prevailed in Amritsar city prior to the 10th of April, on which date the first outbreak of disorder occurred. On the 9th the Deputy Commissioner received the orders of the local Government for the deportation of Drs. Kitchlew and Satyapal to Dharmsala. The action of the Deputy Commissioner in carrying out these orders quickly and quietly is approved and the precaution of concentrating seventy-five armed police at the kotwali (police station) is commended as wise. The subsequent breakdown of this arrangement is not held to be due to any want of foresight on the part of the local officers. The Committee comment, however, on the failure to warn the European residents in the city of the danger of their position, observing that this omission seems inconsistent with the precautions taken for the evacuation of the women and children. At the same time they recognise the impossibility of predicting such an outburst of murderous antipathy against Europeans as actually occurred.

When the news of the deportation of Drs. Kitchlew and Satyapal became known, an excited and angry crowd attempted to make their way to the civil lines. The Committee find that the Deputy Commissioner was right in preventing the crowd from proceeding further in this direction, and that the firing which was ordered to secure this object was completely justified and in no way exceeded the requirements of the occasion. Similarly on the second occasion on which firing was ordered at the Hall Bridge they justify the action taken and agree that the necessity of the occasion was not exceeded.

15. The Committee then describe the violent excesses which were committed by the mob in the city. At the National Bank the manager and assistant manager were brutally beaten to death: their bodies were burnt under piles of furniture, and the building itself was sacked, set on fire, and completely gutted, while the bank godowns were looted of their contents. The Alliance Bank was next attacked and its manager was cruelly murdered, being flung from the balcony on to the street where his body was burnt under a stack of furniture soaked in kerosene oil. The building itself was spared, presumably because it was Indian-owned. The Committee condemn the police at the kotwali for failing to take steps to prevent these outrages, holding that the officers in charge might have prevented them but failed either to grasp, or to attempt to cope with, their responsibility. The Chartered Bank which was also attacked escaped through police intervention. The Town Hall and post office were burnt and the telegraph office attacked but saved by the jemadar of the station guard who fired on the mob. The Committee hold the firing at the telegraph office to be justifiable. They proceed to describe the looting of the goods station, the murders of Guard Robinson and Sergeant Rowlands, the murderous attacks on Mr. Bennett and Miss Sherwood, the determined search for Mrs. Easdon, the burning of various buildings including the Indian Christian Church, and the persistent efforts to injure communications and isolate Amritsar. The mob violence is described as anti-Government and anti-European and the gravity of the situation is made abundantly clear. In the course of a single day property to the value of seventeen lakhs of rupees was destroyed.

16. Later that day reinforcements in the shape of troops arrived and in the evening the Commissioner of the Division gave verbal instructions to the commanding officer that as the situation was beyond civil control he, as senior military officer, should take such steps as the military situation demanded. On the evening of the 11th the Commissioner left for Lahore and General Dyer arrived at Amritsar where he took over charge of the troops. The Deputy Commissioner made over formal charge to him at midnight of that day. Generally speaking the Committee find no serious ground for criticism in regard to the action taken before the 13th April. The general conclusion of the Committee is that between the 10th and 12th the civil authorities had become powerless, and that the state of affairs on the 11th was inevitably leading to a state of *de facto* martial law, that the authorities were justified in the measures which they took to suppress disorder, including the cutting off of light and water supplies, and that they acted wisely in not attempting to take sterner and more resolute action to regain control within the city on the 11th and 12th.

17. The minority say that they are in general agreement with the statement of facts set out in Chapter III of the majority report, except where they specifically differ. They agree that all the firing which took place on the 10th April was justified and they differ on one point only. While the majority say that the firing at the bridge was in no sense the cause of the mob excesses of the 10th, the minority hold that, although the excesses were altogether inexcusable and without justification, the mob had not any previous fixed intention of committing excesses, but after the firing lost their heads and were seized by a mad frenzy to commit nefarious deeds.

18. We desire at this point to review the situation and the measures taken at Amritsar up to and including the 12th April. We endorse the finding of the Com-

mittee that the situation was one of great difficulty and consider that the action taken by the authorities was generally justified. We think, however, it is to be regretted that the civil authorities considered it incumbent upon them, before the proclamation of martial law, to hand over control to the military in such terms as to suggest that they did not intend to exercise supervision or guidance over the action of the military commander. The result was to place the latter in a position of great difficulty and to impose upon him a grave responsibility which, in the opinion of the Government of India, should have continued to be shared by the civil authorities up to a later stage. It is not clear who was actually responsible for the complete abdication of civil authority, but the Government of India propose to make further enquiry into this matter and to pass such orders as may be necessary.

19. The Committee next deal with the events at Jallianwala Bagh on the 13th. They describe the place and give a full account of all the facts and circumstances of the firing, stating the number of rounds fired—1,650, and the extent of the casualties, the dead being estimated at 379 and the wounded at three times that number. They criticise General Dyer adversely on two grounds, (1) that he opened fire without warning, and (2) that he went on firing after the crowd had begun to disperse. On the first point, they say that the only person who can judge whether notice should properly be given on such an occasion is the military officer concerned. The Committee point out however that General Dyer does not suggest the existence of an emergency justifying his decision to fire on the crowd without warning. He stated before the Committee that his mind was made up as he came along that if his orders were disobeyed he was going to fire at once. They think it distinctly improbable that the crowd would have dispersed without being fired on, as most of those present had assembled in direct defiance of a proclamation. Nevertheless they say that notice would have afforded those who had assembled in ignorance of the proclamation and others an opportunity to leave the assembly. In continuing to fire as long as he did, even after the crowd had begun to disperse, General Dyer, in the opinion of the Committee, committed a grave error, though they consider that he honestly believed on the information then before him and his appreciation of the existing military situation that he was called upon to take this step in the discharge of his duty. They find further that it was his intention to create a moral effect throughout the Punjab and they condemn this as a mistaken conception of his duty. As regards General Dyer's failure to attend to the wounded, they say that he had a very small force with him and, as he explained, the hospitals were open and no application was made to him for help. In conclusion, they do not accept the view that General Dyer's action saved the situation in the Punjab and averted a rebellion on a scale similar to the mutiny.

20. In dealing with the events of Jallianwala Bagh, the minority find that the notice prohibiting the meeting was not adequately published and they criticise General Dyer severely, (1) for suggesting that he would have made use of machine guns if they could have been brought into action, (2) for opening fire without warning and continuing after the crowd had begun to disperse until his ammunition was spent, (3) for firing not merely to disperse the crowd but to punish it and to produce a moral effect in the Punjab, and (4) for assuming that the crowd before him consisted of the persons guilty of the outrages of the 10th. They maintain that it is immaterial whether General Dyer thought he was doing right or not and that the plea of military necessity will not avail him, as this plea is always

used in justification of Prussian atrocities. They do not agree with the majority that it was probable that the crowd could not have been dispersed without firing, citing General Dyer himself in support of their opinion: and they describe his action as inhuman and un-British and as having caused great disservice to British rule in India. They attribute his conduct to a fixed idea that India must be ruled by force and they condemn his action in not taking steps for the removal of the dead and the care of the wounded. Finally, they criticise the failure of the Punjab Government to ascertain without delay the number of casualties. It should be here stated that the result of official enquiries which included a careful scrutiny of the information gathered by the Sewa Samiti (a Social Service Society) places the figures at 379 killed and 192 wounded. It is almost certain that the latter figure omits many who were only slightly wounded, but as an estimate of the more serious casualties the combined figure is probably nearer the truth than any estimate based only on a rule of proportion, such as that stated by General Dyer in his evidence before the Committee to be not beyond the bounds of possibility.

21. The difference in the measure of condemnation of General Dyer by the majority and the minority and the attention which has been directed to the events at Jallianwala Bagh both in England and in India, necessitate a careful examination by Government of the extent to which General Dyer should be held to be blameworthy. Looking to the specific findings on which the condemnation of his action is based, we consider that the orders prohibiting assemblies should have been promulgated more widely and in particular that notices might have been posted up at Jallianwala Bagh, which had become a favourite assembly ground for political meetings. We think also that notice might have been given at the Baisakhi fair where many people from villages in the vicinity had collected. At the same time it is the case that the proclamation was made by beat of drum in the presence of General Dyer himself, and notices were published at nineteen places in the city: it cannot therefore be doubted that most of the residents of Amritsar present at the meeting were aware of the orders and collected in defiance of them.

The Government of India agree with the Committee that General Dyer should have given warning to the crowd before opening fire. It is true that he had only a small force with him and that in view of this circumstance and the previous successes of the forces of disorder it is most improbable that an excited and defiant mob would have dispersed on a mere warning, but those ignorant of the order, including the villagers who had come to visit the Baisakhi fair, and indeed others would have had an opportunity of leaving the assembly if reasonable notice had been given to them. The Government of India agree that there was not such an emergency existing as to render this precaution impossible.

General Dyer's action in continuing to fire on the crowd after it had begun to disperse was, in the opinion of the Government of India, indefensible. He fired continuously for ten minutes during which time 1,650 rounds were expended. It is probable that General Dyer's action so intimidated the lawless elements in the population of Amritsar and neighbouring districts of the Central Punjab as to prevent further manifestations of disorder. The Government of India cannot however accept this as a justification of the continued firing which greatly exceeded the necessity of the occasion. The dispersal of the crowd was indeed a matter of vital importance in view of the situation which then existed in Amritsar and stern measures to effect this end were certainly required. In our opinion however much more

restricted military force would have sufficed to produce this effect and General Dyer's action has undoubtedly left behind bitterness of feeling which will take long to pass away. He was no doubt faced with a position of great difficulty: he was apprehensive of Amritsar being isolated and he had before him the danger of allowing mob rule to continue after the terrible events of the 10th. Giving all due weight to these considerations, the deliberate conclusion at which we have arrived is that General Dyer exceeded the reasonable requirements of the case and showed a misconception of his duty which resulted in a lamentable and unnecessary loss of life. Although we are constrained to this decision, we are convinced that General Dyer acted honestly in the belief that he was doing what was right and we think that in the result his action at the time checked the spread of the disturbances to an extent which it is difficult now to estimate. This was the opinion of many intelligent observers in the Punjab. There remains the question of the failure to arrange for medical aid after the firing at Jallianwala Bagh. Here too we must express our great regret that no action was taken either by the civil or the military authorities to remove the dead or give aid to the wounded. The minority criticize Sir Michael O'Dwyer for expressing approval of the action taken at Jallianwala Bagh. On this point the Government of India have little to add to the account given by the late Lieutenant-Governor of the circumstances in which his approval was conveyed, but making every allowance for the difficult position in which Sir Michael O'Dwyer was placed, the Government of India think that he would have acted more wisely, if, before expressing any approval of General Dyer's action on this occasion, he had taken steps to ascertain the facts and circumstances of the firing more fully.

We desire to add here that our Honourable Colleague Mr. Shafi agrees generally with the minority in their findings of fact as regards Amritsar and the inferences deduced therefrom, where these differ from the findings and conclusions of the majority. He rejects the theory that General Dyer's action at Jallianwala Bagh saved the situation in the Punjab and averted a rebellion on a scale similar to that of the Mutiny. In his opinion the disturbances on and after the 14th of April in the districts of Gujranwala, Gujrat and Lyallpur were the results of the commotion caused by the Jallianwala Bagh affair.

22. We cannot leave this tragic occurrence without adverting to the charge that a veil of secrecy was deliberately thrown around it, the public being left to infer that the sinister policy of concealment has only been foiled by the revelations made before the Committee of Enquiry in December last. The insinuation is devoid of foundation. When the outbreaks of disorder occurred, the immediate necessity was to quell them and restore order. At a very early stage His Excellency the Viceroy decided that it was incumbent upon Government to hold an enquiry into the disturbances and the administration of martial law. In this opinion you concurred and in the third week of May in a speech in the House of Commons you made the following announcement:—

> "As regards these troubles which I have been describing, as questions have been asked from time to time and resolutions have been moved demanding an enquiry, the Viceroy has always contemplated an enquiry. You cannot have disturbances of this magnitude without an enquiry into the causes and the measures taken to cope with these disturbances,

but no announcement has been made of enquiry up to this moment for this reason; let us talk of an enquiry when we have put the fire out."

This announcement is entirely incompatible with the suggestion of a conspiracy on the part of either the Government of India or the Secretary of State to suppress or conceal the details of the occurrence.

As a result of further communications between us the present Committee was appointed. The question of the composition of the Committee received the most careful consideration, as Government were determined that it should be a body of commanding weight and high judicial experience in which perfect confidence could be reposed by the public, both at home and in India. An announcement of the impending appointment of the Committee was made in the Imperial Legislative Council during its autumn session of September last. Apart from a general enquiry of this character the question whether the investigation of particular incidents should be deferred till the Committee assembled or should form the subject of preliminary proceedings had been carefully considered. Finally, however, we decided with your concurrence that such preliminary enquiries were inadvisable.

In considering whether preliminary enquiries should be held, the case of Jallianwala Bagh had received prominent notice, and after the decision the collection of information continued. The first report of the firing on the crowd at Jallianwala Bagh received by the Government of India on the 14th April placed the casualties at 200. This was supplemented two days later by a report that 200 was the number of killed. These reports were at once repeated to the Secretary of State. Fuller reports were not received till a later date. In the second half of April, General Dyer was fully occupied in marching troops throughout the disturbed area. Very early in May, owing to the outbreak of the Afghan war, he was selected for the command of the Kohat Brigade. From that date till the end of July he was continuously engaged in field operations; and his detailed report on the administration of martial law in Amritsar, including the firing at Jallianwala Bagh was not received till the month of August. Meanwhile the local Government had been pursuing enquiries to obtain accurate statistics regarding the extent of the casualties. The information elicited up to the end of August, which was confirmed by a scrutiny of the results of private enquiries made by the Sewa Samiti, showed that the ascertained death roll was then 291 and this was the figure stated at the meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council held in Simla on the 11th September. During this same session of the Council full accounts were given of the happenings in the Punjab and the story of Jallianwala Bagh was discussed in great detail. The proceedings of the debate were fully reported and published in the usual manner and indeed attracted great attention in India. The official enquiries, however, continued, and when the Chief Secretary to the Punjab Government gave evidence before the Committee four months later he stated that the total number of death casualties as then ascertained was 379, while a more recent report of the local Government, based on a scrutiny of the Sewa Samiti's information, places the number of wounded at 192.

From the time that it was decided to appoint the Committee, Government thought it proper to avoid as far as possible making any public comments on the transactions which it was the duty of the Committee to examine and to refrain from passing any judgment on the conduct of individual officers until they received the report of that body. There is no justification for the allegation that from the

date of these occurrences until the publication of General Dyer's evidence before the Committee, the Government of India had been guilty of following a policy of deliberate suppression of the truth. The facts stated above clearly refute this libel.

It is no doubt a matter for regret that without resort to a formal enquiry full knowledge of what actually occurred should not have become general earlier. But the chapter is closed, and as Government and the public both in India and the United Kingdom are now in complete possession of the facts, recriminations and regrets serve no useful purpose.

23. Chapter IV deals with the disorders in the Lahore district. In the Capital itself the agitation against the Rowlatt Bills and the complete *hartal* of the 6th April had worked the people up to a state of intense excitement, which the news of Mr. Gandhi's arrest and of the disturbances at Amritsar brought to a head on the afternoon of the 10th. Crowds assembled in the city and endeavoured to overpower the police when the latter opposed their advance towards the civil lines. The Committee have carefully considered the circumstances under which fire was opened on this mob under the orders of the District Magistrate, Mr. Fyson, and the Superintendent of Police, Mr. Broadway, on three occasions in the course of that afternoon, and they fully approve the action taken by these two officers. The Government of India are unable to think that any other conclusion is possible. The outrages at Amritsar were known at the time to the mob when it was proceeding to the civil lines and it would have been suicidal to allow it to succeed in its endeavour. The position in Lahore, after these attempts of the crowd to enter the civil lines had been repelled, is thus described by the Committee :—

> "On the night of 10th April and for some days following, the city of Lahore was in a dangerously disturbed condition. Military measures were taken on that night to protect the civil station and its surroundings. No European could safely enter the city, from which the police were temporarily withdrawn. For about two days the city was controlled by the mob."

The Committee then describe the events of the 11th, the inflammatory speeches delivered at the Badshahi mosque to excited crowds of Hindus and Muhammadans, the organization of the *Danda Fauj*, a band of hooligans, who marched through the city armed with sticks (*lathis*) and destroyed pictures of Their Majesties, shouting that King George was dead. Attempts were made on the morning of the 11th to pull down the railings at the Fort, where some of the rioters spat at the British soldiers on guard and called them "white pigs." On the same day the railway workshop was attacked and determined efforts were made to bring about a strike amongst the workers. On the 12th another meeting was held at the Badshahi Mosque, when an officer of the Criminal Investigation Department was severely beaten by the mob. On the same day a mixed column of police and military was marched through the city in an effort to regain control of the situation. The march was hindered by large crowds, assembled at the Hira Mandi, who refused to disperse when so directed by the District Magistrate and began to stone the small advance force of police which was with him. Mr. Fyson was obliged to open fire with the result that one man was killed and twenty wounded. The Committee consider that it was essential on this day to disperse the crowd and that it would have been the end of all chance of restoring order in Lahore if the police and troops

had left without dispersing it. All the firing was done by the police. The fact that the police, armed with buckshot, were made to take the brunt of the collision with the crowd instead of the troops with service ammunition, the small number of shots fired by the police, and the warnings given to the crowd, showed, in the opinion of the Committee, that the greatest care was taken and the least possible degree of force was used.

Special attention is invited by the Committee to the use of inflammatory and seditious posters in Lahore, which in the name of Mahatma Gandhi called upon the brave people of the Punjab to enlist in the *Danda Fauj* and kill the English who were described as pigs, monkeys and kafirs. On the 13th April the district was proclaimed under the Seditious Meetings Act. On the same date the station of Wagah, about 14 miles off, was burnt and sacked, telegraph lines cut and an armoured train derailed, fortunately without loss of life. On the 14th the Punjab Government deported the local leaders, Rambhaj Dutt, Harkishan Lal and Duni Chand, who had been actively associated with the agitation and the still-continuing *hartal*: all these men were convicted later of the offence of waging war. On the 15th April martial law was proclaimed in Lahore.

24. The second portion of Chapter IV describes the very serious disturbances which occurred on the 12th April at Kasur, a sub-divisional town, 37 miles south-east of Lahore. On the morning of that day a violent mob attacked the railway station, and after destroying and burning a considerable quantity of valuable property, turned their attention to three trains which were held up near the station. Murderous attacks were made on a number of Europeans, including a lady and three children, who were travelling by these trains; some of them had miraculous escapes, but three persons were severely injured and two unfortunate warrant officers were beaten to death. Elated by their success, the mob next burnt down the post office and a civil court, and attacked the sub-divisional offices where the police were obliged to fire in defence of Government property with the result that four men were killed and several wounded. The Committee uphold the decision to fire upon the mob and think indeed that it should have been fired on at an earlier stage. Troops arrived from Ferozepore on the afternoon of the 12th and averted further trouble. Outbursts of disorder occurred at two other places in Lahore district, at Khem Karan on the 12th when the railway station was attacked with some resultant damage, and at Patti, where telegraph wires were cut on the night of the 11th and the post office and railway station were attacked on the 12th.

We accept all the findings of the majority, in which the minority concur, with regard to the disturbances in Lahore district and the measures taken to suppress them. We consider that praise is due to Messrs. Fyson and Broadway for their handling of the difficult situation in Lahore city.

25. Chapter V deals with the very serious outbreak at Gujranwala which is a town of 30,000 inhabitants about 36 miles north of Lahore. There had been here as elsewhere the usual agitation against the Rowlatt Bill and a complete *hartal* was observed on the 6th April but no violence had occurred or was anticipated till the 13th, when the news of the happenings at Amritsar and Lahore on the 10th gave rise to local excitement. That evening the authorities learnt that further demonstrations were intended next day and the acting Deputy Commissioner took such police precautions as seemed to him necessary. The Committee describe in detail the outrages which were committed in the town on the 14th including the

attack on a train, the setting fire to the Gurukul bridge, the burning of many buildings, and numerous injuries to railway and telegraph communications. The mob had obtained complete mastery and the police were unable to stop the senseless destruction of property which occurred or to secure the safety of the European and loyal population. The post office, the revenue office, the church, and the district court were all burnt down. The jail and the police lines were attacked but were saved by the police firing. The mob then returned to the railway station, set the buildings and goods sheds on fire, and looted their contents. Those European families which had not been sent away as a precautionary measure on the previous evening were collected for safety in the Treasury, which was protected by a small police guard. Communications meanwhile had been interrupted on every side; by the end of the day practically all the wires along the railway in front of the city were cut for a distance of some miles. On account of this interruption of communications, it was impossible to send ordinary military aid to Gujranwala and it was in these circumstances that the use of aeroplanes for the relief of the town was sanctioned. The police were nearly exhausted when about three o'clock in the afternoon three aeroplanes from Lahore arrived over the town. It was not till nine o'clock that night that the first troops arrived.

The important findings of the majority regarding events at Gujranwala are (1) that Mr. Heron's action in firing on the mob is entirely approved; (2) that the conduct of the acting Deputy Commissioner in refusing to allow firing when the mob attacked the post office is open to criticism; (3) that the mob was seeking to imitate what had been done at Amritsar; (4) that the decision to use bomb-carrying aeroplanes was justified in the circumstances, though recourse to the use of aeroplanes in civil disorders cannot be defended save in cases of the utmost urgency; and (5) that generally speaking, the action of the aeroplane officer, Major Carberry, was justified but that his instructions were defective. On all these points the Government of India are in entire agreement with the Committee and desire to commend Mr. Heron who behaved well in circumstances of great difficulty. The Committee find that the dropping of bombs on two outlying villages and on the Khalsa High School cannot be defended but the fault lay chiefly with the instructions given to Major Carberry and they impute no blame to him for a decision taken in the air and at the moment. They observe that the dropping of bombs on the riotous crowds within Gujranwala city was not only justified but, in their view, invaluable, and the fact that the disorders were ended long before troops arrived is in large measure attributable to this act. They say that no sufficient explanation has been given to justify the use of an aeroplane on the 15th of April for purposes of offensive action, and they conclude by recommending that the instructions to be issued to Air Force officers regarding the procedure to be followed by them on such occasions should form the subject of careful enquiry by the Air Force Headquarters.

The minority discuss the employment of aeroplanes in Chapter IV which is entitled "Armoured Trains and Aeroplanes." They agree with the majority in saying that the use of aeroplanes to quell civil disorders should as far as possible be deprecated. They condemn Major Carberry for dropping bombs on the Khalsa High School and two outlying villages, and say that though the orders he received were not worded with sufficient care, he did not exercise his discretion wisely in carrying them out. They find also that his action in firing with a machine gun on the crowd was excessive.

26. So far as the general question of the use of aeroplanes at Gujranwala is concerned, the Government of India accept the finding of the majority which is aptly expressed as follows:—"We are not prepared to lay down as a charter for rioters that when they succeed in preventing the ordinary resources of Government from being utilized to suppress them, they are to be exempt from having to reckon with such resources as remain." We do not consider that it would be right to censure the officers who have been mentioned in connection with individual incidents, as their acts, where condemned, are more to be ascribed to want of clearness in their instructions than to errors of judgment. We think that the despatch of aeroplanes on the 15th under instructions which admitted of their being used for offensive action was not justified but we do not consider that the officer who carried out the instructions was seriously to blame. We note, however, with satisfaction that, so far as known, no casualties resulted from the action taken on this date. Finally, we propose to take steps to give effect to the recommendation of the majority that the instructions to be issued to Air Force officers on such occasions should be carefully prescribed.

27. There were outbreaks of disorder at fourteen other places in the Gujranwala district, but the Committee discuss those only which occurred at Wazirabad, a town of 20,000 inhabitants 20 miles north of Gujranwala, at Akalgarh, and Hafizabad, and in the Shekhupura sub-division. At Wazirabad a riotous mob was repelled from the railway buildings, but did extensive damage to the telegraph system. It also set fire to railway bridges, sacked and burnt the bungalow of a Scotch missionary, and made an unsuccessful attempt to wreck the mail train. At Akalgarh and Hafizabad extensive damage was done to the telegraph wires, and at the latter place an officer of the Military Farms Department had a fortunate escape from the murderous intentions of a threatening crowd. In the Shekhupura sub-division persistent and determined attacks on the telegraph and railway systems were made at Chuharkhana, Shekhupura, Sangla and other places, at least three railway stations being destroyed, while savage assaults were made on certain railway employés and Government servants. An armoured train was sent to the rescue from Lahore, and fire was opened from this at Chuharkhana under the orders of Rai Sahib Lala Sri Ram Sud, Extra Assistant Commissioner of Sharakpur. The Committee find that this officer acted in a difficult situation with promptitude and decision. The minority take a different view and condemn him on the ground that his intention was punishment and that the firing was therefore not justified. The Government of India accept the opinions of the majority in all matters arising out of the distrubances at these places and agree with them that Lala Sri Ram Sud displayed promptitude and decision in the discharge of his duties.

28. Chapters VI and VII describe the events which occurred in the Gujrat and Lyallpur districts respectively. The chief features of the disturbances in these areas were attacks on railway communications and telegraph wires. At Gujrat on the 15th April fire had to be opened on a riotous mob which was dispersed without casualties. At Malakwal a train was derailed on the 17th April and two lives were lost. In Lyallpur a very disquieting and prominent feature was the continued exhibition of posters of an inflammatory and criminal character. Indians were called upon, in the blessed name of Mahatma Gandhi, to fight to the death against English cheats and to dishonour English women. Great tension existed for several days and the situation at Lyallpur was an anxiety to Government on

account of the memories of the previous troubles of 1907. The position was so serious that the Europeans in the station were collected for safety in two houses in the civil lines, but no actual violence occurred except the cutting of telegraph wires at a few places in the district. The arrival of troops on the 17th April prevented any further disorder.

The Committee have not described in detail the acts of violence and disorder which occurred in many other towns and places in the Punjab, but these are set forth in the chronological statement annexed to the report and it is necessary to bear them in mind in considering the position as it appeared to the local Government when the proclamation of martial law was recommended.

29. Chapter VIII describes the persistent and widespread attacks on the railway and telegraph systems, which continued from the 10th April till about the end of the month. According to a report of the Telegraph Department, the wires were cut or tampered with on 55 occasions, but there were besides numerous attacks on railway telegraphs and the total number of outrages of this class cited by the Home Member at a Council meeting in September last according to a statement of the Punjab Government was 132. The Committee ascribe the attacks on communications partly to anti-Government feeling and partly to the desire to prevent the movement of troops. They also refer to the persistent attempts which were made to incite the railway staff to strike. The unrest prevailing amongst certain sections of the staff was a cause of great anxiety to Government at this critical time.

The importance of this chapter lies in the close bearing it has on the question of the justification for the introduction and continuance of martial law. The significance of the statistics of railway and telegraph interruptions is brought forcibly home by the maps attached to the report. These indicate the extended area over which this class of offence was committed, giving rise to a suspicion of preconcerted action.

30. In Chapter IX the Committee discuss the causes of the disturbances and say that an adequate explanation of the general and widespread outbreaks in the Punjab must be sought in the causes of a general state of unrest and discontent amongst the people, particularly the inhabitants of the larger towns. The increased interest in political agitation caused in recent years by the Home Rule movement received a great impetus from the new doctrine of self-determination. Meanwhile however the restrictions imposed under the Defence of India Act were becoming more essential, as the war drew to its climax. These restrictions affected the daily life of the ordinary citizen much more lightly in India than in Europe; nevertheless, particularly when imposed on political agitation, they were, however necessary, the more galling to the educated classes, in view of the fact that the political future of India was under consideration. The Punjab was meanwhile doing more than its share to respond to the call of the Empire for recruits for the army, and the strain was falling mainly on the country districts, which the local Government considered it necessary to protect from any anti-Government agitation likely to hamper the work of recruitment. After the conclusion of the Armistice in November 1918 hopes ran high amongst the educated classes that the services rendered by India in the war would receive immediate recognition. But these hopes were not at once fulfilled and disappointment was caused by a combina-

tion of circumstances, such as high prices, scarcity, food stuff restrictions, and the anxieties of the peace settlement, especially as it affected Turkey.

The Committee next consider the agitation against the Rowlatt Bills. They find that this was largely, if not mainly, responsible for creating the feeling against Government which provoked such serious disorders and they cite various false rumours as to the provisions of the Bill which inflamed popular feeling. They next examine the history and progress of the *Satyagraha* movement inaugurated by Mr. Gandhi on the 24th February. After a careful review of this movement in all its aspects, the Committee find that a familiarity and sympathy with disobedience to laws was engendered by it amongst large numbers of people and that the law-abiding instincts which stand between society and outbreaks of violence were undermined at a time when their full strength was required. From its first inception the *Satyagraha* movement was condemned by prominent leaders of moderate opinion in India as likely to promote disorder and breach of the peace, and the organizer himself recognized later that in embarking on a mass movement he had underrated the forces of evil. The Committee expressly find that the recruiting campaign and the action taken in the Punjab to raise subscriptions to the war loans were not responsible for the unrest. They conclude by saying that there is no evidence that the outbreaks in the Punjab were the result of a pre-arranged conspiracy to overthrow the British Government in India by force, but that it was difficult and probably unsafe for Government not to assume that the outbreak was the result of a definite organization. Apart from the existence of any deeply laid scheme to overthrow the British, a movement which had started in rioting and become a rebellion might have rapidly developed into a revolution.

31. In the introductory chapter of their report the minority state that they are in substantial agreement with the findings of the majority as regards the causes of the disturbances, with this reservation that they do not concur in the opinion that the Punjab authorities were justified in assuming that the outbreak was the result of a definite organization. They are unable to agree that the riots were in the nature of a rebellion and they say that it is an unjustifiable exaggeration to suggest that the events might have developed into a revolution. They entirely agree with the majority in their estimate of the *Satyagraha* movement and its off-shoot, civil disobedience of laws. They develop their views on the real character of the disorders, including their causes, more fully in Chapter II of their report. Here they refer to the general conditions existing in the beginning of 1919, the strain placed on India by her war efforts, the hardship of high-prices, the inconveniences and restraints imposed by war measures, the hope of alleviation excited by the armistice, and the subsequent disappointment caused by famine, epidemic and a more stringent Income-tax Act, the belief that the proposals of the Government of India as regards the reform scheme were illiberal and intended to whittle it down, and the delay of the Turkish settlement. They argue that many of the foregoing causes affected the Punjab more than other provinces and they instance other special factors such as war weariness, foodstuff and traffic restrictions, Sir Michael O'Dwyer's speeches, press restrictions, the orders prohibiting the entry into the province of outside politicians, all tending to cause general irritation amongst the educated classes. While refraining from any discussion of the merits of the Rowlatt Act they hold that its introduction and enactment in the face of Indian opinion was a fertile source of discontent which was fostered by misrepre-

sentations in the Punjab. They assert that Indian leaders were not responsible for these misrepresentations, and they condemn Government for failing to explain the Act to the masses until after the *hartal* of April the 6th, although misrepresentations were current before that date. They accept the estimate of the *Satyagraha* movement formed by the majority, but they disclaim the view that the disorders in the Punjab can be attributed to any active presentation of the *Satyagraha* doctrine by organizations working within the province. They find that there was no organization to bring about disturbances and they quote the evidence of various official witnesses in support of this conclusion. The anti-British and anti-Government outbursts which occurred were in their opinion purely the result of sudden mob frenzy. The minority conclude that although there was thus no evidence of organised conspiracy in the Punjab, the civil and military authorities persuaded themselves that open rebellion existed and took action accordingly.

32. The Government of India accept the findings of the Committee regarding the causes of the disturbances. The minority as stated above, are in substantial agreement with the majority on this subject. Of the causes specially mentioned by the minority they agree that epidemics and a new Income-tax Act were factors in the unrest, and this latter cause may have accounted in part for the extent to which the movement enlisted the sympathy of the trading classes. The despatches containing the views of the Government of India on the Reform proposals were not published till long after the disturbances, and if, as is suggested by the minority, the supposed attitude of the Government was a cause of unrest this must have been due to deliberate misrepresentation. Moreover, so far as is known, no such allegations were made either in the press or on the public platform before the disorders actually broke out. The minority assign as one of the causes of the unrest which proceeded the outbreak in the Punjab the attitude of Sir Michael O'Dwyer forwards the educated classes and the resentment which they allege was produced thereby. The efforts made by the larger land-owners and men of leading in rural areas to promote recruiting during the war had brought these classes into prominence and had secured a generous recognition from the local Government. For this and other reasons a tendency had sprung up towards cleavage between the rural classes and the trading and professional classes from which the intelligentia is mainly drawn. This may have created amongst the latter an impression that their political influence was being curtailed. The Government of India agree with the Committee that misrepresentations of the Rowlatt Act were an important cause of the outbreak. Such misrepresentations were freely circulated and their harmful effects were incalculable. Government were unaware of the dissemination of these malicious falsehoods until the beginning of April when they at once took action to contradict them. It is unfortunate that neither in the press nor on the public platform did those who attacked the Act endeavour to remove the effects of these misrepresentations. Whether it is correct or not to say, as the minority do, that the disorders in the Punjab were not due to any active presentation of the *Satyagraha* doctrine within the province, we must place on record our belief that many of those who joined the *Satyagraha* movement did so with the intention of using it for the purpose of promoting disorder. Finally we desire to observe that the opinion of the minority regarding the nature of the disorders is discounted by their findings of fact, while the conclusion of the majority that a movement which started in rioting became a rebellion is supported by the conviction before various tribunals of a

large number of persons for the offence of waging war against the King. These convictions, in the opinion of the Government of India, are of great importance in reaching a decision as to the true character of the disorders.

But whatever the truth may be as to the causes which produced these disorders and grave as the outbreak was in its nature and effects, it must not be forgotten that the loyalty of India as a whole remained unshaken and that even in the Punjab the bulk of the population maintained its reputation and did not fall a victim to the infection which so disastrously affected a portion of it.

33. There is one point in the discussion of causes to which the Government of India desire to advert at greater length. It has been represented that the action taken by Government against prominent politicians, such as Mr. Gandhi and Drs. Kitchlew and Satyapal, was the cause and not merely the occasion of the disturbances. This is sufficiently disproved by the fact already pointed out that the *Satyagraha* movement had led to grave disorders in Delhi long before any such action was taken. But the circumstances in which Mr. Gandhi was excluded from Delhi and the Punjab deserve fuller examination.

The situation about the end of March has already been described. The acute state of tension which continued in Delhi for some days after the outbreak of the 30th March greatly increased the potentialities of danger of the *Satyagraha* movement in other parts of India, where the news of the Delhi rioting caused great excitement. The events of that date might indeed well have conveyed to the promoters of the movement a warning of the dangers which were attendant on their propaganda, but actually they were far from doing so. The agitation accompanied by increasing excitement continued unchecked all over the country.

It was at this critical juncture that we received information that Mr. Gandhi had vigorously renewed his campaign of civil disobedience to the laws, and on the 9th we heard that he had left Bombay for Delhi on the previous evening. Immediately on receiving this news, we consulted the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab and the Chief Commissioner of Delhi. Both these officers considered that the situation had become serious and that it would be most dangerous to allow Mr. Gandhi to enter their jurisdictions. His avowed intention was to break the law of the land and to secure adherents to the *Satyagraha* movement. His arrest and prosecution in the Punjab would in all probability have been the signal for an outbreak, and the enlistment of any large number of supporters to his movement in that province would almost certainly have led to an immediate campaign of active resistance and outrage. The Chief Commissioner considered that an order merely prohibiting Mr. Gandhi from entering Delhi would be very dangerous, as the only method of enforcing it would be to arrest, detain and prosecute him in that city. On the other hand, if he were allowed to enter Delhi, it was most probable that he would break the law there and would have to be arrested and tried for an offence, with the result that there would almost certainly be a recurrence of the recent serious rioting. In these circumstances the Government of India authorised the local Governments of the Punjab and Delhi to issue orders under rule 3 (*b*) of the Defence of India Rules, directing Mr. Gandhi to remain in the Bombay Presidency. The Government of India then considered, and still consider, that this course was amply justified in view of the fact that Mr. Gandhi was the leading spirit of a movement intended to paralyze Government.

34. In the same way it has been suggested that the action of the Punjab Government in ordering the deportation of Drs. Kitchlew and Satyapal on the 10th April was a provocative act leading direct to the subsequent outrages. Previous orders had been passed prohibiting them from speaking in public, and it is true that they had not taken an open part in the meetings immediately preceding the *hartal* of the 6th April. But as the evidence subsequently taken before the martial law commission showed, they held secret meetings after that date and continued to direct an agitation which was found to be of the nautre of a criminal conspiracy. It was in these circumstances that the local Government decided to remove them from Amritsar to Dharamsala. That outrages followed as soon as the news of the deportation became known is of course the case. But it is always a question of the greatest difficulty to judge whether preventive steps such as those taken will, in a time of great popular excitement, quiet the general atmosphere or precipitate disorder. The probability seemed to be that they would achieve the former result.

35. Chapter X of the Report contains a statement of the facts regarding the successive stages in the application of martial law. Chapter XI discusses the propriety of its introduction and continuance. The majority of the Committee, as already mentioned, definitely find that a state of rebellion against Government existed. They review the various occurrences, indicate the broad features of the disorders and their significance, point out the danger of criticising isolated events and examine the whole position as it presented itself to the Punjab Government and the Government of India. Finally they conclude that the situation in the Punjab was one of extreme gravity and that the authorities were justified in declaring martial law in those areas where it was proclaimed.

The wisdom of continuing martial law is discussed at some length, and the prolongation of it on the railway is examined with special reference to the Afghan War. The conclusion of the majority is that those responsible for the continuance of martial law gave careful and considerate judgment to the question and did not prolong it beyond the time during which to the best of their judgment it was necessary for the maintenance and restoration of order in the province. Looking to the problem with which Government was faced, the Committee do not think they would be justified in adversely criticising the decision. On the question of the enforcement and continuance of martial law the minority differ widely from the majority. They find that the introduction of martial law was not necessary, because in their opinion order had been restored everywhere and the authority of Government vindicated before martial law was applied. They think that order could have been restored by the civil power with the aid of the military, and that the Punjab Government persuaded themselves rather easily that martial law was necessary. The reasons for the continuance of martial law are also examined and rejected. Assuming that the introduction of martial law was necessary they say that it ought not to have been continued beyond a few days. The Punjab Government, they think, approached the question from a wrong point of view and the Government of India were guided by the local Government.

36. In considering the necessity for the declaration of martial law it is difficult for the Government of India to take an entirely detached view. We were necessarily guided by the information forwarded by the local Government: we had alrealy received reports of grave disorder occurring in various places: and we maintain

the view that with this information before us, we could not have taken any other course than we actually adopted, when we received from Lahore on the afternoon of the 13th April the wireless message which ran as follows :—" Railway stations between Kasur and Amritsar looted. British soldier killed and two British officers injured at Kasur. Bands of rebels reported on move—Kasur and Tarn Taran treasuries attacked. State of open rebellion exists in parts of districts of Lahore and Amritsar. Lieutenant-Governor with concurrence of General Officer Commanding, 16th Division, and Chief Justice of the High Court, requests Governor General in Council to suspend functions of ordinary Criminal Courts in Amritsar and Lahore Districts, to establish martial law therein, and to direct trials of offenders under section 22, Regulation X of 1804. Section 4 will be borne in mind. Situation is critical. Moveable column starts on march from Ferozepore to Amritsar through worst tract with guns to-morrow."

The action of the Government of India has now been justified by the findings of the majority of the Committee, who also exonerate the local Government from all blame. The minority accept the findings of fact as to the number of outrages committed, the animus of those engaged in the riots, the violence used and the number of times on which it was necessary to resort to firing; they also observe that the acts of some of those who took part in the disorders may have amounted in law to waging war against the King, although it was not rebellion in the sense in which that term is ordinarily used. These findings, in the opinion of the Government of India, detract largely from the force of their conclusion that the introduction of martial law was not necessary. In regard to the continuance of martial law the Government of India have nothing to add to the findings of the majority beyond stating that although martial law was maintained on the railways for a prolonged period owing to the outbreak of the Afghan War it was only employed there, after it had been withdrawn from the districts, for the purpose of controlling traffic and protecting the lines.

There is, moreover, one factor in the situation as it presented itself in April 1919 which cannot in the opinion of the Government of India be neglected without prejudice to sound judgment. At that time the British Empire was at war with Germany. Even at the present moment we are not yet at peace with all our enemies; and certainly a year ago when the treaty of peace with Germany had not yet been signed, the existence of a state of war was not a mere technicality. Allusion has already been made to the additional pre-occupation which intervened in the shape of war with Afghanistan, and the difficulties thus created were enhanced by the attitude of the frontier tribes. But at the back of and accentuating these more local difficulties was the paramount necessity of maintaining at the call of the Empire, whose needs were abated, but not extinguished, by the armistice, the resources of the Indian Dominions of His Majesty. In the face of this necessity it was impossible to contemplate any policy which involved an appreciable risk of delay in the restoration of normal conditions or of the recrudescence of the disorders which appeared to have been supressed.

We desire to add here that our Hon'ble Colleague, Mr. Shafi, dissents from the finding of the majority of the Committee, accepted by us, that the declaration of martial law was necessary. In his opinion, there being no organised or preconceived conspiracy to subvert British rule behind these disturbances, the vast rural tract in the five districts concerned having remained tranquil and loyal, there having

been disturbances only in a few places in the urban area, and even in these few places the majority of the residents not having taken any part in the disturbances, there was no open rebellion as alleged, and no justification in consequence for the proclamation of martial law. Besides, before the date on which martial law in these districts was actually enforced, the disturbances had been quelled with the assistance rendered by the military and, in consequence, there was no justification for enforcement or maintenance of martial law on these days and after. This being the case, Mr. Shafi is of opinion that the continuance of martial law over such a long period was uncalled for.

37. Chapter XII deals with the administration of martial law, including the working and procedure of the summary courts. The majority of the Committee find that the trials were correctly described as lengthy, detailed and careful, and commend the substitution for courts martial of tribunals similar to those under the Defence of India Act. They find, however, that although arrests were made in the ordinary way, there may have been cases in which individual police officers subjected those arrested to unnecessary severity. They observe that while the number of persons arrested and not brought to trial was regrettably large and the period of detention unusually long, on the whole this difficult work was not done badly or oppressively. The disorder was so widespread and serious that its inevitable result was to strain any improvised system. In regard to the sentences passed by the martial law courts, the Committee find that there was a general feeling that they were unnecessarily severe but that this was remedied by commutations effected by the local Government. They suggest that charges for serious offences need not have been pressed in the case of minor offenders. Extensive reductions in the sentences would not then have been necessary. The Committee also find that in certain cases, *e.g.*, those of Drs. Kitchlew and Satyapal, it is a matter for regret that the accused were not tried by the ordinary courts. These views are accepted by the Government of India. The military order prohibiting the employment of counsel from outside the Punjab is criticised as unwise and the action of the Government of India in disapproving it is commended.

38. The Committee examine at considerable length the nature of the martial law orders which were promulgated by military commanders in the Punjab. The majority find that some of the orders passed were injudicious and served no useful purpose. They ciritcise severely the "crawling" order passed by General Dyer (which was disapproved by the Lieutenant-Governor as soon as it came to his notice), the "salaming" order of General Campbell, and the "roll call" imposed by Colonel Johnson on the students of Lahore. The Government of India agree that in the instances which the Committee cite with disapproval the action of the officers mentioned was unjustifiable and in some cases inflicted unnecessary humiliation, resulting in ill-feeling which has been a serious embarrassment to the administration. The flogging of six persons, the suspected assailants of Miss Sherwood for a a breach of fort discipline on the spot where that lady was assaulted is severely criticised and the Government of India agree that the action taken in this case was highly improper. In dealing with sentences of public flogging the Committee say that under martial law administration no flogging should take place in public. They find further that the number of flogging sentences was excessive, and though it was regarded as probably the most efficacious and convenient method of dealing summarily with minor breaches of martial law regulations, restrictions ought to

be placed on the discretion of area officers in awarding sentences of this kind. They say, however, that there is no foundation for the allegation that whipping was inflicted in a cruel fashion and that several persons practically succumbed to it. These findings the Government of India entirely accept. The Committee then refer to the infliction by summary courts of certain punishments not warranted by the law. Though these punishments were unsuitable, they were not generally of a serious nature and were often awarded in place of more severe legal punishments. The Government of India, however, disapprove of such fantastic penalties and have taken steps to prevent their being imposed in future.

39. The minority are more severe in their condemnation of the martial law administration. In addition to the criticisms already dealt with, they contend that many of the orders were issued for purely punitive purposes. They cite in particular the orders directing representatives of each ward in Lahore to appear daily before the commanding officer to ascertain his orders for the day. The curfew order, the regulation of prices, and the commandeering of motor cars, electric lights and fans from Indians are also criticised. We are not prepared to say that all these orders were without justification, but we consider that the administration of martial law in Lahore was in some respects unduly severe and exceeded its legitimate limits, that is to say, the requirements of the military situation and the maintenance of law and order. The minority condemn the order imposing on property-owners responsibility for the safety of martial law notices pasted on their houses. The Government of India are not prepared to say that in the circumstances this order was improper. The minority express their strong disapproval of the confinement of the professors and students of the Sanatan Dharm College because certain martial law notices had been destroyed. The Government of India agree that this order exceeded the necessity of the case. The minority further criticise and condemn the conduct of certain officers, notably Colonel O'Brien, Mr. Bosworth Smith and Mr. Jacob, for various orders passed by them in the administration of martial law. The Government of India agree that in the instances cited the officers mentioned acted injudiciously and in some cases improperly. While the findings of the minority report in regard to all these points are very cogent and in some cases fully justified, it must be remembered that officers charged with the administration of martial law cannot be expected to act in abnormal conditions with that care and circumspection which are possible in normal times, nor can such a standard be rigorously applied for the subsequent examination of their actions in the calm atmosphere of safety after order has been restored.

40. The minority in a separate chapter discuss the working of the courts under martial law. The flogging of some members of a marriage party in Lahore by an extra assistant commissioner is rightly condemned. The Punjab Government at once took action against the officer responsible for this abuse of power. The procedure of the summary courts is attacked as unsatisfactory. The Government of India do not think that when martial law is enforced summary courts can be required to observe the formalities of procedure which normally obtain. The minority comment more severely than the majority on the large number of persons arrested and discharged without trial. In the opinion of the Government of India arrest and detention for short periods are justifiable during a period of martial law as preventive measures to preserve the peace; further many of those arrested were not prosecuted subsequently because, though evidence was available, the necessary

deterrent effect had already been secured by the conviction of a large number of persons for similar offences. Nevertheless, the Government of India consider that the arrest and detention for long periods of so many persons, and particularly of Dr. Kedar Nath, Mr. Gurdial Singh, Dr. Manohar Lal and six lawyers of Gurdaspur, were a serious error and while they do not overlook the difficulties of the situation, they are constrained to express their disapproval of the action taken in these cases.

In this connection we cannot pass over in silence the allegations of corruption and ill-treatment of prisoners and witnesses on the part of subordinate officers of the police and other services to which wide currency has been given. We recognise the difficulty of sifting charges made so long after the event, but we will direct the local Government to undertake enquiries and take appropriate action in cases where specific complaints are made and action has not already been taken.

41. We accept the view that the administration of martial law in the Punjab was marred in particular instances by a misuse of power, by irregularities, and by injudicious and irresponsible acts. We further agree with the Committee that while the principle of the ultimate supremacy of the military authorities must be kept in view, still in practice executive instructions should be given to all officers who may be called upon to administer martial law, which will guide them in the discharge of this duty. In our opinion it was the absence of such instructions which was responsible for many of the defects which have been noticed in the administration of martial law in the Punjab. It is to inexperience, ignorance of local conditions, and lack of guidance when confronted with an abnormal situation rather than to deliberate misuse of power that most of the mistakes committed must be ascribed. The Government of India consider that in any area in which in future it may be necessary to enforce martial law, senior civil officers should be appointed to act as advisers to the various military authorities. The military officer would not be bound in the last resort to follow the advice of his civil adviser but if he decided contrary to that advice, he would do so on his own responsibility. We regard the prevention of any future repetition of mistakes and irregularities as the most important lesson to be learnt from this portion of the report and we have accordingly decided to issue instructions which will secure this object, and will in particular discourage interference by the military authorities with the ordinary administration in excess of the necessities of the case.

42. Before leaving the subject of the working of the courts under martial law, the Government of India desire to refer to the action which was taken by the local Government, after order was restored and martial law withdrawn, to mitigate the effects of the sentences passed by these courts. Between the months of June and November sentences were reduced in 634 cases, 45 death sentences were commuted, and 43 persons were released. In November two High Court Judges were appointed to review all unexpired sentences passed by summary courts and such other cases tried by martial law commissions as might be referred to them by Government. In December, as a result of the reviewing Judges' recommendations, 92 persons convicted by summary courts were released, and further action of the same kind would have been taken, but on the 23rd of that month the Royal Proclamation with its message of amnesty was published, and under it clemency was extended to 657 prisoners who were released. By February, out of a total of 1,779 persons convicted in connection with the disturbances, only 96

worst offenders, who had taken part in serious crimes of violence, remained in jail and this number has since been reduced to 88. The extension of clemency to political prisoners in the Punjab has been guided throughout by the generous and sympathetic recommendations of the Lieutenant Governor, whose efforts to restore a peaceful atmosphere within the province are gratefully acknowledged by the Government of India.

43. It now remains for the Government of India to endeavour to arrive at a just appreciation of the conduct of the officers of the Crown, whether civil or military, who were employed in the areas affected by these disorders and to make certain general remarks which appear to be essential before finally disposing of the Committee's report. The task of rightly estimating in a calm atmosphere, when order and peace have been restored, the behaviour of those faced with a grave emergency and compelled to arrive promptly at decisions of the greatest moment is one of unusual difficulty. The very qualities of courage and initiative, which are of incalculable value during the early stages of an outbreak, may in its later stages be a source of injury, if not tempered by discretion. Moreover, any such estimate, if it is to be just, must not neglect the difficulty of deciding when to act and when to refrain from action, and must endeavour to view the whole position in a right perspective.

It was fortunate that, when the disturbances broke out in April 1919, the Punjab was in charge of a Lieutenant-Governor of great experience and courage. The Government of India consider that Sir Michael O'Dwyer acted with decision and vigour in a time of great danger and that he was largely responsible for quelling a dangerous rising which might have had widespread and disastrous effects on the rest of India.

Reviewing the situation as a whole, we desire to express our great appreciation of the admirable conduct of the troops who were employed in the suppression of the outbreak. Leaving aside individual instances, which have already been noticed, both officers and men acted with admirable restraint under most trying circumstances and the Government of India have nothing but praise and gratitude for the services which they rendered in suppressing disorder and restoring the peace of the country.

The officers of the civil administration of all classes and ranks in the affected areas generally maintained that high standard of conduct and devotion to duty which the Government of India would have expected of them. Thanks are due not only to those who were immediately concerned in the restoration of order but also to those who by carrying on their ordinary duties with calmness and fortitude in a time of turmoil did much to restore the confidence of the people. The names of some of those officers who have been specially commended have already been referred to but if local Governments consider that there are other officers whose conduct merits special commendation, their names should be brought to notice at an early date.

To those non-officials who either did their best to stay the agitation which had so sinister a connection with the outbreak, or who by their influence and assistance helped the authorities to restore order, the grateful acknowledgments of the Government of India are due in full measure and local Governments will be asked to see that individual assistance of this kind does not go unacknowledged or unrewarded.

It is a great satisfaction to the Government of India to notice that there were many of all classes and creeds who, in the face of frenzied mobs, and even at the risk of their lives, afforded assistance or showed compassion to the innocent victims of the outrages. Here again it is desired that all such actions shall be marked with a very definite acknowledgment or, in cases where such a course is suitable, be recompensed with a pecuniary reward.

44. The names of officers whose actions have been rightly criticised or condemned have been mentioned in the body of this despatch and local Governments will be requested to take such action as may be necessary to mark in these cases the disapprobation of the Government of India.

The case of General Dyer calls for separate mention. We have given most anxious consideration to the action of this officer at Jallianwala Bagh. We are satisfied that it was *bonâ fide* and dictated by a stern though misconceived sense of duty. The facts are abundantly clear. General Dyer has made no attempt to minimise his responsibility for the tragedy or even to put a favourable complexion on his action or purpose. The only justification that could be pleaded for his conduct would be military necessity arising out of the situation before him and in the area under his jurisdiction. In circumstances such as General Dyer was confronted with, an officer must act honestly and vigorously but with as much humanity as the case will permit. We recognise that in the face of a great crisis an officer may be thrown temporarily off the balance of his judgment and that much allowance must be made on this account. We recognise further that, however injurious in its ultimate effect General Dyer's action may have been, it resulted in an immediate discouragement of the forces of disorder. Nor have we overlooked our Resolution in which we promised full countenance and support to officers engaged in the onerous duty of suppressing disorder. Nevertheless, after carefully weighing all these factors, we can arrive at no other conclusion than that at Jallianwala Bagh General Dyer acted beyond the necessity of the case, beyond what any reasonable man could have thought to be necessary, and that he did not act with as much humanity as the case permitted. It is with pain that we arrive at this conclusion, for we are not forgetful of General Dyer's distinguished record as a soldier or of his gallant relief of the garrison at Thal during the recent Afghan war. We must however direct that the judgment above pronounced be communicated to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief with the request that he will take appropriate action.

45. We have on several occasions expressed our very great regret for the loss of life, European and Indian, which occurred in the disturbances and our sympathy with those who are left to mourn the victims of these unhappy events. We desire once again to convey regret and sympathy to all who have thus suffered. Compensation, so far as this can be any reparation, has been awarded to those to whom compensation was due under the law, and adequate provision has been, or will be, made for the dependents of Government servants who have lost their lives in the disturbances. The Punjab Government will also be enjoined to consider the cases of persons who have been left in want through the death or permanent injury of their supporters at Jallianwala Bagh, and to supplement, if necessary, any assistance that may have been rendered to such persons by local charity organisations.

46. We have now surveyed all the conclusions of the Committee. There remains, in our opinion, one lesson of supreme importance to be drawn from the

events of April 1919. It will be impossible to dissociate memories of these disorders from the civil disobedience movement which was their chief immediate cause. When this movement was initiated, it was apparently not obvious to its promoters, as it was to all thoughtful persons, that in India in its present state of development (whatever may be the case in other countries) the unsettling effect of advice to the public in general to break selected laws was likely to lead to a situation which might involve the overthrow of all law and order. The bitter experience of last year removes this question from the category of doubt, and those who henceforth inaugurate such movements from whatever motives, cannot feel uncertain as to the consequences of invoking forces which they can neither direct nor control. We can only hope that this lesson has been learnt once for all, and that in the future all right-thinking persons will set their faces firmly against the deliberate playing with fire which is involved in the promotion of such movements.

Finally, we desire to express here our earnest hope that the lesson to be learned from these events is not of a merely negative character. Since the period which has formed the subject of this enquiry a new era has been inaugurated in India and the change has given occasion to a gracious proclamation by the King-Emperor, which has appealed to the hearts of all his subjects in India. We venture to recall at this time the salient feature in this gracious message; we feel confident that the earnest desire expressed by the King-Emperor that any trace of bitterness between his people and those responsible for his Government should be obliterated, will not pass unheeded.

47. In conclusion, we desire to express our thanks to Lord Hunter and the members of his Committee for the great ability and painstaking labour they have bestowed on an enquiry which from its very inception must have been a most difficult and seemingly thankless task, and for their report which has cleared up much that was in doubt and dispute, and which has been of the utmost service to us in arriving at just conclusions on the many questions that called for decision.

We have the honour to be,

SIR,

Your most obedient, humble Servants,

(Signed) CHELMSFORD.
„ C. C. MONRO.
„ G. S. BARNES.
„ W. H. VINCENT.
„ M. SHAFI.
„ W. M. HAILEY.
„ T. H. HOLLAND.
„ A. P. MUDDIMAN.

INDIA OFFICE, LONDON.

The 26th May 1920.

No. 108 PUBLIC.

To His Excellency the Right Hon'ble GOVERNOR GENERAL OF INDIA IN COUNCIL.

MY LORD,

His Majesty's Government have considered the report of Lord Hunter's Committee upon the disturbances which occurred in the Punjab and other parts of India in the early part of last year. They have further been informed by me of the conclusions at which Your Excellency's Government had arrived in your own review of the report as expressed in your letter dated the 3rd May the text of which you have telegraphed to me. The report and your letter naturally cover ground which His Majesty's Government did not feel called upon to survey in detail, but their consideration of the matter has led them to definite decisions upon certain of the more important questions arising out of the report, and they have desired me to communicate to you in my reply to your letter their considered statement of these decisions. The paragraphs numbered 2 to 8 of this despatch contain accordingly this statement.

2. *General.*—The report of Lord Hunter's Committee presents the results of a prolonged and patient investigation. Their labours would be of little value if their very complete and careful findings are not put to a practical use. The conclusions here recorded have been inspired in the main by the belief that the chief duty which lies upon His Majesty's Government and the Government of India in utilising the report is not primarily to apportion blame to individuals for what has been done amiss or to visit penalties upon them, but rather to prevent the recurrence in the future of occasion for blame or regret should unfortunate circumstances ever produce again a situation such as that which occurred in India in the spring of 1919.

3. *The conduct of Brigadier-General Dyer at Amritsar on April the 13th.*—The main features of the occurrence at Jallianwala Bagh in Amritsar City on the afternoon of April the 13th, 1919, are well known. They are set out at length in Lord Hunter's report and appear in minute detail in the evidence, both written and oral, given before the Committee by Brigadier-General Dyer himself, the full and authorised text of which is now available to the public. As to the facts, there is no doubt and no dispute, and it is only necessary here to recapitulate them very briefly in their baldest form. On the morning of April the 13th Brigadier-General Dyer, who had arrived at Amritsar on the night of the 11th, issued a proclamation forbidding *inter alia* processions to parade in or outside the city and declaring that "any such procession or gathering of four men will be looked upon and treated as an unlawful assembly and dispersed by force of arms if necessary." This proclamation was read out at various places in the city, in the course of the progress through the streets of a column of troops led by Brigadier-General Dyer personally, who left his quarters about 9 A.M. for this purpose and returned to them about 1-30 P.M. About an hour before his return to his quarters in Ram Bagh Brigadier-General Dyer had heard that despite his proclamation it was intended to hold a large meeting at Jallianwala Bagh at 4-30 that afternoon, and at 4 P.M. he received a message that a crowd of

about 1,000 had already assembled there. Shortly after 4 P.M. Brigadier-General Dyer marched from Ram Bagh with picketing parties (as he had previously determined to picket the main gates of the city) and with a special party consisting of 50 Indian Infantry armed with rifles, 40 Indian Infantry armed only with "Kukris" (type of sword), and two armoured cars. He proceeded straight to Jallianwala Bagh dropping his picket parties *en route* and on arrival marched his infantry through a narrow lane into the Bagh and deployed them immediately right and left of the entrance. The armoured cars he left outside, as the lane was too narrow to admit them. Having deployed his troops Brigadier-General Dyer at once gave orders to open fire and continued a controlled fire on the dense crowd facing him in the enclosure (which he estimated at about 5,000 persons) for some 10 minutes until his ammunition supply was at the point of exhaustion. 1,650 rounds of ·303 mark VI ammunition were fired. The fatal casualties as the result of this action are believed to be 379; the number wounded has not been exactly ascertained, but is estimated by Lord Hunter's Committee at possibly three times the number of deaths. Immediately after giving orders to cease fire, Brigadier-General Dyer marched his troops back to Ram Bagh. The reasons given by General Dyer for the severity and duration of his fire are stated as follows in his written statement furnished to the General Staff (16th Indian Division) and subsequently laid before Lord Hunter's Committee: "We cannot be very brave unless we be possessed of a greater fear. I had considered the matter from every point of view. My duty and my military instincts told me to fire. My conscience was also clear on that point. What faced me was, what on the morrow would be the "Danda Fauj" [this, which may be translated as bludgeon army, was the name given to themselves by the rioters in Lahore]. I fired and continued to fire until the crowd dispersed, and I consider this is the least amount of firing which would produce the necessary moral and widespread effect it was my duty to produce if I was to justify my action. If more troops had been at hand, the casualties would have been greater in proportion. It *was no longer a question of merely dispersing the crowd,* but one of producing a sufficient moral effect, from a military point of view, not only on those who were present, but more especially throughout the Punjab. There could be no question of undue severity."

The principle which has consistently governed the policy of His Majesty's Government in directing the methods to be employed, when military action in support of the civil authority is required, may be broadly stated as using the minimum force necessary. His Majesty's Government are determined that this principle shall remain the primary factor of policy whenever circumstances unfortunately necessitate the suppression of civil disorder by military force within the British Empire.

It must regretfully but without possibility of doubt be concluded that Brigadier-General Dyer's action at Jallianwala Bagh was in complete violation of this principle. The task which confronted him was to disperse by force if necessary a large but apparently unarmed assembly which had gathered in defiance of his orders. It is possible that considering the strength of the military force at his disposal, the size of the crowd, and the general temper and attitude of the inhabitants of the city, he would have found it impossible to achieve this task effectively and completely without some firing and without causing some loss of life. But it is certain that he made no attempt to ascertain the minimum amount of force which he was

compelled to employ, that the force which he actually employed was greatly in excess of that required to achieve the dispersal of the crowd, and that it resulted in lamentable and unnecessary loss of life and suffering. But this is not a full statement of Brigadier-General Dyer's error. There can be no doubt that large numbers of people in the assembly, many of whom were visitors to the city from surrounding villages, were ignorant of the existence of his proclamation and the danger which they ran by attending the gathering. The proclamation was published in only a portion of the city, that portion being some distance from the scene of the meeting, and no warning of any kind was given before fire was opened. It would be unfair, considering the state of the city, the heat of the weather and the strain to which the troops under General Dyer's command had been subjected since their arrival in the city to lay too great stress upon the first point, but the omission to give warning before fire was opened is inexcusable. Further, that Brigadier-General Dyer should have taken no steps to see that some attempt was made to give medical assistance to the dying and the wounded was an omission from his obvious duty. But the gravest feature of the case against Brigadier-General Dyer is his avowed conception of his duty in the circumstances which confronted him.

His Majesty's Government repudiate emphatically the doctrine upon which Brigadier-General Dyer based his action—action which to judge from his own statement might have taken an even more drastic form had he had a larger force at his disposal and had a physical accident not prevented him from using his armoured cars. They have not overlooked the extreme gravity of the situation as it presented itself to the authorities in India generally and to Brigadier-General Dyer in particular on April the 13th, nor have they failed to appreciate the immensity of the responsibility which Brigadier-General Dyer felt and rightly felt to be imposed upon him by that situation. They think it is possible that the danger to the lives of Europeans and to the safety of the British and Indian troops was greater than appears from the Committee's report. In Amritsar itself violent murder and arson of the most savage description had occurred three days previously and the city was still practically in possession of the mob. From the surrounding country-side reports were hourly being received of similar violent outbreaks and attacks upon communications, and the deficiencies in these reports (due to the success of the attacks on communications) were supplemented by rumours which there was little means of verifying and as little ground for disbelieving. In discharging this responsibility with the small force at his disposal Brigadier-General Dyer naturally could not dismiss from his mind the conditions in the Punjab generally and he was entitled to lay his plans with reference to those conditions. But he was not entitled to select for condign punishment an unarmed crowd which, when he inflicted that punishment, had committed no act of violence, had made no attempt to oppose him by force, and many members of which must have been unaware that they were disobeying his commands.

In passing judgment upon Brigadier-General Dyer for his action on April the 13th, it is impossible to disregard an order which he passed some six days later, and which has become generally known as the "crawling order." It is unnecessary here to repeat the nature of this order or the circumstances out of which it arose. Had the order been carried out as a punishment upon the persons actually guilty of the crime, which it was designed to stigmatise, it would have been difficult to defend; inflicted as it was upon persons who had no connection with

that crime, with the object of impressing upon the public of Amritsar through the humiliation of those persons the enormity of the crime committed by certain individuals of that public, the order offended against every cannon of civilised Government.

Upon a military commander administering martial law in a hostile country there lies a grave responsibility; when he is compelled to exercise this responsibility over a population which owes allegiance and looks for protection to the Government which he himself is serving this burden is immeasurably enhanced. It would prejudice the public safety, with the preservation of which he is charged, to fetter his free judgment or action either by the prescription of rigid rules before the event or by over-censorious criticism when the crisis is past. A situation which is essentially military must be dealt with in the light of military considerations, which postulate breadth of view and due appreciation of all the possible contingencies. There are certain standards of conduct which no civilised Government can with impunity neglect, and which His Majesty's Government are determined to uphold. Subject to the due observance of those standards, an officer administering martial law must, and will, remain free to carry out the task imposed upon him in the manner which his judgment dictates to him as best and most effective, and may rely upon the unqualified support of his superiors when his task has been accomplished.

That Brigadier-General Dyer displayed honesty of purpose and unflinching adherence to his conception of his duty cannot for a moment be questioned. But his conception of his duty in the circumstances in which he was placed was so fundamentally at variance with that which His Majesty's Government have a right to expect from and a duty to enforce upon officers who hold His Majesty's commission, that it is impossible to regard him as fitted to remain entrusted with the responsibilities which his rank and position impose upon him. You have reported to me that the Commander-in-Chief has directed Brigadier-General Dyer to resign his appointment as Brigade Commander and has informed him that he would receive no further employment in India, and that you have concurred. I approve this decision and the circumstances of the case have been referred to the Army Council.

4. *The justification for the declaration and continuance of martial law.*—There are no grounds for questioning the decision of the majority of Lord Hunter's Committee that the declaration of martial law and the partial supersession of the ordinary tribunals in the districts of the Punjab in which martial law was applied were justified (Chapter XI, paragraph 17). As regards the dates to which it was prolonged, it is obvious that the institution of martial law involves the responsibility of deciding when it is to be revoked. The general principle is clear that martial law should remain in force no longer than the public safety demands, but beyond this there are no hard and fast criteria which can govern this decision, and a retrospective judgment in the light of after-events is not permissible. The fact that open disorder had ceased some time before martial law was revoked may have been due to the existence of martial law and its earlier abrogation might have been followed by a recrudescence. Looking back in the light of events, it is permissible to argue that an earlier abrogation was possible, though His Majesty's Government can feel little doubt that this argument would have been less pressed than it has been, had there been no grounds for complaint of the manner in which in some cases martial law was administered. But it is not permissible to condemn

the authorities responsible for the decisions taken, who had to rely only on their anticipation of the future.

5. *The justification for Ordinance IV of 1919 giving the Martial Law Commissions jurisdiction to try any offence committed on or after March the 30th.*—The legality of this ordinance is not a point at issue; that question has been recently determined by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. Nor is there any valid reason to question the propriety, when (as was the case here) it can legally be done, of ante-dating the effect of an enactment setting up special martial law tribunals and procedure, so as to bring within their jurisdiction persons charged with overt acts of violence, which were the immediate cause of and justification for the declaration of martial law. The original ordinance setting up Martial Law Commissions in the Lahore and Amritsar District gave the Commissions jurisdiction to try offences committed on or after April the 13th. Had this date remained unamended, it would have been impossible to try by Commission persons charged with actual participation in the murders, incendiarism and destruction of property which occurred on April the 10th at Amritsar, or persons charged with participation in the riots at Lahore on April the 10th, 11th and 12th, and in the murders at Kasur on the 12th; and if the Government of India with the legal power at their disposal had neglected to correct the anomaly to this extent, they would have omitted an obvious and necessary step towards the rapid restoration of normal conditions. But the use of the power which the ordinance gave in order to apply the special martial law method of trial to persons whose offence consisted in newspaper articles and speeches which were not demonstrably and immediately the cause of the outbreak of open disorder, stands on an entirely different footing and the terms "unfortunate" and "imprudent" which the majority of Lord Hunter's Committee applied to this policy are at all events not exaggerated criticism.

Taking into consideration the acts committed under Ordinance IV of 1919, which it is impossible not to disavow, His Majesty's Government can feel little doubt that the terms of the ordinance itself were too wide, and that the drafting of any future ordinance of a similar kind should ensure due limits to its application.

6. *Administration of Martial Law.*—There is one question with regard to which it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that the majority of Lord Hunter's Committee have failed to express themselves in terms which, unfortunately, the facts not only justify but necessitate. In paragraphs 16 to 25 of Chapter XII of their reports the majority have dealt with the "intensive" form generally which martial law assumed, and with certain specified instances of undue severity and of improper punishments or orders. It is unnecessary to recapitulate the instances which the Committee have enumerated in detail in both their reports, nor would any useful purpose be served by attempting to assess, with a view to penalties, the culpability of individual officers who were responsible for these orders, but whose conduct in other respects may have been free from blame or actually commendable. But His Majesty's Government must express strong disapproval of these orders and punishments, and ask me to leave to you the duty of seeing that this disapproval shall be unmistakably marked by censure or other action which seems to you necessary upon those who were responsible for them. The instances cited by the Committee gave justifiable ground for the assertion that the administration of martial law in the Punjab was marred by a spirit which promoted—not generally, but un-

fortunately not uncommonly—the enforcement of punishments and orders calculated if not intended, to humiliate Indians as a race, to cause unwarranted inconvenience amounting on occasions to injustice, and to flout the standards of propriety and humanity, which the inhabitants not only of India in particular but of the civilised world in general have a right to demand of those set in authority over them. It is a matter for regret that, notwithstanding the conduct of the majority, there should have been some officers in the Punjab who appear to have overlooked the fact that they were administering martial law, not in order to subdue the population of a hostile country temporarily occupied as an act of war, but in order to deal promptly with those who had disturbed the peace of a population owing allegiance to the King-Emperor, and in the main profoundly loyal to that allegiance. It is difficult to believe that this would have occurred had the civil authority been able to retain a larger measure of contact with the administration of martial law, and it is of paramount importance, if in the future it should unfortunately be necessary to have recourse to martial law, that some system should be devised which will secure such contact effectively.

A review of the methods and results of the trials by the summary procedure of martial law tribunals would be uncalled for. It is not, however, improper to observe that marked attention has been directed to its disadvantages, and to the extreme divergence between the sentences required by the charges as presented to those courts and by the dictates of justice as they presented themselves to the reviewing authorities. It is to be hoped that, as a result of the experience thus gained, means will be devised whereby martial law tribunals can be improved if they have again to be employed.

7. *The use of bombing aeroplanes at Gujranwala.*—With regard to the use of bombing aeroplanes at Gujranwala on April the 14th, the majority of Lord Hunter's Committee expressed their views as follows: "As to the use of bombs from aeroplanes we do not think that this would be defended by any one save in cases of urgent need, in the absence of other means, and under the strictest limitations even then. In our opinion the first two of these conditions were present in full force".... "We are not prepared to lay down as a charter for rioters that when they succeed in preventing the ordinary resources of Government from being utilised to suppress them, they are to be exempt from having to reckon with such resources as remain." They then proceed to state that no blame can be imputed to the flying officers concerned for carrying out the instructions given to them, but that the action taken under the instructions given illustrates their defectiveness and they conclude by a recommendation that the formulation of instructions to be given to flying officers in future in similar circumstances should form the subject of careful investigation.

In formulating these conclusions, His Majesty's Government desire to state clearly that reconnaissance, communications, propaganda-dropping and moral effect summarise the normal and correct use of aircraft under conditions of unrest in normally peaceful countries. But emergencies may occur when, owing to distances, or damage to communications, or both, and the progress of murderous mob violence and arson which there is no other means of checking, exceptions from this general position are not only justified but necessary. It is impossible to guarantee by general or special instructions that machine guns or bombs will affect only the crowd which would be justifiably fired upon if troops were available on the ground. But in future explicit orders must be required for the employment of

armed aircraft in such emergencies: these orders should be issued in writing by a civil authority, and should authorise only a limited amount of bombing and machine gunfire to be employed to overawe mobs, which are, so far as the airman can judge, actually engaged in crimes of violence. The Government will see to it that instructions on these lines are issued as soon as possible. They regretfully agree with Lord Hunter's Committee that the instructions issued to the airmen who visited Gujranwala on this occasion left much to be desired in precision.

8. *Sir Michael O'Dwyer.*—It follows from what has been said in earlier paragraphs that on certain points arising out of this enquiry His Majesty's Government do not regard Sir Michael O'Dwyer as immune from criticism. Thus they cannot endorse the unqualified approval which he accorded on insufficient information to the action of Brigadier-General Dyer at Jallianwala Bagh and they think it unfortunate that he did not adhere at the time to his first impulse to withhold both praise and blame on a matter with which as a civil officer he was not in the circumstances directly concerned. The motives which evidently prompted him to adopt another attitude and to maintain that attitude subsequently and in the light of fuller knowledge are less open to criticism.

Secondly, the opinion already expressed on the application of martial law procedure to certain trials must be taken as applying to Sir Michael O'Dwyer in so far as he was personally responsible for the action in question. As regards the administration of martial law generally Sir Michael O'Dwyer had evidently contemplated arrangements by which civil officers would be accorded a recognised position to advise on military administration, and the martial law manual which your Government have under consideration should ensure that in future this plan is brought into operation.

With the general question of Sir Michael O'Dwyer's administration of the Punjab His Majesty's Government are not now immediately concerned. They recognise that it has formed the subject of much controversy in India and that a widespread impression has been engineered that the Punjab Government under his direction was hostile to the educated classes and was determined to suppress not only illegitimate but also legitimate and constitutional political agitation. While they sincerely trust that this atmosphere may be dispelled, they are fully conscious of the difficulties of the situation with which he was faced. Conspiracy, the activity of enemy agents, the rise in the cost of living and the necessity of furnishing the bulk of the vast number of recruits for the Indian Army which the needs of the Empire required, though fortunately powerless to disturb the loyalty of the province as a whole, caused constant anxiety throughout his term of office. That term is now closed, a long and honoured connection with India is ended, and His Majesty's Government desire here to pay a tribute to the great energy, decision and courage which Sir Michael O'Dwyer brought to his task through a period of exceptional difficulty and to express their appreciation of his services.

9. As to the conclusions which Your Excellency's Government have recorded on other matters arising out of this report, I am glad to find that I am in general accord with your views, save in so far as otherwise appears from the foregoing paragraphs and I have little further to add at the present moment. Your Excellency's Government will, however, understand that the publication of documents in which the public, both in India and in this country, is vitally interested is not necessarily a final settlement of all the large questions involved. In particular I

shall expect you to submit for my early approval the draft of the martial law manual which you have under consideration. To this matter I attach the utmost importance. I need hardly say that I most earnestly trust that occasion may never arise for the enforcement of such rules. But this enquiry will have served a valuable purpose if it results in the enactment of a code of regulations calculated to ensure, so far as human foresight can serve, a system of administration which is at once adequate to repress disorder, to secure the speedy, just and fitting punishment of its promoters, and which yet subverts no more than the fulfilment of these requirements necessitates the ordinary rights and course of life of the people at large, and adheres to the processes of civil justice and Government. For in view of conditions which threaten the existence of the State, martial law is a necessary remedy, but it is a remedy which unless applied with wisdom and good judgment loses its value. It is therefore incumbent upon us to do all in our power to prevent the depreciation of its value by misuse. The same observations apply in my judgment to deportation, an expedient which in its present form it is so notoriously difficult to employ and the effects of which are so incapable of exact estimation.

10. His Majesty's Government found it necessary to criticise in strong terms the conduct of certain officers charged with the administration of martial law and Your Excellency's Government have indicated that all proved cases of abuse of their powers on the part of the subordinate officers of the police and other services will receive due notice. But these exceptions apart His Majesty's Government desire me to express to you in no uncertain terms their warm endorsement of your appreciation of the conduct of officers and men, both civil and military, both British and Indian, upon whom fell the heavy task of assisting the people of India to recover their fair name for loyalty and orderliness. The burden thus imposed upon officers and men of His Majesty's British and Indian armies, of his police force and of his civil services who had already borne with fortitude but not without fatigue the trials and strain arising from a long drawn war, was a heavy one. In setting themselves to their task these men proved true to the great traditions of their services.

His Majesty's Government wish further to express the profound regret which they, equally with Your Excellency's Government, feel for the loss of life which these disturbances occasioned, and their deep sympathy with those to whom the events have brought personal bereavement.

11. In conclusion I am glad to have this opportunity of assuring Your Excellency of the sense of obligation which His Majesty's Government feel to you personally for the manner in which you have fulfilled your high trust. Great as is always the burden borne by the Governor General of India, world-wide circumstances have combined to lay upon you a degree of anxiety such as has only at long intervals fallen upon any of your illustrious predecessors. His Majesty's Government desire that you should be fortified by the knowledge that they continue to repose the fullest confidence in Your Excellency's discretion, inspired as they feel certain it has constantly been by the single aim of the good of the peoples whose Government is committed to your charge.

I have the honour to be,

MY LORD,

Your Lordship's most obedient, humble Servant,

(Sd.) EDWIN S. MONTAGU.

APPENDIX III.

A.—The First Elections.

Province.	Total number of voters for each Council.			Total number of votes polled in contested elections in each province at the last election.		
	Provincial Council.	Legislative Assembly.	Council of State.	Provincial Council.	Legislative Assembly.	Council of State.
Madras	1,248,156	260,486	2,290	303,558	60,615	1,604
Bombay	548,293	129,294	2,676	163,180	5,832	2,045
Bengal	1,019,906	184,266	2,226	292,828	42,065	1,132
United Provinces	1,347,922	167,965	2,912	332,090	35,848	774
Punjab	505,361	53,015	1,910	130,152	16,226	838
Bihar and Orissa	328,304	65,992	1,666	98,829	14,967	700
Central Provinces	144,737	24,496	919	11,566	4,699	235
Assam	203,191	19,503	301	33,352	2,308	176
Burma	..	1,550	2,464	..	..	379
Delhi	..	3,307	..	..	335	..

B.—The composition of each council established under the rules as finally made is shown in the following table :—

Provinces.	Total (*ex-officio*, nominated and elected).	NOMINATED.			ELECTED.													
		Total (nominated and *ex-officio*).	Officials (nominated and *ex-officio*).*	Non-officials.	Total (elected).	BY SPECIAL ELECTORATES.				BY COMMUNAL ELECTORATES.						BY GENERAL ELECTORATES.			
						Total.	University.	Land-holders.	Commerce and Industry including mining and planting.	Total.	Rural.	Urban.	Europeans.	Anglo-Indians.	Indian Christians.	Sikhs.	Total.	Rural.	Urban.
											Muhammadans.	Muhammadans.						Non-Muhammadans.	Non-Muhammadans.
1. Madras . .	127	29	23	6	98	13	1	6	6	20	11	2	1	1	5	..	65	56	9
2. Bombay . .	111	25	20	5	86	11	1	3	7	29	22	5	2	..	..	..	46	35	11
3. Bengal . .	†139	26	20	6	†113	†21	†1	5	15	46	33	6	5	2	..	..	46	35	11
4. United Provinces	123	23	18	5	100	10	1	6	3	30	25	4	1	..	..	..	60	52	8
5. Punjab . .	93	22	16	6	71	7	1	4	2	44	27	5	..	..	..	12	20	13	7
6. Bihar and Orissa	103	27	20	7	76	9	1	5	3	19	15	3	1	..	..	..	48	42	6
7. Central Provinces	‡ 70	16	10	6	54	7	§1	3	3	7	6	1	..	..	..	..	40	31	9
8. Assam . .	53	14	9	5	39	6	..	..	6	12	12	..	..	..	..	..	21	20	‖ 1

* This column shows the maximum number of officials who may be nominated under the rules. It is open to the Governor to nominate fewer officials with a corresponding increase in the number of nominated non-officials shown in the next column.

† There will later be an additional elected seat for Dacca University with consequent increases of one in the figures shown in these columns.

‡ Members to be nominated as the result of elections held in Berar have been shown as elected. *Vide* section 7 (2) (c) of the Act.

§ Pending constitution of the Nagpur University, this elected seat will be in abeyance, and an additional nominated seat will be reserved for the interests of University education.

‖ This seat (Shillong) is filled by a general electorate including Muhammadans, there being no separate Muhammadan urban constituency.

C.—*Statement showing the Constitution of the Legislative Assembly (Excluding the President).*

	Nominated Members.			Elected Members.							
	Officials.	Non-Officials.	Total.	General.	Muslim.	Sikh.	Land-owners.	European.	Indian Commerce.	Total.	Grand Total.
Government of India . .	12	..	12	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	12
Madras	2	2	4	10	3	..	1	1	1	16	20
Bombay	2	4	6	7	4	..	1	2	2	16	22
Bengal	2	3	5	6	6	..	1	3	1	17	22
United Provinces . .	2	1	3	8	6	..	1	1	..	16	19
Punjab	1	1	2	3	6	2	1	..	..	12	14
Bihar and Orissa . .	1	1	2	8	3	..	1	..	..	12	14
Central Provinces . .	1	..	1	4*	1	..	1	..	..	6	7
Assam	1	..	1	2	1	..	..	1	..	4	5
Burma	1	..	1	3	..	..	..	1	..	4	5
Berar (Central Provinces) .	..	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	
Ajmere	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Total .	25	15	40	51	30	2	7	9	4	103	143

* Including one technically nominated seat to be filled by nomination as the result of an election held in Berar.

D.—Statement showing the Constitution of the Council of State (Excluding the President).

	Nominated Members.			Elected Members.					
	Officials.	Non-Officials.	Total.	General.	Muslim.	Sikh.	European Commerce.	Total.	Grand Total.
Government of India . .	12	..	12	..	..	..	..	..	12
Madras	1	1	2	4	1	..	..	5	7
Bombay	1	1	2	3	2	..	1	6	8
Bengal	1	1	2	3	2	..	1	6	8
United Provinces . . .	1	1	2	3	2	..	..	5	7
Punjab	1	2	3	1	1½	1	..	3½	6½
Bihar and Orissa . . .	1	..	1	2½	1	..	..	3½	4½
Burma	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	2	2
Central Provinces . . .	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	2	2
Assam	..	..	..	½	½	..	..	1	1
Delhi	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1
Total .	19	6	25	20	10	1	3	34	59

APPENDIX IV.

Instructions to Governors.

Whereas by the Government of India Act, provision has been made for the gradual development of self-governing institutions in British India with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government in that country as an integral part of Our Empire;

And whereas it is Our will and pleasure that, in the execution of the office of Governor in and over the Presidency of Fort St. George in Madras, you shall further the purposes of the said Act, to the end that the institutions and methods of government therein provided shall be laid upon the best and surest foundations, that the people of the said presidency shall acquire such habits of political action and respect such conventions as will best and soonest fit them for self-government, and that Our authority and the authority of Our Governor-General in Council shall be duly maintained;

Now, therefore, We do hereby direct and enjoin you and declare Our will and pleasure to be as follows:—

I. You shall do all that lies in your power to maintain standards of good administration; to encourage religious toleration, co-operation and goodwill among all classes and creeds; to ensure the probity of public finance and the solvency of the presidency; and to promote all measures making for the moral, social, and industrial welfare of the people, and tending to fit all classes of the population without distinction to take their due share in the public life and government of the country.

II. You shall bear in mind that it is necessary and expedient that those now and hereafter to be enfranchised shall appreciate the duties, responsibilities and advantages which spring from the privilege of enfranchisement; that is to say, that those who exercise the power henceforward entrusted to them of returning representatives to the legislative council, being enabled to perceive the effects of their choice of a representative, and that those who are returned to the council, being enabled to perceive the effects of their votes given therein, shall come to look for the redress of their grievances and the improvement of their condition to the working of representative institutions.

III. Inasmuch as certain matters have been reserved for the administration according to law of the Governor in Council, in respect of which the authority of Our Governor General in Council shall remain unimpaired, while certain other matters have been transferred to the administration of the Governor acting with a Minister, it will be for you so to regulate the business of the government of the presidency that, so far as may be possible, the responsibility for each of these respective classes of matters may be kept clear and distinct.

IV. Nevertheless, you shall encourage the habit of joint deliberation between yourself, your Councillors and your Ministers, in order that the experience of your official advisers may be at the disposal of your Ministers, and that the knowledge

of your Ministers as to the wishes of the people may be at the disposal of your Councillors.

V. You shall assist Ministers by all the means in your power in the administration of the transferred subjects, and advise them in regard to their relations with the legislative council.

VI. In considering a Minister's advice and deciding whether or not there is sufficient cause in any case to dissent from his opinion, you shall have due regard to his relations with the legislative council and to the wishes of the people of the presidency as expressed by their representatives therein.

VII. But in addition to the general responsibilities with which you are, whether by statute or under this Instrument, charged, We do further hereby specially require and charge you:—

(1) to see that whatsoever measures are, in your opinion, necessary for maintaining safety and tranquillity in all parts of your presidency and for preventing occasions of religious or racial conflict, are duly taken, and that all orders issued by Our Secretary of State or by Our Governor General in Council on Our behalf to whatever matters relating are duly complied with;

(2) to take care that due provision shall be made for the advancement and social welfare of those classes amongst the people committed to your charge, who, whether on account of the smallness of their number or their lack of educational or material advantages or from any other cause, specially rely upon Our protection, and cannot as yet fully rely for their welfare upon joint political action, and that such classes shall not suffer, or have cause to fear, neglect or oppression;

(3) to see that no order of your Government and no Act of your legislative council shall be so framed that any of the diverse interests of or arising from race, religion, education, social condition, wealth or any other circumstance, may receive unfair advantage, or may unfairly be deprived of privileges or advantages which they have heretofore enjoyed, or be excluded from the enjoyment of benefits which may hereafter be conferred on the people at large;

(4) to safeguard all members of Our services employed in the said presidency in the legitimate exercise of their functions, and in the enjoyment of all recognised rights and privileges, and to see that your Government order all things justly and reasonably in their regard, and that due obedience is paid to all just and reasonable orders and diligence shown in their execution;

(5) to take care that, while the people inhabiting the said presidency shall enjoy all facilities for the development of commercial and industrial undertakings, no monopoly or special privilege which is against the common interest shall be established, and no unfair discrimination shall be made in matters affecting commercial or industrial interests.

VIII. And We do hereby charge you to communicate these Our Instructions to the Members of your Executive Council and your Ministers and to publish the same in your presidency in such manner as you may think fit.

APPENDIX V.

Change in the Congress Creed.

Article I of the Constitution of the Indian National Congress as adopted by the Congress of 1908.	*Article I* of the Constitution of the Indian National Congress as amended by the Congress of 1920.
The objects of the Indian National Congress are the attainment by the people of India of a system of Government similar to that enjoyed by the self-governing members of the British Empire and a participation by them in the rights and responsibilities of the Empire on equal terms with those members. These objects are to be achieved by constitutional means by bringing about a steady reform of the existing system of administration and by promoting national unity, fostering public spirit and developing and organising the intellectual, moral, economic, and industrial resources of the country.	The object of the Indian National Congress is the attainment of Swaraj by the people of India by all legitimate and peaceful means.

APPENDIX VI.

A Summary of the Esher Committee's Report.

The recommendations cover nine parts, with two separate minutes by Sir Krishna Gupta and Sir Umar Hayat Khan. Part I contains the basic principles of the recommendations, while the subsequent parts deal with the important matter of administrative details. Part I was submitted to the Secretary of State on November 3, 1919, and in the course of a covering letter the Committee desire to obtain an indication of the advice of His Majesty's Government upon the principal questions covered by this part before they could proceed to a laborious examination of details. At the outset it is made clear that the Committee tried to avoid the framing of recommendations that might prove inconsistent with the gradual approach of India towards Dominion status, but particular stress is laid on the fact that whatever Imperial institutions, such as an Imperial Council or Cabinet, might evolve in the future the Committee had to proceed on the basis of existing institutions and present conditions in India.

The Committee consider that in order to conduce to a sound Imperial military system their proposal should be consistent with (1) Control of the Government of India over Indian military affairs; (2) Giving to the Government of India a voice in questions of Imperial defence; and (3) Allowing the Imperial General Staff, through its Chief, to exercise a considerable influence on the military policy of the Government of India.

Less India Office Control.

Dealing with relations between the India Office and the Government of India the Committee hold parliamentary control ineffective and describe the control of the India Office as merely control of one bureaucracy over another. The existing system undoubtedly caused delay in dealing with military questions requiring rapid settlement in the interest of the efficiency and contentment of the Army, and it is therefore recommended that greater latitude should be allowed to the Governor-General in Council and the Commander-in-Chief in India in matters affecting internal military administration.

Freedom of direct communication of a military nature between the Commander-in-Chief and the Imperial General Staff should be permanently established and the India Office is to be kept fully informed of such communications through the Secretary in the Military Department of the India Office, who would be an officer with Indian experience, of high military rank, appointed by the Secretary of State on the recommendation of the Chief of the Imperial General Staff, and who would be accessible to the Army Council. It would be convenient and desirable if the same officer were Deputy Chief of the Imperial General Staff, but the sole adviser of the Secretary of State on Military matters should be the Chief of the Imperial

General Staff himself. The Committee see no advantage in retaining a Military Member upon the India Council.

They suggest that the Indian Defence Committee which was set up in India during the war, and which served a very useful purpose, should not be allowed to disappear. The secretary to this Defence Committee must be a member of the Governor-General in Council's private Secretariat, and should have charge of records and the upkeep of war books. He would also be placed in direct touch with the Secretary of the Imperial Defence Committee, London, so as to ensure uniformity of action consistent with local conditions.

The High Command.

Coming to the question of the high command in India the Report considers it would be unsuited to Indian requirements to establish in India a civilian member of the Executive Council responsible for the Army and an Army Council with collective responsibility, because the Commander-in-Chief ought to have no military colleague or competitor in his administration of the Army. The economic administration of Army funds should rest with the Commander-in-Chief, whose financial responsibility should not be divorced from his executive responsibilities. In short, any weakening of the authority of the Commander-in-Chief would be inadvisable.

A Military Council to assist the Commander-in-Chief should be established, consisting of high Staff officers but without collective responsibility. Though unity of military administration in the Empire is out of the question, unity of conception on broad lines of military policy such as these, for which the Imperial General Staff should be responsible, is essential in the interests of India and the Empire. Therefore it is suggested that both the Commander-in-Chief and the Chief of the General Staff in India be appointed on recommendations of the Chief of the Imperial staff. If this system be established, the chain of military responsibility for questions of an Imperial character would be complete.

The Commander-in-Chief should never himself take the field in war, and in moments of tension he should not absent himself from the Council table of the Governor-General. The Army Department and Headquarters Staff ought to be consolidated under one head with a single secretariat, so as to avoid duality of functions. The Commander-in-Chief could be relieved of considerable technical responsibility if he were excused attendance at Executive and Legislative Councils except on matters affecting military interests.

This part of the report is not signed by Sir Krishna Gupta and Sir Umar Hayat.

PART II.

Function of Military Council.

The prpposals in Part I having been accepted in the main by the Secretary of State, the Committee explain in the second part the functions to be imposed upon the Military Council and certain proposals regarding military finance, in all of which they were guided "by considerations of the efficiency of the Army in war with due regard to the Indian Tax-payers' interests." Recent experience and the changing conditions of India render it necessary to relieve the Commander-in-Chief of the heavy burden now devolving upon him.

The majority, consisting of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, Sir Herbert Cox, Sir Claud Jacob, Sir Godfrey Fell, Sir W. Gillman and Sir K. Gupta, incline to the view that military production and provision, as also the administration of the Royal Indian Marine, should be entrusted to a department to be called "The Department of Munitions and Marine" in charge of a civilian member of the Governor-General's Executive Council, while the minority, composed of Lord Esher, Sir John Du Cane, Sir Havelock Huteson and Sir Umar Hayat Khan, favour a solution by appointing a civil member of the Commander-in-Chief's Military Council and placing the Royal Indian Marine directly under the Commander-in-Chief.

Against the idea of placing a civilian under the immediate and direct control of the Commander-in-Chief the majority point to the enormous difficulties that would rise in future in regard to Labour and the growth of trade unionism, which would affect the working of Government factories. Under the Reforms Scheme the responsibility for the expenditure of nearly half of the total revenues would rest on the shoulders of one man (the Commander-in-Chief) and therefore the creation of a separate Department for production and provision would result in their opinion in increased efficiency and consequent economy, thus tending to minimise public criticism.

The minority challenge these majority conclusions as being irreconcilable with the fundamental principle of concentrating the command and administration of the Army in the hands of a single responsible authority. The civilian member, according to the minority, should be called "the Surveyor-General of Supply," and he should be a member of the Military Council, in which capacity he would be in constant touch with military colleagues.

Further relief could be afforded to the Commander-in-Chief if the Secretary, Army Headquarters, or one of the members of the Military Council were authorised to attend meetings of the Legislative and Executive Councils on behalf of the Commander-in-Chief in order to explain questions of military administration, as also before the Viceroy. The Committee as a whole think that the Commander-in-Chief should be President of the Military Council, of which the members should be: (1) The Chief of the General Staff; (2) The Adjutant General; (3) the Quarter-master-General; (4) the Financial Adviser; and (5) The Civil Member and Secretary, Army Headquarters, with a proviso that in the event of the minority view prevailing, the Council would include a Surveyor-General of Supply.

As regards function the Council can have no collective responsibility, and one of their principal duties is to watch the progress of military expenditure with a view to securing the economical use of Army funds.

Other recommendations include that the system under which financial control is now exercised at Army Headquarters should be continued, but with Deputy Financial Advisers in each of the principal spending branches. General Du Cane, however, suggests that the Financial Adviser should be an official of Army Headquarters and not of the Finance Department.

Part III.

Fourteen Military Districts.

Part III deals exclusively with decentralisation and liaison, and after examining the present organisation of the commands in India draws attention to the pro-

posal that India should be divided into fourteen separate areas, to be called districts, in order to provide a link between Army Headquarters and the districts with a view to avoid return to the state of affairs which existed before the war.

The Committee recommend the creation of four Commands, each under an Army Commander graded as General Officer Commanding-in-Chief, with an adequate staff. These commands will comprise districts each containing a certain number of brigade commands. Burma should form an independent district, and several districts should be classified according to their importance.

This part of the Report also deals with internal security and liaison between the military and civil authorities, and urges the importance of establishing close and regular liaison with the provincial Governments and the extension of Indian military and civil intelligence in the Near and Far East, Europe, America and Africa, with a view to counteract seditious and revolutionary movements calculated to tamper with the loyalty of the troops.

Lastly the Committee emphasise the importance of propaganda and the greater use of the Press, adding that the value of the Press in India as a medium for information appears to have been neglected in the past.

Part IV.

The Committee believe that the last war has made it clear that India's partnership in the Empire demanded that the organisation of her forces should conform closely to the rest of the forces of the Empire. For the attainment of this object Part IV suggests steps so as to secure closer relations between the British and Indian Armies. The recommendations therefore aim at the assimilation of conditions, closer liaison, uniformity of ideals and the interchange of officers among the British and Indian services. As regards regimental officers the Committee recommend a scheme for fusing closer the connection between the British officers' cadre of the Indian Army and that of the British Army. The war has shown the necessity for assimilating so far as practicable the organisation and system of administration of services concerned with the feeding of the Army transport, stores, medical assistance and signalling.

Corps Unification.

After detailed examination the Committee consider the complete fusion of the Royal Army Service Corps and the Supply and Transport Corps as yet impracticable, but desire a move in the direction of unification of the two corps.

Coming to the Veterinary Service the Report approves the scheme of reorganisation now under the consideration of the Government of India, but suggests the admission of qualified Indians to Commissions in the Veterinary Services by removing the existing racial bar.

The personnel of the Signal Service should be definitely posted to the corps. A joint service called the Army Ordnance Corps, India, be formed.

The Committee then proceed to examine the possibility of unification of the two medical organisations, *viz.*, the Indian Medical Service and the Royal Army Medical Corps. After a critical examination of various suggestions put forward by responsible authorities the Committee are reluctantly forced to say that the amalgamation of the two services at present is impracticable. They, however,

suggest some reforms to secure more harmonious working and closer co-operation between these two services.

Conditions in India are such that the amalgamation of Pioneers and Engineers is not advisable in the organisation at Army Headquarters. Field engineers' training should be co-ordinated by a senior Royal Engineer officer affiliated to the General Staff and that the Military Works Services should become a directorate under the Quartermaster-General. In the commands Chief Engineers should be retained.

The Committee emphasise the need for closer co-operation in training and military education between the Home and Indian Armies. As for the higher appointments, if the Commander-in-Chief belongs to the British service two of his three principal Staff officers (C.G.S., A.G. and Q.M.G.) should belong to the Indian Army, while if the Commander-in-Chief belongs to the Indian Army two of the principal staff officers should come from the British service.

Part V.

Better Service Conditions.

Particular attention is devoted in this part to the amelioration of the general conditions of service in the Indian Army as regards both British and other ranks. The Committee are aware of the spirit of unrest and dissatisfaction in both armies arising, *inter alia*, out of the complexity of the regulations governing pay, leave and travelling allowances and want of suitable accommodation. After emphasising the necessity of a complete revision of the regulations they urge that considerations of finance should not be allowed to postpone the urgent work of providing suitable accommodation, as otherwise it will affect the efficiency of the Army. Recent changes and reforms have no doubt prove l another unsettling factor in the minds of British officers, but this feeling will, it is hoped, pass away in time.

The Committee's intention is to render military service sufficiently attractive to secure a constant flow of the best of the Sandhurst cadets and to ensure that officers who are selected for that Army and British Service officers while stationed in India remain contented throughout the service. With this object in view they propose several practical and detailed suggestions regarding pay and pensions concessions, travelling and detention allowances, medical attendance, family pension funds, etc. They are convinced that each mounted officer should be provided free of charge with the authorised number of chargers, as also hospital accommodation for the wives and families of British officers in places where European doctors are available. In applying a uniform rate of pay to all British officers in India, or in service elsewhere, the Committee suggest that the present system of fixing pay on the Rupee basis be continued, that the pay of ranks of officers be assimilated to the consolidated pay of British Service officers in India of corresponding rank and length of service, that all officers be given an allowance of Rs. 100 per month except when serving as departmental or Staff officers on consolidated rates of pay, that consolidated pay should include the element of certain overseas expatriation allowance, etc.

In making some improvement in barracks accommodation, state of regimental institutes, church parade service, etc., the Committee remark that present-day soldiers have neither deep-seated discipline nor long-suffering patience. Their

responsible aspirations must therefore be met and their idiosyncracies sympathetically studied if they are to be contented while serving in India.

Position of Indian Officers.

In regard to Indian officers the Committee assert that there is a feeling among them that they can never rise higher in rank than Risaldar-Major or Subadar-Major. Their disabilities are due to want of education, which is now one of the essential conditions of leadership. Nevertheless it is not forgotten that they have displayed a devotion to duty which is beyond praise. All Risaldars are placed on the same scale of pay and specific recommendations are also made regarding additional regimental pay of Indian Adjutants and Indian Quartermasters of units, as they are usually the best educated and smartest of young Indian officers. Believing that it would be much to the benefit of the country if the sons of brave and loyal gentlemen are given opportunities to fit themselves to compete on something approaching equal terms with the sons of the more wealthy classes the Committee welcome the establishment of "Kitchener College," which seems likely to meet the need.

Indian Military College.

The Indian members of the Committee raised the question of instituting an Indian Sandhurst, but they agreed eventually that the time is not yet ripe for consideration of such a scheme.

In regard to family pensions the Committee feel very strongly that any Government which sends a married soldier of any race to a war in which he loses his life should be actually responsible for providing a pension sufficient to keep his widow and children from want, and should not make its contribution dependent on the intricacies of a family system into which it cannot penetrate. Any grants of land to soldiers should be on "service terms," and grants of land abroad to deserving Indian officers and soldiers should be kept in view by the Government of India and, if possible, land in British Guiana or East Africa might be granted to Indian settlers.

PART VI.

Territorial Force.

Part VI deals with the possibility of establishing an Indian Territorial Force. The Committee regret that the response to the Indian Defence Force, Indian section, was not encouraging, except the working of the University Corps, which offered the best material for a Territorial Force. They, however, recognise the need for a National Defence Force but apprehend some practical difficulties. Some students who were members of the Indian Defence Force took part in the Punjab disorders last year, and the highest military authorities therefore do not want to run more risks than necessary so that the same force which they may organise may not be used against them. The Committee therefore state that as the experiment is mainly of political or educational value the Government should start with 12 units, two in each of the bigger provinces and one in each of the smaller ones, on condition that no new unit should be added till the experiment proves successful. The expenditure incurred on account of this force should fall under the military head but not to the detriment of the regular Army.

The Committee recommend that the Territorial Force should be formed on the following lines:—

(1) Recruitment be limited to urban areas and universities, and that rural units and companies should be discouraged if likely to compete with regular recruiting;

(2) Liability for general service should be insisted upon;

(3) Pay and allowances during training be at Indian Army rates;

(4) Commanding officers and Second-in-Commands of each unit be replaced by Indian officers when trained;

(5) There should be a Director of Auxiliary Forces at Army Headquarters; and

(6) The Grant of King's Commissions would be premature at the present stage.

Concluding the Committee claim that their recommendations are in "conformity with the Announcement of August 20."

Part VII.

Status of the Indian Marine.

Part VII deals with the Indian Marine. The Committee urge that the operations of the Indian Marine Services Act be extended so as to include all waters west of Suez, in order to legalise disciplinary action taken by marine officers in that part. Further, it would be advantageous to hand over the lighting of the entire Indian coast, including the Persian Gulf, to the service. The Director of the Royal Indian Marine should be a Rear-Admiral on the active list with the status of Secretary to the Government of India, with powers to approach the Viceroy. The office of the Director should be in Bombay, while his deputy should remain at the headquarters of the Government of India. Regular recruitment should be done as in the Army, with headquarters at Ratnagiri. Suitable Indians should be given opportunities for education in the higher branches of seamanship, marine engineering, etc. The Committee consider it desirable that the Royal Indian Marine should be extended to enable it to undertake policing the Persian Gulf, and they feel confident that the raising of the status of the Marine Service would make it fit to meet both peace and war requirements.

Part VIII.

Supplementary Question.

Part VIII deals with a number of supplementary questions referred to the Committee by the Government of India for advice. Lord Esher and General Du Cane are not therefore responsible for these recommendations. The Committee after examining the existing regulations relating to the Indian Army Reserve of Officers suggest that these regulations should be so recast as to require all officers now under this Reserve to relinquish their appointments and a new Reserve of officers for the Army in India be formed, with a fixed establishment to be calculated for each arm and branch of the service on the basis of probable requirement in the event of war, with the result that this new Reserve of Officers would be organised with reference to the needs of the Army in India, whereas the existing

reserve is for the Indian Army alone. This Reserve would as well provide officer reinforcements for all units serving in India, British and Indian alike.

Frontier Police Retained.

The Committee further advise that regimental followers should be enlisted and trained to arms sufficiently. Coming to military staff clerks they urge that military soldiers should be sparingly used for clerical duties and that the pay and privileges of clerical assistants in the principal branches of Headquarters should be the same as those in the Government of India Civil Secretariat. The provision of an adequate staff of Army Chaplains is requested to meet the need of various denominations. The Committee further think that the transfer to the Army of the responsibility of policing the North-East Frontier is not justified and hold that the existing system under which the Burma and Assam Military Police are controlled by the local Governments should not be changed.

Part IX.

General Conclusions.

In this part the Committee observe, "Fresh standards have been set up. The existing services require reorganisation and new services have to be developed and equipped." Accommodation for British and Indian troops requires to be improved. All these will involve heavy initial expenditure. It would be advantageous from both the financial and military point of view if the military authorities submitted to the Government of India a programme showing the capital expenditure entailed by the measures suggested by the Committee, so as to enable the latter to gauge their liabilities and to decide to what extent expenditure could be met and over what period the programme be spread.

Subject to the general control of the Secretary of State the Government of India should be the final authority in all questions of pay and allowances of the Indian Army, wherever they may be serving. This right needs to be explicitly safeguarded in view of past experience.

Sir Krishna Gupta, in the course of a minute, emphasises that the angle of vision in regard to military administration should be completely changed, so that the doors of all branches of the Army should be opened to Indians, not only to be consistent with the gradual approach of Indian autonomy but also as helping towards the attainment of such goal.

Sir Umar Hayat Khan, in a separate note, recommends drastic action against agitators tampering with the loyalty of the Army, and warns that any reforms in the Army should not be pushed through without caution and that the British element should be stiffened at whatever cost, and urges the recruitment of the right type of men for the Army.

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SUPERINTENDENT GOVERNMENT PRINTING, INDIA
8, HASTINGS STREET

EAST INDIA (PROGRESS AND CONDITION).

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EXHIBITING THE

MORAL AND MATERIAL PROGRESS AND CONDITION

OF

INDIA

DURING THE YEAR 1921.

FIFTY-SEVENTH NUMBER.

India Office,
3 August 1922.

A. HIRTZEL,
Deputy Under Secretary of State for India.

(Presented pursuant to the Government of India Act.)

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3 August 1922.

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PRINTED & PUBLISHED BY HIS MAJESTY'S STATIONERY OFFICE
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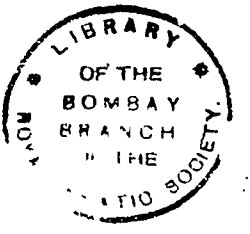

FIFTY-SEVENTH NUMBER.

India Office,
3 August 1922.

A. HIRTZEL,
Deputy Under Secretary of State for India.

(Presented pursuant to the Government of India Act.)

Ordered, by The House of Commons, *to be Printed,*
3 August 1922.

LONDON:
PRINTED & PUBLISHED BY HIS MAJESTY'S STATIONERY OFFICE
To be purchased through any Bookseller or directly from H.M. STATIONERY OFFICE at the following addresses: Imperial House, Kingsway, London, W.C.2, and 28 Abingdon Street, London, S.W.1; 37 Peter Street, Manchester; 1 St. Andrew's Crescent, Cardiff; or 23 Forth Street, Edinburgh.

1922

PRINTED IN INDIA.

Price 2s. 6d. net.

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FOREWORD.

THE period reviewed in the following pages embraces the introduction and early progress, amidst exceptionally difficult conditions, of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. Whether the constitutional experiment undertaken by the Government of India in conformity with the orders of His Majesty's Government will justify the hopes of its designers, by bridging the gulf between autocracy and responsibility, time alone can decide. That there are good reasons both for hope and for apprehension is plain even from the brief scope of this Report. On the one hand the work achieved by the Reformed Governments in face of all the energies of a movement so formidable and so determined as non-co-operation cannot but reveal the solidity of the foundation upon which the administrative structure is set. On the other hand, unrest in the moral, social and economic spheres, together with an acute, but it may be hoped transitory, outbreak of racial feeling, has constituted, during the period under review, a serious menace to ordered progress. At the moment of writing, political agitation is less intense and the activities of the non-co-operating party have lost, whether temporarily or permanently, the militant fervour characteristic of the early phases of Mr. Gandhi's movement. This relative calm, succeeding so many months of storm, seems to indicate the close of one epoch in the campaign against the new constitution. Accordingly, the narrative of political events comprised in Chapters II, III and IV has been extended beyond the close of the calendar year 1921, in such manner as to round off the record of a well-marked and very critical period.

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Except where otherwise mentioned, the pound sterling is taken as the equivalent of ten rupees. To minimise confusion, the rupee figures are also given in important statistics.

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India in 1921-22.

CHAPTER I.

India and the World.

India and Asia.

It is remarked with justice that the North-West Frontier question has long exercised a continuous if customarily imponderable influence upon the fortunes of India. That such should be the case is scarcely strange; for while the conditions governing the defence of India's landward gate vary from age to age, her vulnerability is as unalterable as her mountain passes; her attraction as permanent as human cupidity. Since the establishment of British Rule, the might of the Empire has shielded India from her foes, and, in part at least, obliterated from folk-memory the horrors of recurrent invasion. But in proportion as the educated classes acquire an ampler acquaintance with living political issues, their interest increases in those external developments which concern the security of their frontiers. Particularly during the course of the period under review, has there been noticeable a growing anxiety among certain sections of the Indian public relative to the situation in Central Asia; combined with a gradual realization that the problem of India's defence is at once more vital and more complex than is generally supposed. This development is healthy, not merely from the proof it affords that Indian citizens are awakening to the responsiblities of their newly recognised status in the commonwealth, but also from the inherent gravity of the subject itself. Anarchy in Central Asia: the advancing tide of Bolshevik aggression: deeply agitated Islamic sentiment: a distracted border—such were the anxieties which beset the statesmen of India throughout the year 1921.

Bolshevik Activities in 1920.

During the course of the year 1920, the Soviet Government of Russia, while voicing uncompromising hostility to the British Commonwealth, had directed all its energies towards recapturing that advantageous position in Central Asia which had been lost subsequently to the October

revolution of 1917. The success achieved was remarkable. The Soviet system quickly spread to the new Republics set up after the downfall of the Tsarist regime, with the result that the Russian position in Transcaucasia and Turkistan was for the moment rapidly reconsolidated. The way was open for aggressive activities in the Persian, Afghan, and ultimately it was hoped, in the Indian, spheres. The autumn of 1920 saw further progress: Georgia was overrun; the Amirate of Bokhara subdued and Bolshevik penetration into Northern Persia deeply advanced. The rising tide of Russian power excited considerable apprehension in Afghanistan, with the natural consequence that the Russian emissaries were successful in concluding a draft treaty, which seemed to secure for their country a valuable advance base for the subversion of India by their propaganda. Towards the end of the year, however, the striking success of the Soviet Government in Central Asia underwent some serious reverses. The ratification of the Treaty of Sèvres and the Greek victories over Turkish nationalist forces, while they alarmed Islamic feeling, did much to discredit the power of Russia. The failure of the Bolshevik invasions of Poland and the counter invasion by the Poles of Russian territory, seemed to show the weakness of the Soviet Government. Moreover, the impression produced upon the Islamic world by the subversion of a Muslim State so old and so well established as Bokhara, did not fail to exercise an influence unfavourable to Russia. The Muhammadan inhabitants of Transcaucasia and Turkistan, groaning beneath Bolshevik oppression, broke into sporadic revolts, which were bloodily stamped out with a brutality which convinced the most sanguine believers in an alliance between Bolshevism and Islam of the contrast between Communist theory and Communist practice. The result of these various happenings was felt in India, when the Amir of Afghanistan invited a British delegation to Kabul, for the purpose of exploring the possibilities of an Anglo-Afghan treaty.

Position of the Afghans.

As was pointed out in last year's Report, the Amir of Afghanistan occupies a position of no little difficulty. In comparison with Russia and India, his two great neighbours, his resources are comparatively small; and he can afford to quarrel with neither unless assured of hearty support from the other. And, as fate would have it, about the time that the British delegation under Sir Henry Dobbs arrived in Kabul, the situation of the Bolsheviks began to show signs of temporary improvement. The failure of the Persian Parliament to ratify the projected Anglo-Persian Agreement

was hailed as a triumph for Soviet diplomacy. A further success followed. The Communists, by sacrificing in name the position of influence which Tsarist Russia had acquired in Persia, were able to secure a definite treaty with the Persian Government. Further west, Bolshevik forces had joined hands with the Turkish nationalist forces, who had now begun to win successes over the Greeks. Armenia was overrun and subjugated. At the same time, the internal difficulties of Bolshevik Russia were somewhat eased by the conclusion of peace with Poland. This rendered possible that concentration of Russian forces which resulted in the defeat of the counter revolutionary movement led by General Wrangel.

The Anglo-Afghan Negotiations.

As might have been expected, this improvement in the fortunes of the Bolsheviks did not facilitate the progress of the negotiations in which Sir Henry Dobbs was engaged. For the Afghan authorities were at first disposed to raise their terms to a height which made agreement difficult. In the early spring of 1921, however, the situation again changed. The Communist economy of Russia broke down so seriously as to endanger the whole stability of the Central Soviet Government. A serious, if abortive, rising blazed up in Southern Russia. Germany, who had raised high hopes in the breasts of England's enemies by her blustering attitude towards the Allied demand for reparation, suddenly collapsed like a pricked bubble, at the first display of Allied force. Eastward also, the situation temporarily deteriorated for the Bolsheviks. They quarrelled seriously with Mustapha Kamal over the division of Armenia and his refusal to "Bolshevise" the territory of Angora. To make matters worse, a new Greek offensive achieved considerable success. The pitiful breakdown of the "Muhajarin" movement of religious pilgrimage from India to Afghanistan, as related in last year's Report, greatly discouraged those who built high hopes upon the outbreak of religious disorders in India. Further, Islamic feeling in Central Asia, already alarmed for reasons indicated above, showed renewed symptoms of hostility towards Bolshevism, in proportion as the territories over which the Soviet had recently acquired influence were one by one mercilessly exploited to relieve the internal needs of Russia. Afghan sentiment in particular was much excited by the arrival in the country of the ex-Amir of Bokhara; and by the pitiful tales of misery and oppression carried to Kabul by thousands of his late subjects. It was symptomatic at once of the weakness and of the perfidy of the Soviet Government

Ebb and Flow of Soviet Fortunes.

that although circumstances compelled the conclusion of a Trade Treaty with Great Britain, there was no cessation of the efforts made by Russian emissaries to secure the aid of the Afghans for the subversion of the independent tribes on the Indian border, and for the penetration into India of Bolshevik propaganda.

Bolshevik Diplomacy in Afghanistan.

During the summer of 1921, the domestic difficulties of the Soviet Government increased in terrible measure. Plague, pestilence and famine overran the unfortunate population of European Russia. Allied aid, at first contemptuously spurned, was before long implored with the vehemence of despair. But if the foundations upon which the Central Soviet Government rested were lamentably weak, its advance agents in no wise desisted from their labours. Their efforts in Afghanistan were aided by two principal factors. Both the recent triumph of the Turkish nationalist forces over the Greek invaders, and the uneasy internal situation of India, could not but exercise an influence upon the judgment of the Amir's advisers. At a heavy price in money and materials, the Soviet Government succeeded in securing the ratification at Kabul of a Russo-Afghan Treaty which they hoped might provide them with the channels they so ardently desired for conveying their corrosive propaganda into India. At the worst, they hoped that the Russian Consulates they were to secure under the Treaty so near to India as Kandahar, Ghazni and Jalalabad, would prevent the immediate establishment of that close amity and friendliness between the Amir and India, which it was the desire of all true friends of Afghanistan should be concluded.

Anglo-Afghan Treaty.

But as time drew on, the terrible weakness of Russia could no longer be concealed. Moreover the firmness of the Government of India in its dealings with the recalcitrant Mahsuds and Wazirs—of which more later—was probably not without its effect upon Afghan opinion. However this may be, the discussions between the British delegation and the Amir's Government steadily gravitated towards the conclusion of a treaty, if not of close friendship, at any rate of neighbourly relations. Satisfactory written assurances having been given by Afghanistan that Russian Consulates—that is, of course propaganda bases—should be excluded from the neighbourhood of the Indo-Afghan Frontier, the way seemed open to fruitful negotiations. After the delays and difficulties insuperable from the conduct of intricate diplomacy, a Treaty was accordingly signed by representatives of Afghanistan and Great Britain on the 22nd

of November 1921. The terms of this document will be found in an Appendix; it is here sufficient to say that the two Governments agreed to respect one another's internal and external independence; to recognise boundaries then existent, subject to a slight readjustment near the Khyber; to receive Legations at London and Kabul and Consular officers at Delhi, Calcutta, Karachi, Bombay and Kandahar and Jalalabad respectively. The Afghan Government are allowed to import free of customs duty such material as is required for the strengthening of their country. So long as the British are assured that the intentions of the Afghans are friendly, this proviso applies to arms and ammunition also. The export of goods to British territory from Afghanistan is permitted, while separate Postal and Trade conventions are to be concluded in the future. Further, each party undertakes to inform the other of major military operations in the vicinity of the border line.

The close of the year 1921 thus witnessed a distinct advance in the relations of Afghanistan with India and the British Empire. The open hostility which marked the accession of the present Amir has given place to neighbourly sentiment, based on an appreciation of the advantages of amity between neighbouring States. How the present position will develop, must depend to a large extent on external factors. But it is permissible to hope that the future will see the establishment of something like the former close friendliness which for so many years served alike the interests of India and of Afghanistan.

The Border in 1921.

During the greater part of 1921 the uncertainty of relations between the two countries exercised a considerable influence over the affairs of the Border. As compared with the year 1920, which reaped the harvest of hostilities with Afghanistan following upon the reaction of the great war, the conditions of the frontier in 1921 showed some improvement. None the less, the situation along the whole border continued to be one of delicacy, and in Waziristan itself, one of great difficulty. The failure of the spring rains caused the severest scarcity felt in the border regions for 20 years. In some districts indeed, the rain which fell in July and August 1921 was the first which had been seen for 18 months. This factor made for a certain measure of peace on the Frontier. While the course of the negotiations in Kabul was eagerly watched by the tribesmen, the general opinion was soon formulated that Afghanistan, which was also suffering from scarcity, would not break off relations with the Indian Government. Further, as time wore on, it was apparent that there would be no concessions for the erring tribes on the British side of the

Durand line. Generally speaking therefore, the condition of the North-West Frontier as a whole during 1921 was fairly satisfactory for a region in which the elements of discord and strife are continually present. Waziristan must be excepted, however, even from this qualified statement. Mention was made in last year's report of the punitive action undertaken against the Mahsuds and the Wazirs. The continued misbehaviour of these stubborn tribes and their intolerable raiding into the settled districts of British India have led during the years 1920-21 to a careful scrutiny of our relations with them. Ever since the British Government inherited from the Sikhs the task of controlling Waziristan, and especially since Amir Abdurrahman formally recognised it as lying within our sphere, an attempt has been made to follow the policy of non-interference. Two lines of Militia posts along the Tochi in the north and towards Wano in the south have indeed been held for the purpose of checking raids upon the settled inhabitants of India and upon the caravan traffic proceeding up and down the Gomal. But to this end militia recruited from the Wazirs and Mahsuds themselves was mainly employed. There was no interference with the internal affairs of the tribesmen and beyond the grant of subsidies intended to enable their maliks to keep the young bloods from raiding, the British Administration has had as little to do with them as possible. But the hope that if they were left alone they would leave British India alone has proved fallacious. On an average every four years their repeated misdeeds have necessitated punitive operations of major or minor importance. Since 1852 there have been 17 of these military operations and since 1911, four. All have been occasioned by deliberate aggression on the part of the tribesmen, who have ravaged the plains whenever they saw an opportunity. During the Great War and the Afghan war of 1919, their depredations grew bolder and more intolerable than ever before; and after the signature of peace with Afghanistan, they absolutely refused the lenient terms offered them by the British Government, who desired to avoid a campaign. During the year 1920, punitive operations involving severe fighting had to be undertaken against the Mahsuds. By May 1920 active fighting on a large scale was over and the end of the year saw our troops firmly established at Laddha in the heart of the Mahsud country within easy striking distance of the important centres of Makin and Kaniguram. During the remainder of the year, a number of the Mahsud sections outwardly acquiesced in our presence and

British Policy in Waziristan.

submitted to our terms. Towards the close of 1920, operations were undertaken against the Wana Wazirs. Wana was occupied and certain of the militia posts which had been abandoned since the disturbances following the Afghan war of 1919 were re-garrisoned. The Wana Wazirs, however, received no severe lesson, since our advance into their country had been practically unopposed. None the less, although the British forces occupied a dominating position in the heart of their country, their submission was more nominal than real.

Survey of Border Affairs.

Unfortunately, a survey of border affairs from north to south will show how difficult is the task of reducing this unruly tract even to the semblance of order. North of Waziristan, it is true, the position was better than in the preceding year. Taking first the Khyber region,

The Khyber.

it is to be noticed that the general tone of the Afridis showed marked improvement. At the end of the year 1920, many of the fines demanded were still unpaid and the quota of rifles to be surrendered was still lacking, but early in the year 1921 the majority of the sections completed their settlement. The Khyber railway scheme, which had been propounded to the Afridis towards the end of 1920, readily attracted tribal labour and there was competition to secure contracts on the line. Similarly the scheme of garrisoning the Khyber Pass with Khassadars—that is tribal levies raised and commanded by headmen and armed with their own weapons—quickly achieved popularity. Congenial and well paid work on the Khyber Road and Railway and in the garrisoning of the Pass; the renewal of tribal allowances conditional upon good conduct; and the re-enlistment in restricted numbers of Afridis in the Army; helped largely in the amelioration of the situation. Anti-British agitation among the Afridi tribes was still kept up under the leadership of notorious firebrands, who, however, were strongly opposed by the pro-British members of the tribe. On the whole the year 1921 closed with a situation more satisfactory in the Khyber and Afridi territories than had been the case for some time. Further south, in the Kohat

Kohat and Kurram Areas.

and Kurram areas, there was a good deal of disturbance during 1921. Serious offences in particular were committed by the Khojal Khel Wazirs, which necessitated vigorous counter measures. Of these the most important were the destruction of certain of their villages. Before the end of the year this section had come to terms with Government and had almost settled their accounts. Other sections of the Wazirs living between

the Tochi and the Kurram were active in raiding into British territory during the year. In addition to highway robbery, cattle lifting, and burglary, which were freely practised, the most vexatious form of raiding and the one on which they concentrated most of their energies, was the kidnapping of individuals on the plains for the purpose of holding them to ransom. These operations were conducted on a systematic scale, and there were regular prisons in which the unfortunate captives were confined until the money demanded for their release was forthcoming. Punitive operations directed against the most notorious of these clearing houses were successful in enabling several kidnapped persons to make their way back to their villages. The nuisance, however, continued, though on a diminishing scale, throughout the year.

Operations in Waziristan.

In Waziristan there was almost continual trouble during 1921. The Wazir and Mahsud tribesmen who refused to make their peace with Government were supported both with arms and with money by certain anti-British elements, chief among whom was Haji Abdur Raziq, and Mullah Bashir from the Chamarkhand colony of Hindustani fanatics. These irreconcilables strove to keep alive the opposition to the British Government and to prevent any settlement taking place. In their efforts they unfortunately met with considerable success, despite the fact that our troops were firmly stationed in the Tochi area with Dardoni as the strong post and that the intermediate points down to Bannu were occupied.

Northern Waziristan.

A regular campaign had to be conducted against the gangs who made their living by kidnapping British subjects and raiding the villages in the plains. This was not unsuccessful: and when at the beginning of December, a column went from Dardoni to Datta Khel to assist the political officer to instal the North Waziristan Scouts in the fort, the move met with no opposition. Later on in the same month, however considerable casualties were inflicted upon a convoy returning from Datta Khel down the Spinchilla Pass. The state of affairs in Central Waziristan was even more disturbed. As already noticed our troops at the beginning of 1921 were established at Laddha and a number of the Mahsud sections were apparently acquiescing in our terms. But here also there were many irreconcilables, as well as adventurous spirits among the friendlies who were quick to take advantage of any situation favourable to themselves. It was difficult to prevent large parties of raiders from collecting in the extremely broken country and launching unexpected attacks on our

Central Waziristan.

convoys. Among the most notorious of the local recalcitrants was Musa Khan, who all throughout the first half of 1921 carried out an intensive campaign against our communications. In March and April almost daily attacks were made upon convoys and pickets, causing considerable loss in men and in transport animals. These attacks were pressed home with the greatest courage and tenacity. In June however the situation was somewhat altered by the arrival at Laddha of two six-inch howitzers. A steady daily bombardment of the vicinity continued up to the middle of September. The Abdullai sub-section, over whom Musa Khan presided, being unable to cultivate their crops, were compelled to desert their homes and take refuge in the numerous caves in the hills. For a time the more stout-hearted continued to harass our lines of communication and gave considerable trouble. But they gradually tired, and towards the end of September the whole section commenced to negotiate for peace. A final settlement was concluded on the 29th of December and a temporary cessation of the Abdullai opposition thus resulted.

Southern Waziristan.

In Southern Waziristan, as already noticed, the beginning of 1921 saw our troops still at Wana. As the fighting in the course of our advance had not been severe, the Wana Wazirs were still inclined to listen to the blandishments of the Anti-British party. In February it was therefore found necessary to destroy certain villages, and the country west of Wana was swept in a most comprehensive manner. This operation led to the gradual collapse of opposition. The antagonism of the tribesmen was considerably reduced in June; and on the 14th of September our terms were accepted and the Wana Wazirs signed a treaty. Subsequently to its signing, our regular troops were removed from Wana and their place was taken by Khassadars. By the 21st of December the whole force had withdrawn to Jandola and the Wana column, which had been in existence since the end of 1920, was broken up.

South of the Gomal.

Crossing the Gomal valley to the South, we notice that the condition of affairs in Baluchistan during the year 1921 has been on the whole not unsatisfactory. The presence of a British mission in Kabul early began to exercise a tranquilising effect, and although the settlement of Waziristan, as we have seen, was a matter of difficulty, the first months of 1921 were free from trouble. There was a cessation of raids in Zhob; many outlaws supposed to be irreconcilables began to come back; and the deserters and bad character

who still remained had perforce to sit idle on the other side of the border waiting for permission to re-enter British territory. There were, however, some formidable raids from the Afghan side by certain colonies of refugees, who had been allowed to settle in Afghan territory by the Amir. In November a big gang, openly boasting of their intention to attack Pishin, crossed the border into British territory and succeeded in overwhelming a party of Indian infantry under two British officers. Both the officers and 40 men were killed and the remainder of the column wounded or taken prisoners. The raiders returned across the border in triumph with valuable loot in the shape of rifles and transport. This disaster synchronised with the signing of the Afghan treaty ; and as a result of the protest made by the chief of the British Mission, the Amir expressed his deep regret at what had occurred and promised to punish the offenders. The administration of Baluchistan has many excellent features. In its councils of elders, both local and provincial, it enjoys an admirable system of home-rule. There is a simple revenue system which everyone understands, and the people have easy access to British officials. The close personal relationship which exists between the administrative officers, both British and Indian, and the people themselves gives reality to popular influence and adds to the general contentment. During the period under review, the policy of associating the people as much as possible with the administration, of taking their advice through their councils of elders not only upon tribal matters but upon larger questions of policy, and of giving them additional responsibility, has been steadily pursued. There was no political disturbance of any sort during 1921 ; and although the people of Baluchistan were fully alive to the possibilities of the political development they unmistakably showed that they prefer steady advance along the lines to which they have been accustomed to the specious projects of outside political reformers. But there is not the slightest doubt that if the opportunity arose, and there was a weakening of the central power, the virile inhabitants of Baluchistan would readily turn their energies towards raiding into India.

Condition of Baluchistan.

During the period under review, a considerable amount of attention has been directed towards the frontier administration by the general public of India. Mention was made in last year's report of the abnormal number of dangerous and destructive raids which were carried out by the tribesmen upon peaceful inhabitants of the North-West Frontier Province. The unrest which has swept up and down our borders is in a large degree a heritage from

The Border and the Public.

the third Afghan war of 1919. But there have been at work other forces including the general disquiet consequent upon the world struggle; the presence in tribal areas of a large number of deserters from the Army; the perennial economic pressure of growing populations on land too poor to feed them; and the inevitable excitement caused by the military misfortunes of Turkey as mirrored in the glass of Indian political agitation. During the year 1919-20, as we saw, no fewer than 611 raids had taken place in the settled districts of Peshawar, Kohat, Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan. This resulted in the killing of 298, the wounding of 392, and the kidnapping of 463 British subjects. Property estimated at a (probably exaggerated) value of Rs. 39 lakhs was looted. During the year 1920-21, fortunately, the number of these outrages decreased to 391. At the same time, 153 persons were killed, 157 persons injured, and 56 persons kidnapped and returned on payment of ransom. Property to the value of some 2 lakhs was looted. While therefore the administration had some success in reducing the number of raids and outrages, as proved by these figures, the fact remains that much suffering and loss is still inflicted by the tribesmen upon British subjects. In consequence, bitter complaints have appeared in the press as to the inadequacy of the present system of protection. Further in a time of financial stringency, force has been lent to these complaints by the heavy expenditure shown in the Budget of the North-West Frontier Province. The revenues of the province have indeed increased from Rs. 46 lakhs odd in 1903-04 to Rs. 70 lakhs odd in 1919-20; but the cost of administration has risen from Rs. 55 lakhs odd to Rs. 180 lakhs odd during the same period. Indeed the excess of expenditure over revenues amounted in the year 1920 to more than Rs. 109 lakhs, with the result that the province has been the cause of considerable expenditure from the Imperial treasury. While much weighty criticism has been directed, particularly in the Legislative Assembly, against this state of affairs, it is not always realised that the problem of the inhospitable frontier does not lend itself to cheap or easy solution. Expenditure on frontier defence is incurred not merely for the protection of the sorely harassed inhabitants of our border districts against trans-frontier lawlessness and raids; it is also incurred for the defence of India as a whole. At the same time, the ventilation of the whole question of border policy has led to inquiries as to the desirability of retaining or reversing Lord Curzon's separation of the North-West Frontier Province from the Punjab. This has been stimulated by the

The Administration of the North-West Frontier Province.

belief among educated Indian opinion that the inhabitants of the settled districts of the North-West Frontier Province are suffering both in their political advance and in their judicial administration by their association with a Government mainly concerned with the direction of comparatively uncivilised trans-frontier tribesmen. As a result of a resolution brought forward by Sir Sivaswami Aiyer in the Legislative Assembly in September 1921, a Committee has been appointed by the Government of India to examine the question of the North-West Frontier Province. It is much to be hoped that its report, which cannot fail to be of great weight, will satisfy Indian educated opinion as to the proper course to be pursued in the administration of the North-West Frontier Province.

The Frontier Province Committee.

As might naturally be supposed, the unquiet border, in combination with the uncertainty of India's relations with Afghanistan, served during 1921 to focus the attention of educated India more definitely upon the problems of defence than has for some time been the case. The stimulus so provided was undoubtedly enhanced first by the aggressive Pan-Islamism of certain Khilafat extremists, which aroused anxiety in their more peacefully-minded compatriots ; and secondly, by financial stringency, which caused much attention to be devoted to the question of economy in the army as well as in other branches of the administration. Accordingly, during the year 1921, not merely in the public press but also in the central legislature, questions concerning defence assumed notable proportions. There was, on the one hand, a great demand for economy in military administration, in so far as this could be accomplished without damage to India's safety ; on the other hand, there was a determination to assert India's claim to what may be called the " nationalisation " of the army. Now the total military grant for the year 1921-22 amounted to £62·2 millions (Rs. 62·2 crores). This bore so high a proportion to the total expenditure of the Central Government that criticism of a poignant character was directed, both in the legislature and outside it, against the existing military administration. In the somewhat natural impatience for economy, the fact was not realized by many Indian leaders that nowhere else in the world does a population so large as that of India pay so little per head as the price of its own defence. Bitter criticisms were made in connection with the military budget, and the necessity for retrenchment was freely urged. The authorities

Public Opinion and Defence Problems.

Demand for Economy.

were far from oblivious to the necessity for meeting, in such degree as their responsibility for India's safety permitted, the demand for economy. Indeed, as a result of the efforts of His Excellency Lord Rawlinson, a saving in the established charges of the Army amounting to no less than £1·29 millions (Rs. 1·29 crores) was effected in the course of the financial year. Unfortunately, as will be pointed out in another chapter, the cost of the unexpected continuance of operations in Waziristan more than swallowed up this saving, with the result that the revised expenditure on military requirements during 1921-22 comes to £65 millions (Rs. 65 crores).

Efforts of the Administration.

Further, the reduction of the army in India to a post-war footing was steadily carried out, and 51 Indian infantry battalions, 7 Indian pioneer battalions, 6 Indian pack artillery batteries, and 40 units of sappers and miners, were disbanded during the period under review. Indian cavalry regiments were also reduced in number by amalgamation in pairs, from 38 to 24; and provision was made to reduce this total to 21 on the return of one regiment from overseas. Efficiency was also increased by the formation of Indian cavalry, infantry and pioneers into groups, each group consisting, in the case of infantry and pioneers, of a varying number of active battalions and one training battalion.

Reduction in Establishments.

In addition to complaints against the cost to India of her defence charges, there was also during the year under review considerable criticism of what was regarded as a tendency to deprive India of control of her own forces. Mention was made in last year's report of the conclusions formulated by the Committee presided over by Lord Esher to enquire into the Indian military system. As was previously pointed out, the Esher Committee believed that the survival in some form or other of the principle of an Imperial cabinet composed of the Prime Ministers of Great Britain and of the Dominions was inevitable; and that this machinery would carry along with it some corresponding organization in the sphere of Imperial defence. Their recommendations had for a guide rule, consistency with three great principles; first, the control by the Government of India of Indian military forces; secondly, the assignment of due weight to the opinions of that Government on questions of Imperial defence; and thirdly, the exercise of a considered influence by the Imperial General Staff upon the military policy of the Government of India

The Esher Report.

as upon that of the other Governments of the Commonwealth. During 1920 and 1921, Indian opinion did not understand that the structure contemplated by the Esher Committee, in which the Army in India was to play its part as one unit of a co-ordinated whole, had not yet come into full existence. There was thus a confusion in the minds of many critics between the supreme direction of the military forces of the Empire in an organization such as that contemplated by the Esher Committee, and the system which is generally described as War Office control. In no circumstances, of course, are Indian political leaders likely to look with favour upon any policy which seems, however remotely, to deprive the Indian Government, over which they have legitimate aspirations for control, of unfettered direction of the Indian army. Accordingly, the Legislative Assembly in its first session directed much attention to the Esher Committee Report, and as a result of the examination of this Report by a Committee of the Legislature, certain very important resolutions were moved defining the attitude of the Assembly towards certain of the main problems of army administration. The Assembly declared that the purposes of the army in India must be held to be defence against external aggression and the maintenance of internal peace and tranquillity; that to the extent to which it is necessary for India to maintain an army for these purposes, its organization, equipment and administration should be thoroughly up-to-date; but that for any other purposes, the obligations resting on India should be no more onerous than those resting on the self-governing dominions, and should be undertaken subject to the same conditions as are applicable to those areas. The Assembly also repudiated the assumption, which it somewhat incorrectly believed to underlie the Report of the Esher Committee, that the administration of the army in India cannot be considered otherwise than as part of the total armed forces of the Empire; and that the military resources of India should be developed in a manner suitable to Imperial necessities. The Assembly further recommended that the army in India should not as a rule be employed for service outside India's external frontiers, except for purely defensive purposes, or with the previous consent of the Governor General in Council in very grave emergencies; provided that this should not preclude the employment on garrison duty overseas of Indian troops at the expense of His Majesty's Government, with the consent of the Government of India. Turning now to

Criticism in India.

Attitude of the Legislative Assembly.

questions of greater detail, the Assembly recommended that matters of supply should be entrusted to a Surveyor General of Supply, who would be a civil Member of the Commander-in-Chief's Military Council; that the Commander-in-Chief and the Chief of the General Staff in India should be appointed by the Cabinet, on the nomination of the Secretary of State for India in consultation with the Government of India and the Secretary of State for War; and that Army Commanders who were officers of the Indian Army should be appointed by the Secretary of State for India on the nomination of the Government of India. It was also recommended that the Government of India should consider the expediency of reducing the size of the administrative staff at Army Headquarters; and that as soon as circumstances permit, a committee, adequately representative of non-official Indian opinion, should be appointed to examine and report on the best method of giving effect to the natural rights and aspirations of the people of India to take an honourable part in the defence of their country and prepare the country for the attainment of full responsible government which was being declared to be the goal of British policy: to consider the financial capacity of India to bear the burden of military expenditure: to deal with her claim to equality of status and treatment with the self-governing Dominions: and to consider the methods of recruitment for the commissioned ranks of the Indian Army. Of equal importance with the foregoing resolutions were the expressions of a desire that Indians should be freely admitted to all arms of His Majesty's military, naval and air forces in India, and that not less than 25 per cent. of the King's commissions granted every year should be given to His Majesty's Indian subjects, to start with. The Assembly further recommended that adequate facilities should be provided in India for the preliminary training of Indians to fit them to enter the Royal Military College at Sandhurst, and that as soon as funds were available, steps should be taken to establish in India a military college on the Sandhurst pattern, while steadily keeping in view the desirability of establishing in India training and educational institutions for other branches of the army. The Assembly further recommended that, in view of the need for the preparation of India to undertake the burden of self-defence as well as in the interests of economy, serious efforts should be made to organize and encourage the formation of an adequate territorial force, on attractive conditions; to introduce in the Indian Army a system of short colour service, followed by a few

The Army Requirements Committee.

years in the reserve ; and to carry out gradually a prudent reduction of the ratio of the British to the Indian troops.

Significance of these Resolutions.

The importance of these resolutions lies not merely in the far-reaching character of the aspirations they voice, but also in the evidence which they afford as to the increasing interest of the educated classes in the problems of India's defence. It is perfectly true that, for several decades in India, the accusation has been freely brought against the Government that it was attempting to emasculate the people of India by depriving them of opportunities for training in the use of arms. The plain truth about this accusation is, indeed, that those who have raised it do not as a rule belong to classes which have displayed either martial inclination or martial aptitude. This afforded some reason to believe that it was raised rather as a political catch-word than as a serious attempt to bring pressure upon the administration to take action in the desired direction. In point of fact, for a good many years prior to the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms, there has been very little real interest on the part of educated India either in army administration or in the problems of Indian defence. There was a general tendency to treat these matters as outside the sphere of ordinary political life. In part, there can be no doubt, this attitude was a heritage from the time when as a result, probably, of the apathy of Indian political leaders, and their absorption in matters which seemed to affect them more nearly, the Government of India took less trouble to explain to the public the danger of the external aggression to which the country was from time to time exposed. However this may be, the habit of mind has now changed. To some extent in consequence of the debates in the Legislative Assembly during 1921, and still more as a result of the increasing influence of the spirit which these debates expressed, there has come over the constitutional party among educated Indians a very real desire to understand the military situation of their own country and to take their own share in the solution of military problems. Government has gone far to meet this desire. Systematic attempts have been made, in the first place, to break down the wall of secrecy with which army affairs had in past years been surrounded. A close touch is now maintained with the press and, through the press, with the public, in connection with all matters in which the public is interested. Further, a genuine effort has been

"Emasculation" and Defence.

Publicity.

made to establish an Indian territorial force on a thoroughly satisfactory basis, giving due attention to those causes which had prevented the opening of the Indian Defence Force to Indians from producing an appreciable response during the war years. As a result, the Indian territorial force is beginning to develop along promising lines. In

The Territorial Force.

the United Provinces, enrolment is proceeding for the 1st (territorial force) battalion of the 2nd Rajput Light Infantry; and it is believed that during 1922-23 at least 2 more units can be formed in this area. In the Punjab, there are territorial force battalions of the 25th Punjabis and of the 62nd Punjab. Madras has a territorial force battalion of the 73rd Carnatic Infantry, and applications so largely exceed the establishment that proposals to form a second battalion are under consideration. A territorial force battalion has also been constituted for the 75th Infantry, and training is commencing forthwith. Two other units, a territorial force battalion of the 79th Carnatic Infantry, and a territorial force battalion of the 83rd Walajabad Light Infantry have been proposed, and it is understood that these can be completed during the coming financial year. In Bombay, there are territorial force battalions of the 103rd Maratha Light Infantry and of the Bombay Pioneers. In Burma and Bengal enrolment is proceeding for a territorial force battalion of the 70th Burman Infantry and of the 94th Russell's Infantry, respectively. There has also been displayed considerable activity in the formation of

University Training Corps.

University Training Corps. There are battalions in Bombay, Calcutta and Rangoon; companies in Lahore, Patna and Benares. The organization of these University Corps is modelled on that of the Officers' Training Corps in England. Training is conducted by means of drills at least twice weekly throughout the University terms, and of a short period in camp every year. During the year also progress has been made in the recruitment of Indian youths for King's Commissions. Considerable criticism has been directed in the public press against the small number of Indians who have succeeded in securing admission to

King's Commissions.

the Royal Military College at Sandhurst. During the last two years, however, 25 cadetships have been secured, and considering some of the difficulties attending the experiment, if only on account of its novelty, the progress achieved cannot be considered negligible. The Government of India aim at giving more and more of these commissions to Indians if and when the experiment proves a success; but as was pointed out by Sir Godfrey

Fell in the Legislative Assembly, experience has yet to show how the Indian officers will care to serve under the young King's Commissioned officers; how the young men will bear the hard, dull work in peace, without which efficiency cannot be attained; and whether they are prepared to share in the drudgery as well as in the rewards which fall to the lot of their British comrades. In this connection, it is significant that the Legislative Assembly in the course of its deliberations, refused to recommend a higher percentage than 25 of the yearly King's Commissions for Indian subjects, and rejected an amendment to the effect that there should be an increasing proportion in subsequent years.

Effect of Internal Situation upon Public Opinion.

Among the causes of the growing popularity of the Territorial Force movement, and of the increasing interest in defence-questions among the educated classes, must be reckoned the uneasy condition of India during the period under review. This topic will be considered in greater detail elsewhere; and it is here only necessary to point out that riots and disorders have inspired many peaceful citizens of India with the desire to offset by military training the disadvantages under which they now labour, in times of public excitement, as compared with lawless and violent sections of the population. Particularly noteworthy in this connection was the influence exerted by the terrible Moplah rebellion in Malabar. With the political causes of this outbreak we shall deal in a subsequent chapter. We are here concerned with the military aspect, which not only brought home to thousands of persons in Southern India the practical value to themselves of the Army, but also induced many to throw their weight into the scale of law and order by joining the Territorial Force.

The Moplah outbreak.

The rebellion in Malabar was due to the influence of Khilafat agitation among the fanatically inclined Moplah inhabitants of the area. The outbreak, when it occurred, took a very formidable shape from the start. The rebels aimed at the complete overthrow of law and order and intended to establish an independent Khilafat kingdom in Malabar. They swiftly terrorised all the inhabitants of the affected areas and indulged in wholesale murders and forcible religious conversions of the local Hindu communities. With the exception of certain number of rifles and shot guns captured by them in the first few days of the rebellion from isolated police posts and Europeans, they had few firearms and were armed for the greater part with swords. But the country was eminently suited

to the guerilla tactics which they soon adopted. Close cultivation alternating with thick jungle afforded ample scope for ambushes and a safe retreat after committing depredations. The Ernad and Walluvanad Taluqs were the centre of the storm; but at one period the trouble might easily have spread considerably farther afield. The jungle-clad slopes of the Nilgiris constituted a sure refuge for hard pressed bands, from which only starvation could feasibly dislodge them.

Course of the Rebellion.

About the middle of August the situation in Malabar became distinctly serious, and additional troops were moved to Calicut. On the 20th of August open rebellion broke out at Tirurangadi at the conclusion of a search for arms conducted by the Police assisted by troops. A small detachment of troops was isolated at Malapuram and the troops at Tirurangadi had to fight their way back. On the 28th of August the detachment at Malapuram was relieved by columns from Bangalore and Calicut.

The rebellion had now spread over most of the Ernad and Walluvanad Taluqs and the rebels were indulging in wholesale murder, arson and forcible conversions of Hindus. Every effort was made in the first instance to cope with the situation by means of the troops available in the Madras district. A modified form of martial law was introduced and a special force of armed police was raised. In the initial phases the Auxiliary Force both individually and collectively proved of great value.

Up to the beginning of October, operations were mainly confined to localising the rebellion by distributing garrisons in convenient centres and dealing with rebel bands, whenever they could be discovered, by mobile columns. These efforts were up to a point successful and the spread of the rebellion into the Wynad and to the north of the Beypore river was checked. On the other hand the large numbers of rebels in the affected areas; the difficulty of the country; and the fact that either from inclination or by reason of terrorisation the whole countryside was openly hostile, made it imperative to provide reinforcements to deal with the situation.

Its suppression.

By the middle of October all these reinforcements, totalling four battalions, one pack battery, a section of armoured cars and the necessary ancilliary services, had arrived, and a severer form of martial law had been introduced—a

factor which greatly facilitated the handling of the situation by the Military authorities. It now became possible to conduct a drive right through the affected area. The result of this drive was at first disappointing, as the rebels for the greater part evaded combat and took to the hills. On the conclusion of the drive, however, the whole area was divided into five sections. To each of these sections a battalion was allotted for the purpose of dealing with all rebels within its section, and it was soon found that the back of the rebellion had been broken. Rebels began to surrender in large numbers, and after being blockaded in the hills either came down to fight or gave themselves up. By the end of the year the situation was well in hand, and as a matter of fact, by the 25th of February 1922, it had become possible to withdraw martial law and all the extra troops employed with the exception of one battalion.

Conduct of the Troops.

The troops had an extremely difficult duty to perform; and the way in which they did their duty was beyond all praise. Co-operation between the civil and military authorities was throughout most harmonious, and contributed largely to the comparative shortness of the time which it took to suppress the rebellion. An idea of the fierceness of some of the fighting may be gained from the night attack at Pandikad, on which occasion a company of Gurkhas was rushed at dawn by a horde of fanatics who inflicted some 60 casualties on the Gurkhas and were only beaten off after losing some 250 killed. Throughout the campaign, casualties among our troops totalled 43 killed and 126 wounded; while the Moplahs lost over 3,000 in killed alone—a fact which testifies eloquently to the pitch of fanaticism to which they had been roused. The measures adopted by Government for the suppression of this formidable rebellion were generally approved, and provoked few complaints even in the more violent section of the Indian press. There was however one distressing occurrence, namely, the death by asphyxiation on the night of November 19th, 1921, of some 70 prisoners who were being conveyed by train from the disturbed areas to Bellary for incarceration. This incident was made the subject of a special enquiry, the report of which is still under consideration; and meanwhile compassionate allowances were made to the families and dependents of the unfortunate rebels. On the whole it is fair to say that the terrible Moplah outbreak brought home to many people the ultimate dependence of law and order upon the military arm, and demonstrated to them in a most practical manner the value of a loyal, efficient, and well-disciplined army.

Education of Public Opinion.

Perhaps one of the most encouraging symptoms of the year 1921, from the point of view of army administration, has been the readiness on the part of certain members of the Legislative Assembly to devote the utmost care and attention to a painstaking investigation of the problems of the Indian Army. This fact cannot fail to result, in the long run, in the education of Indian opinion to an appreciation of the true facts of the problems of India's defence. The Committee appointed in accordance with the resolution of the Legislative Assembly, already mentioned, to investigate these problems contained a substantial proportion of elected Indian members. Its sessions excited considerable interest, and there can be little doubt that the decisions of the Sub-Committee appointed by the Committee of Imperial Defence to consider its recommendations will be awaited with the utmost eagerness.

The well-being of the soldier.

Throughout the period under review, much attention has been given to the well-being of Indian officers and soldiers. During his recent visit to India, His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales opened a military college at Dehra Dun, which is to prepare candidates for admission to Sandhurst on the lines of an English public school. His Royal Highness also laid the foundation stone at Delhi of a college, to be known as Kitchener College, which is intended to provide education of a High School type for sons of Indian officers. For the sons of Indian soldiers, education is to be provided at the King George's Royal Indian Military Schools, for two of which, at Aurangabad Serai and Jullundur, His Royal Highness laid foundation stones early in 1922. Further, machinery has been instituted for the systematic enlightenment of the sepoy as to his duties both as a soldier and as a citizen. During 1921, the formation of an Indian Army educational corps was sanctioned, and before long it is hoped that the influence of the personnel trained at the Belgaum School of Education will make itself felt in units. As a result of these increased facilities, a higher standard of education will shortly be demanded from the sepoy, in the attainment of which not only the trained experts of the Indian Army educational corps but also the regimental personnel will be expected to co-operate. At first, progress will naturally be slow, and much discretion will be left to Commanding Officers regarding the working of the new scheme. But a few years of steady effort on these lines, undertaken with good will and intelligence, should considerably enhance the civic value of the Indian soldier. Corresponding progress has also been made in the new system of education

for the British army in India. The principle that regimental officers and non-commissioned officers are now responsible for the educational training of their men has been generally recognized, and much good work is being done in units by these means. While there is ample scope for the trained personnel of the Army Educational Corps to guide and supplement the work of the regimental officer, the need for decentralization in the actual teaching can only be adequately met by the efforts of the latter. The co-operation indeed of regimental officers in educational work assumes a new importance, in view of the threatened reduction in numbers of the Army Educational Corps through financial stringency.

As has already been pointed out, that which may be called the key-note of the Esher Committee's Report, namely, the application to the problems of the army in India of the " General Staff Idea ", has fallen discordantly upon Indian ears. This was partly due to the unfortunate estrangement of feeling between the administration and the educated classes through causes partly external to India and partly domestic, as will be explained in the next chapter. It would be unfair, however, to exclude from reckoning the lamentable strain which had been placed upon the ties of affection between India and certain other parts of the Commonwealth through a succession of unfortunate occurrences.

Immigration.

The condition and fortunes of Indian settlers in various parts of the Empire still continue to excite grave anxiety. The principal points at issue, it may be explained, are throughout the Empire, the right of franchise and the conditions under which Indians can immigrate and obtain and retain ' Domicile'; and in Africa further, the rights of Indians to hold land: to enjoy trading facilities : to escape from compulsory segregation—in other words to be treated as rational human beings. For some years, the denial of these rights, either wholly or in part, by certain Dominions and Colonies, has been the cause of much heart-burning to India. The efforts of the Government of India to remedy such grievances have been at once sustained and unwearying : while progress towards a more satisfactory condition of affairs , if slow, has been steady. It will be remembered that as a result of the arguments of India's representatives in the Imperial War Conferences of 1917 and 1918, the so-called " Reciprocity Resolution " was adopted by the Mother Country and the Dominions. This Resolution while affirming the right of each community of the Commonwealth to control, by immigration restrictions, the composition of its own population, recommended that facilities should be given to

Indians for visits and temporary residence; that Indians domiciled abroad should be permitted to import their wives and minor children: and that the removal of the civic and social disabilities to which these Indians were subjected should be given early consideration. Canada and Australia took early steps to put this resolution into effect. In New Zealand and Newfoundland, it may be noticed, resident Indians have never been subjected to any disabilities; but the former Government, while endeavouring to adhere to the terms of the Reciprocity Resolution, has subsequently passed an Immigration Act which may be used to restrict further Indian immigration. The main trouble lies, however, not in these parts of the Empire, where the number of Indians is comparatively small; but in South Africa, and also, it must regretfully be emphasised, in certain Colonies under the direct administration of His Majesty's Government. Despite the "Reciprocity Resolution," the position of Indians domiciled in these localities still remains the reverse of satisfactory. In South Africa, where the Indian population is numerous, a decision of the Transvaal Provincial Court early in 1920 had endangered certain rights which, it was hoped, had been secured beyond dispute by the agreement arrived at in 1914 between General Smuts and Mr. Gandhi. It should be understood that no difficulties arise in the Orange River Province where Asiatic Immigration is not allowed, or in the Cape Province, where Cecil Rhodes' policy of "equal rights for every civilised man" prevails. The trouble occurs in the Transvaal, where Indians are politically helpless; and in Natal, where, although they possess the municipal franchise, their position has lately been the object of grave attack. In certain Colonies also conditions are far from satisfactory.

Indians abroad.

In East Africa, disputes had arisen between European and Indian Colonists concerning proposals for racial segregation in residential and commercial areas. In Tanganyika territory, it was feared that similar difficulties would occur; while in Fiji, labour troubles culminating in violence led to the suspicion among certain people in India that the local authorities were hostile towards Indian labour. In short, throughout an alarming number of regions of the British Empire, Indians have found themselves exposed to difficulties and disabilities not only of themselves intolerable, but of a kind which threaten, by lowering their country's status in the eyes of the Empire and of the world, to prejudice her advance along the road leading to Responsible Government. It is difficult to exaggerate the potentialities of such a condition of affairs, which strikes at the very root of these ideas of

justice, fairplay and freedom upon which the solidarity of the British Commonwealth primarily depends. The national consciousness of India, quickened by the part she played in the War, by the new ideas of democracy and national rights which triumphed with the Allies, by her position as an original Member of the League of Nations, and by the advance which she has made in the last few months towards responsible government, cannot accept with equanimity the subjection of British Indians within the British Empire to disabilities of a humiliating character.

Efforts of Government : South Africa.

During the year 1921, as a result of the untiring efforts of the Government of India, considerable victories were gained not merely in details, but also in certain broad matters of principle. The able presentation of India's case by Sir Benjamin Robertson before the Asiatic Enquiry Commission in South Africa created a considerable impression, and went far both to offset the anti-Indian propaganda of the self-styled South Africans' League and to expose the fragility of the foundations upon which the popular conceptions of an "Asiatic Menace" really rested. When the Commission reported, it was seen that the representatives of the Government of India, while failing to achieve all that had been hoped, had undoubtedly effected an alteration of the position in favour of the domiciled Indian community. The Commission did, indeed, recommend retention of the Transvaal Law 3 of 1885, prohibiting the ownership of land by Asiatics; but there is to be no compulsory segregation. In the Transvaal and Natal, a system of voluntary separation is recommended under which Municipalities may be empowered to set aside separate residential and trading areas wherein Asiatics should be encouraged, but not compelled, to reside. Unfortunately, in respect of Natal, the Commission was of the opinion that there would be no great hardship in confining to the coast belt the right of Indians to acquire and own land. Dealing with the trading question, the Commission recommended the enactment of a uniform license law for the Union, or, failing this, a consolidating Act of Parliament, which should apply to all trading licenses, whether held by "natives", Europeans or Asiatics. The suggestion of Sir Benjamin Robertson, that if the Union Government accepted the need of a more constructive policy towards Indians, the administration of Asiatic affairs should be entrusted to a responsible official enjoying the confidence of the Indian community, was favourably endorsed. The Commission went further, strongly recommending

the appointment of an officer whose business it should be to secure full statistical information on all matters specially affecting the domiciled Indians, to keep in touch with them, to safeguard their interests, and to give a ready ear to their complaints. The Government of India after considering the report of the Commission, earnestly protested against the withdrawal from Indians of the right to acquire lands in the uplands of Natal; and on other issues also represented the Indian case strongly to the Union Government. It may be hoped that these representations will achieve at least some measure of success. An augury of better things is to be found in the recent veto, by His Excellency the Governor General of South Africa, of two Natal Ordinances which seemed likely to endanger still further the position of Indians. Thus it will be seen that while the situation of Indians in South Africa still remains far from satisfactory, something at least has been accomplished towards securing a favourable consideration of the justice of their claims. In this connection the achievements of the Indian Representatives at the Imperial Conference of 1921, as will shortly be apparent, cannot fail to exercise an influence which may, it is hoped, ultimately prove decisive.

In Colonies.

Towards the disabilities of Indians resident in British Colonies, as distinguished from British Dominions, the attitude of the Government of India has from the first been uncompromising. There can be no justification in a Crown Colony or Protectorate for assigning to British Indians a status inferior to that of any class of His Majesty's subjects. Unfortunately, in face of the hostility of the " white " settlers in certain localities, it is easier to press this standpoint upon the Home authorities than to secure its translation into practice on the spot. As a result of constitutional changes, unfortunately coincident with inter-racial animosities which raged in Kenya during 1920, the position of Indians resident in this part of East Africa became most difficult. A declared policy of racial disability and racial segregation, in addition to threatening large and well-established vested interests, bitterly outraged Indian national sentiment. Against this the Government of India vigorously protested in a detailed despatch to the Home Government, which raised all the questions of franchise, land-ownership, and segregation concerning which controversy had arisen. In consequence, pending the settlement of the franchise question, upon which everything else really depends, certain interim measures beneficial to the Indian community have been introduced. The Governor of Kenya has announced his

intention of nominating four Indians in place of two to his Legislative Council and of accepting an Indian Member upon his Executive Council. Questions of franchise, segregation and land-ownership are at present still undecided.

The position of Indians in Uganda and Tanganyika was also unsatisfactory at the beginning of the period under review.

In Uganda the root of the trouble was the application to this territory, without the previous knowledge of the Government of India, of Lord Milner's Kenya decisions. A strong protest was entered by the Indian authorities against the denial of the principle of equal representation to Indians, it being urged that the East African decisions were generally inapplicable to Uganda. Indeed, conditions differ very materially in the two Colonies, since Uganda has no elective Legislative Council, no elected Municipal Council, and no uplands to which "White" settlers can put forward exclusive claims. The extension from Kenya to Uganda of the Indian controversy is most unfortunate; since but for the racial issues raised by the Kenya decisions, the question of separate residential areas for different races would probably have been settled amicably by mutual consent. The Government of India asked for an assurance that disabilities to which Uganda Indians had not hitherto been subject, would not now be imposed upon them. But up to the moment of writing, no decision has been arrived at upon certain aspects of the question. In Tanganyika, for the administration of which Great Britain holds a mandate from the League of Nations, the position of Indians has lately given rise to some anxiety. Fears were expressed as to the possibility of an administrative union with Kenya. The Government of India accordingly, when addressing the Home authorities on the subject, asked that adequate safeguards should be granted against the development of an administrative system which might be apathetic or even hostile to legitimate Indian aspirations. They also expressed the hope that no obstacles would be placed in the way of Indians wishing to acquire land in Tanganyika on the same footing as the nationals of other Members of the League of Nations. It is satisfactory to notein this connection that large numbers of Indians have taken the fullest advantage of the facilities afforded for purchasing ex-enemy properties at Dar-es-Salam —a fact which seems to afford a useful precedent for an equitable solution of the same problem in other parts of the Empire. In the course of the year, assurances were received from Lord Milner that Indian settlers in the territory would be treated on a footing of complete equa-

lity with other settlers, and that no discrimination would be made in their disfavour. In New Guinea and Samoa, for the administration of which mandates have been conferred upon Australia and New Zealand, the position of Indians has also been doubtful. But the Governments of Australia and New Zealand have promised full consideration to India's point of view, in the administration of the immigration laws which they have applied to the mandated territories. The Commonwealth Government has now given an assurance that such classes of British Indian subjects as are likely to come to New Guinea, will enjoy substantially the same rights both as to entry and residence as fall to the lot of other British subjects.

Indentured Labour.

Closely connected with the whole problem of Indians resident abroad is the question of emigration. The assisted emigration of unskilled workers from India, has for some years been forbidden, save in the case of Ceylon, and the Straits Settlements. A Bill at present under the consideration of a Select Committee will apply to these territories also, which were excluded from the scope of the Act of 1908. In future, the assisted emigration of unskilled workers, whether under agreement or not, will be forbidden except with the consent of the Indian Legislature. The emigration of skilled workers will be permitted, as at present, subject to certain restrictions. But the Government of India will have the power to prohibit emigration to any specified country when there is reason to believe that conditions are unsatisfactory. This protective policy, necessitated by the unfortunate experiences of the past, has exposed certain Colonies to considerable economic difficulties. Mention was made in last year's Report of the arrival in India of non-official delegations from Fiji and British Guiana to investigate the possibility of introducing a scheme of assisted emigration. A Committee of the Indian Legislature, to whom the matter was referred, declined to make any definite recommendations, without the despatch of emissaries to undertake an examination of local conditions. In accordance with this expression of opinion, two deputations have left India to visit the Colonies in question. It may be noted that considerable satisfaction has been caused by an extension of the terms of reference of the Fiji deputation, which empowers it to enquire whether land suitable for settlement by deserving Indian officers and men is available.

Repatriation.

The labour troubles in Fiji last year produced an unexpected result in India during the course of the period under review. It will be remembered that

as from January 1920, the Government of Fiji cancelled the indentures of Indian labourers, while arrangements were made for the early repatriation of such of them as desired to return to their own country. In consequence, large numbers left Fiji. Many arrived in India comparatively destitute; while others, who were colonial born or whose long residence in the Colonies had rendered them unfit for the old social conditions, found themselves utterly out of place—indeed foreigners—in their own country. Returned emigrants from other Colonies also, being in difficulties owing to the unfavourable economic situation in India, strongly desired to return to the territories from which they had come. During the early part of 1921 from all parts of India there was a steady drift of destitute and distressed labourers in the direction of Calcutta, where they hoped to find ships to take them back to the Colonies in which they were certain of work and livelihood. At the earnest representation of the Fiji Government, and after full consultation with representative public men, arrangements were made to relax the emigration restriction in favour of those Indians who were born and had property in any Colony, as well as of such near relations as they desired to take with them. Admirable work was done among these distressed persons by the Emigrants Friendly Services Committee which had been formed primarily to deal with the applications of repatriated Indians desirous of returning to Fiji. The Government of India gave discretion to this Committee to permit persons who could prove that they had been in Fiji to return there if they so desired. The Government of Fiji, on its part, encouraged by an improvement in local labour conditions, stimulated the return of these unfortunate people by giving them assisted passages. Similar steps were taken by the Government of British Guiana, when the situation was explained to them. From the Government of Trinidad and Surinam no offer of assisted passages was received, with the result that the burden of caring for persons desirous of return to these places has fallen upon India. The Legislative Assembly has made a grant of £1,000 for the maintenance of these labourers, until such time as they are able to find work and settle down in India.

The Imperial Conference of 1921.

In view of all these varied difficulties, primarily caused by uncertainty as to the rights and status of India's nationals overseas, it may well be imagined that the meeting of the Imperial Conference of 1921 was regarded by Indian opinion with an anxiety which even domestic distractions were powerless to supersede. The Conference before which

India's claims were to be pressed, is no longer the purely consultative body of pre-war days. It partakes far more of the nature of an Imperial Cabinet, since it is now a mechanism for arriving at a united understanding and common action in affairs of moment to the Empire as a whole. In other words the Imperial Conference is no longer the tentative embodiment of an academic ideal; but has become a semi-executive body of great and growing importance. Fortunately enough India's representatives were eminently fitted to urge her case with strength, moderation and dignity. In addition to Mr. E. S. Montagu, whose reputation as a friend of India is acknowledged by almost every shade of political opinion in the country, the Indian representatives included the Hon'ble Mr. Srinivas Sastri—shortly afterwards elevated to the Privy Council— and His Highness the Maharao of Kutch. Both the utterances and the personality of the Delegation created an impression eminently favourable to the cause they advocated. India's claim to equality of treatment for her nationals derived added force when supported by Mr. Sastri's impressive eloquence and the shrewd sense of his princely colleague. The upshot of the discussions upon the position of Indians abroad marked a further stage in the vindication of India's claims for the civic rights of her nationals domiciled in other parts of the Empire.

The Imperial Conference, while reaffirming the principle that every community of the British Commonwealth should enjoy complete control of the composition of its own population, recognised that " there is an incongruity between the position of India as an equal Member of the Empire, and the existence of disabilities upon British Indians lawfully domiciled in some other parts of the Empire ". The Conference therefore expressed its opinion that " in the interests of the solidarity of the Commonwealth, it is desirable that the rights of such Indians to citizenship should be recognised ". This opinion was also endorsed explicitly by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, who pronounced it the only ideal which the British Empire could set before itself. Such a principle, Mr. Winston Churchill continued, has to be very carefully and gradually applied; but he hoped to find means of overcoming difficulties in its application. The importance of this pronouncement needs no emphasis, in view of what has already been said of the position in Kenya and elsewhere. Unfortunately the representatives of South Africa expressed their inability to accept the resolution. Their refusal, disappointing as it was, in view of the number of Indian settlers adversely affected, cannot be considered as in any way final. The Resolution having been accepted by five out of the six States represented at the Conference,

the position of the dissentient sixth is bound to weaken by the mere efflux of time. Moreover the fact that direct negotiations relating to this matter will henceforth be conducted between the Government of India and the Union Government, is the best guarantee first that the question will not be suffered to rest; and secondly, that from the broadly Imperial standpoint, the principle at stake is taken as settled.

In estimating the importance of the 1921 Imperial Conference, it must be remembered that representatives of India played a part exactly corresponding with that of the Dominions representatives. Indeed, for the purpose at least of the Conference, India achieved full Dominion status in her Imperial relations, thereby anticipating her acquisition of this status in domestic affairs. This change is explicit in the Resolution already quoted, which, besides embodying the readiness of the Dominions' representatives—with the exception of the South Africans—to accept the principle of citizenship for Indians domiciled within their boundaries, carefully recognises India's new status in the Commonwealth, and her claim to enjoy the rights pertaining thereto.

CHAPTER II.

The Early History of the Non-Co-operation Movement.

In the course of two successive Reports, mention has been made of the inception and early progress of the movement associated with the name of Mr. Gandhi. We saw how this remarkable individual came to the forefront of Indian politics through his inauguration of a campaign of passive resistance against the so-called Rowlatt Bill: how his project, later described by its author as a "Himalayan blunder," supplied the spark from which sprang the Punjab conflagration of 1919. Mention was also made of the fatal legacies left by this tragedy—embittered racial feeling, wounded national pride—which in conjunction with economic stress and postwar uneasiness, darkened the political firmament of India during the years 1919 and 1920. We noticed moreover that the latter year witnessed the introduction of yet another complicating factor into the disturbed public life of the country—the outburst of Muslim sentiment against the threatened partition of the Ottoman Empire. It was in this atmosphere of excited passions that Mr. Gandhi launched his movement of non-co-operation, the early stages of which were briefly described in the Report dealing with the condition of India in 1920. During the year 1921, this movement attracted considerable public attention: was the object of much acute analysis: assumed many characteristics of an unexpected kind. Materials are thus available for the presentation of an account, more complete than has hitherto been possible, of its precepts, practice, and results. In view, then, of the importance of the part it played in Indian affairs throughout the year 1921, no apology seems necessary for explaining in some little detail its rise and progress, even though certain aspects of these may fall somewhat outside the period immediately under review.

Importance of the Non-Co-operation Movement.

It must be realised that the whole non-co-operation movement possessed in the beginning, a definitely ethical basis, deriving at once its impetus and its characteristics from the personality of its origi-

Ethical Basis of Non-Co-operation.

nator, who will probably be recognised in future ages as an eminent disciple of the late Count Tolstoi. Indeed, it is necessary to recapitulate a portion of Mr. Gandhi's life in order to exhibit the principal clue, alike to his personality and to the nature of the non-co-operation movement as he originally projected it. For, apart from such an explanation, it is impossible to understand how Mr. Gandhi, with his spiritual fervour, has gradually become involved, to the infinite damage of his country and himself, in a movement the effect of which has been to lead unhappy India dangerously near the borders of anarchy. There is reason to believe that the extraordinary number and variety of programmes which he devised for the non-co-operation movement were in their essence designed, quite honestly and in perfect good faith, to obtain for it a measure of popular support such as the inherent intentions of its designer—which was no more and no less than national regeneration after the Tolstoyan model—would probably have failed, had they been manifest, to secure. Like his master, with whom he corresponded, Mr. Gandhi has long believed that modern civilisation, as the term is generally understood, represents a great deviation from the true nature of man : that the vast social and economic structure which has been built upon that increasing mastery over natural forces, resulting from the scientific discoveries of the 19th century, is wholly bad ; that it is a burden upon the individual man, stifling him, crushing him down, subverting his noblest nature and aspirations. Mr. Gandhi has proceeded to deduce the conclusions that Western education develops slave mentality ; that doctors deepen degradation ; that hospitals propagate sin ; that Law Courts and legal practitioners unman those who resort to them ; that Railways merely carry man away from his Maker ; that Parliament is a costly toy ; in short, that modern civilisation needs to be eradicated like a fell disease. The sole end of rightly directed human activity, he asserts, is the freedom of the individual soul. Government of the self, rather than " Self-Government "—philosophic anarchy, rather than constitutional progress : natural and primitive simplicity, rather than economic, political and industrial advance—these are the goals towards which mankind must press. Further, Mr. Gandhi believes that the only manner in which this desirable consummation can be attained, lies in the mastery of spiritual force over material might. Passive resistance, as practised in England by Non-Conformist opponents of the Education Act, convinced him of the power of this weapon to achieve ends of the kind which

Mr. Gandhi's opinions.

he himself had in view. In South Africa, where he fought long and strenuously for the relief of the outstanding grievances of his domiciled countrymen, he proceeded to organise a passive resistance movement on a scale hitherto unknown. Leaving South Africa he returned to India with the intention of employing, on a still larger scale, and for still more comprehensive ends, the device which he had tested in South Africa. Cherishing the Tolstoyan simplicity of life as his ideal, Mr. Gandhi found much in India to amend. He believed his countrymen to be suffering from spiritual and mental torpor, induced by the hypnotism of Western civilisation. He saw them bitterly divided by the great Hindu Muslim cleavage; he saw them, as he imagined, pursuing the Will o' the Wisp of constitutional progress. Primarily, there can be no doubt, it was to rescue his country from the degradation into which he conceived it had fallen, that Mr. Gandhi projected his remarkable movement. Many of his countrymen, while profoundly admiring his devotion and his selflessness, foresaw the disastrous effects which any such enterprise must produce, if applied to the heterogeneous peoples, races, and languages which make India what she is. Indeed the late Mr. Gokhale went so far as to bind Mr. Gandhi by a promise that he would refrain from launching his scheme until he had thoroughly satisfied himself of its practicability. Accordingly, not until after Mr. Gokhale's lamented death did Mr. Gandhi devote himself once more to exploring the chances of success which were offered by an enterprise so hazardous. The War supervened; Mr. Gandhi was engaged in many activities of a social character; and only with the coming of the year 1919 did he seriously resume his interrupted project. He launched his *Satyagraha* or passive resistance movement against the "Rowlatt Bill"; and, though momentarily daunted by the appalling consequences, set himself with unflinching determination to prepare the ground for a renewed effort. The experience of 1919 seems to have taught him one thing and one thing only, namely that the rock upon which his scheme was in gravest danger of splitting was the readiness of the masses of his countrymen, when stirred by deep emotion, to resort to brutal and unreasoning violence. Accordingly, between the summer of 1919 and the autumn of 1920, he devoted himself to the ceaseless inculcation, among all those to whom his influence could penetrate, of the doctrine of non-violence. Only when he allowed himself to be convinced, against the opinion of the wisest and most prudent in India, that this work was accomplished, did he

Their Application to India.

Necessity for Non-Violence.

prepare to launch out upon the movement of national regeneration which he had for so long contemplated.

There was, however, a further difficulty to be surmounted. By his service in South Africa ; by his orthodox austerity of life ; and by the stress he constantly laid upon the inherent perfection of the caste system, Mr. Gandhi had already acquired among his Hindu co-religionists that mantle of authority with which India traditionally loves to envelop a Saint. For the European critic must remember that every Hindu, no matter how westernised, ever retains in his heart of hearts a reverence for asceticism. Even educated gentlemen who play a prominent part in public life, cherish before them the ideal of worldly renunciation and retirement to the practice of individual austerities. It will thus readily be understood that Mr. Gandhi's reputation as a selfless ascetic constituted of itself a claim to leadership among Hindus. Indeed his insistence upon the supremacy of soul force in opposition to material might ; his advocacy of national fasting as a means of influencing Government ; his conviction of the irresistible power of passive resistance, have all three their logical basis in the ancient Hindu doctrine of *Dharna*, that is the application of moral pressure to one person through physical austerities voluntarily endured by another. But if he was to lead his countrymen to the haven of his desire, he must first bridge over the gulf dividing the two great communities ; he must first unite both in effort directed towards some common programme. For this purpose, it was above all things necessary that he, an " Unbeliever," should acquire among the Muhammadans an authority corresponding, in some measure at least, with that which he enjoyed among the Hindus. It is not therefore strange to find that from the time of its inception, the non-co-operation movement was given by Mr. Gandhi a distinctive Muhammadan bent. His opportunity arose from the introduction, into the cauldron of Indian politics, of an element more violent than any yet present in that seething mixture — the outburst of Muslim feeling consequent upon the publication of th draft Treaty of Sevres."

Mr. Gandhi and the Hindus.

Mr. Gandhi and the Muhammadans.

As to the ultimate origin of the intensive agitation in India directed towards the modification of the Turkish Peace terms, it is not easy to speak with certainty. In its inception, it appears to have originated among a certain section of advanced Muhammadan opinion whose views can broadly be described as Pan-Islamic and Pro-Turkish. Little by

little this section had succeeded in arousing the bulk of the Muhammadan community of India, uneducated as well as educated, to a lively if nebulous apprehension that the Christian powers of the world were about to perpetrate oppression of some kind upon Islam. This apprehension was considerably strengthened by the militant tone of certain sections of the English, French and American Press regarding the desirability of settling the Near Eastern question once and for all in the most drastic manner. The fact that Indian Muslims felt they had contributed greatly to the defeat of the Turks, naturally strengthened their desire that the terms of peace should accord with their own predilections. Here again, the long delay which elapsed between the Armistice and the announcement of the draft peace terms with Turkey was responsible for infinite harm. In the course of this period, religious intolerance, both Christian and Muslim, found full expression in the Press of the countries concerned. The result of a demand by influential sections of English and American opinion, that the Turks should be expelled from Constantinople and reduced to the status of a fourth rate power, was to strengthen considerably the hold which the Left Wing Party of Muslims in India were obtaining upon the bulk of their co-religionists. Fresh massacres in Armenia during the early months of the year 1920 called forth a passionate protest from Christian organisations both in Europe and in the United States. Anti-Turkish feeling in the West naturally produced its reaction in India, and ended in accomplishing what the small Pan-Islamic section of Indian Mussalmans had long attempted with but moderate success to achieve, namely, the consolidation of the whole of Indian Muslim opinion, Shiah as well as Sunni, into a united front for the support of Turkey's cause.

Origin of the Khilafat Movement.

The seriousness of this movement did not escape the notice of the authorities, who did all that was humanly possible to allay the rising tide of religious feeling. But the extreme Pan-Islamic views of the leaders, combined, with the unpopularity of Government consequent upon the repression of the Punjab disorders, to render all these efforts nugatory. In vain did the Government of India express its sympathy for the sentiment of the Muslims: in vain did it assure them that it was pressing their views upon His Majesty's Government. They had no desire to listen to reason; did not leaders of their own faith assure them that Islam was in danger? The restoration of Turkey to her full pre-war status: the re-imposition of her yoke over the emancipated Arabs and Armenians: the rendition of

Its progress.

Palestine, Syria, Thrace, and the Dardanelles—these were some of the demands put forward with the unarguable finality of an ultimatum.

Such was the situation of which Mr. Gandhi took advantage. Whether he saw in the Khilafat movement and seized upon, a lever for the overthrow of "civilised" society—as is maintained by certain of those who are most conscious of the ruin he has wrought to India: whether his own philosophic idealism hailed a kindred spirit in the uncompromising, reason-proof dogmatism of the Khilafat extremists: or whether his undoubted passion for Hindu-Muslim unity led him to embrace, as he himself said "such an opportunity of uniting Hindus and Muhammadans as would not arise in a hundred years," may well be a matter for dispute. An impartial survey of his activities, both previous and subsequent, suggests that all three motives may have been present to his mind. The fact at least is undisputed that he promptly made the Khilafat cause his own, accepted every demand—including the least reasonable—of the Khilafat party, and henceforward found in the Muslims the fighting arm of his campaign against the Government, which he stigmatised as "Satanic."

Mr. Gandhi's opportunity.

It was in the Khilafat Conference of Delhi in November 1919 that Mr. Gandhi first proposed his non-co-operative remedy for the "Khilafat wrong." Here he suggested that if the British Government and the Government of India remained deaf to the representations of those Indian Muslims who desired the restoration of the Ottoman Empire to its political and religious status, it might be necessary for all Indians whether Hindus or Muhammadans, to sever their connection with a power so deaf to the claims of things spiritual. A month later, with strange inconsistency, Mr. Gandhi spoke, at the Amritsar Congress, in favour of working the Reformed Constitution foreshadowed in the Government of India Act of 1919. But this phase did not last long. To the consternation of many of his co-religionists, he struck up a working alliance with Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali, the two Pan-Islam extremists who, after being interned during the War years for their open championship of the cause of Turkey, and persistent intrigues with the enemies of the Empire, had recently been released by Royal Clemency. He renounced his adhesion to the Reforms, set himself seriously to execute his long-deferred project of applying non-co-operation to India, and placed in the forefront of his aims, not the winning of Swaraj—whether of his own or of

His Alliance with the Khilafatists.

any other type—but the satisfaction of Muslim opinion in the matter of the Khilafat.

Foreshadowings of Non-Co-operation.

Between January and March 1920, the scheme for a non-co-operation campaign was adumbrated in the columns of Mr. Gandhi's organ, "Young India." By the latter month, the programme had acquired a certain maturity. Subject to the overmastering consideration of non-violence, Mr. Gandhi advocated incessant agitation in carrying out certain prescribed activities. There was to be a complete cessation of business on the 19th March 1920, which was to be observed as a day of national mourning on behalf of Turkey. Persons holding high office in the Government were to resign as a protest against the injustice done to Muhammadan feelings. On the other hand, Mr. Gandhi denounced the idea of boycotting British goods—since boycott was, he said, a form of violence—and he declared that no appeal should be made to soldiers or policemen to resign from Government service. Two months later, he fixed four progressive stages for the execution of the non-co-operation campaign; the first was to be the resignation of titles and honorary offices; the second, the withdrawal from all Government service save Police and Military; the third, the withdrawal from the Police and the Military; the fourth, the suspension of payment of taxes to the State. Now in June 1920, it would seem, Mr. Gandhi became conscious that his projected movement was likely to lose part of its support owing to the exclusively Mussalman complexion which he had assigned to its goal. Accordingly he extended its scope to cover, in addition to the satisfaction of Muslim opinion upon the Khilafat question, the satisfaction of Hindu opinion in the matter of the Punjab.

Extension of the scope.

This he was enabled to do with great effect since educated Indian opinion had been deeply stirred by the Report of the Sub-Committee appointed by the Congress to collect evidence relating to the Punjab disturbances. While this document, *ex-parte* as it was, seemed to many people inconclusive, it had produced a considerable effect upon the public mind. In particular, it had raised to a great height the popular expectation of what the official Report of Lord Hunter's Committee would contain in the way of censure upon the Punjab officials and the Punjab Government. But when that Report was published on May 28th, 1920, the more extravagant of these expectations, as was pointed out in "India in 1920," remained unfulfilled. Even the comments of

Potency of the "Punjab Grievance."

His Majesty's Government, repudiating in solemn terms the doctrine of employing force for producing a "moral effect," expressing profound regret for the loss of life occasioned by the disturbances, and strong disapproval of certain specified instances of improper punishments and orders, failed to assuage the bitter mortification of educated India. Indeed, the effect of these pronouncements was largely offset by the tenor of the debates in the House of Commons and the House of Lords when the matter came up for review. In these circumstances, many Indians began to despair of obtaining redress for what they regarded as a deep injury to their country's honour and repute. To such men, Mr. Gandhi's movement seemed to offer the only honourable alternative to a hopeless resort to physical force. Standing, then, in some sort as the champion of the East against the West, of India against Britain, Mr. Gandhi found it easy to rise upon the tide of Hindu and Muslim resentment, and to take full advantage of the wave of Indian nationalist feeling which had been stimulated and intensified by appreciation of the principles for which the Allies fought in the War. Discontents of many kinds, social, political, and above all, economic, swelled the ranks of his followers. In vain did Lord Chelmsford's Government demonstrate conclusively the chimerical nature of the projected movement; in vain did tried and experienced leaders of views so varied as those associated with the names of Mr. Tilak, Mr. (now Sir) Surendranath Banerjea, Mr. (now the Right Hon'ble) Srinivasa Sastri, raise their voice against it. Mr. Gandhi had seized the moment of moments; he had struck the imagination of the more emotional of his countrymen, and was shortly to put this theories to the test of practice. Thus extended, Mr. Gandhi's movement acquired yet another programme—the programme, in fact, which is commonly regarded as its starting point. This included the surrender of all titles and honours; refusal to participate in Government loans; boycott of Law Courts, of Government Schools, of Reformed Councils; concentration upon *Swadeshi* goods. Almost simultaneously with the publication of this programme in July 1920, the aim of the non-co-operation movement was extended to cover "Swaraj." To this, as he has plainly said on more than one occasion, Mr. Gandhi attaches no special value. He carefully refrained from assigning to it a precise meaning. It will be apparent as this narrative proceeds, that this indefiniteness, while a rock of offence to certain sections of his followers, was from another standpoint his chiefest strength; since the convenient word "Swaraj" was given a variety of interpretations

Mr. Gandhi's Programme again extended.

To some it represented Mr. Gandhi's own ideal of Government of the Self: others read into it Dominion Home Rule: to another party it represented complete independence: yet others interpreted it as Muslim supremacy. Above all, to the masses, it shortly became synonymous with the commencement of a golden age, when prices should fall, when taxation should cease, when each man should be free from all State fetters, free to do that which he would with his own—and his wealthier neighbour's—property. Certain of those possible interpretations were endorsed by Mr. Gandhi himself on various occasions during the ensuing twelve months. At one time, he explained Swaraj as Parliamentary Government, whether within or without the Empire: at another time, as Dominion Home Rule. On a third occasion, he stated that it meant the universal employment of the spinning wheel: yet again, he identified it with the triumph of the Khilafat party. A like inconsistency governs his statements as to the date at which the desirable consummation was to be achieved. He foreshadowed it successively for September 1st, 1921, October 1st, 1921, October 30th, 1921, December 31st, 1921—until finally, at the end of the period we are now reviewing, he pessimistically declared that he could fix "no date."

The Magic of "Swaraj."

Having pursued for eight months an elaborate campaign from the Press and the Platform, Mr. Gandhi prepared to launch his non-co-operation movement in the autumn of 1920. He remained undeterred by two tragic occurrences, which might well have convinced anyone more open to reason of the danger of the course he was adopting. The first was the assassination by a Muslim fanatic, of a popular and esteemed District officer; the second, the wholesale migration of thousands of ignorant persons, amidst misery and suffering reminiscent of the Crusades, to Afghanistan, whither they were impelled by the false and cruel assertion that their faith was endangered by continued residence in India. But of these portents Mr. Gandhi took no more heed than of his own fatal *Satyag aha* experiment. Thanks largely to his alliance with the Muhammadans, as well as to the enthusiasm of his personal partisans among the Hindus, he was able to obtain in September the support and sanction of a special Calcutta meeting of the Indian National Congress. After a keen discussion, the mass of the delegates who constituted Mr. Gandhi's following, carried the day against the more cautious counsels of well-known leaders

Evil Omen.

Mr. Gandhi's First Triumph.

Non-co-operation was accepted in principle by a conclusive, if narrow, majority; and a Sub-Committee was appointed to prepare draft instructions as to the exact operation of the campaign. Probably among the causes of Mr. Gandhi's victory must be reckoned his assurance that "Swaraj" could be gained in the course of a single year, if the specifics which he had devised were adopted.

The Committee recommended first, the surrender of titles and honorary offices, and resignations from nominated seats in local bodies; secondly, refusal to attend levees, durbars, and other official and semi-official functions held by Government officers or in their honour; thirdly, the gradual withdrawal of children from schools and colleges owned, aided, or controlled by Government, and in place of such schools and colleges the establishment of national schools and colleges in the various provinces; fourthly, the gradual boycott of British Courts by lawyers and litigants and the establishment of private arbitration courts by their aid for the settlement of private disputes; fifthly, refusal on the part of the military, clerical and labouring classes to offer themselves as recruits for service in Mesopotamia: and sixthly, withdrawal by candidates of their candidature for election to the Reformed Councils, and refusal on the part of the voters to vote for any candidate who might, despite the advice of Congress, offer himself for election. Mr. Gandhi and his immediate band of followers then moved up and down the country, this time enjoying the benefit of the organised Congress machinery for securing the success of their meetings. They failed to persuade more than a fractional proportion of the title holders to surrender their titles, or of lawyers to resign their practice. But on the other hand they were successful in causing educational dislocation to a considerable degree. Wherever Mr. Gandhi made his appearance, there for the moment was the ordinary progress of educational work seriously interrupted. His hold upon the student mentality is great, for they are a class to whom his idealism and frank appeal to the other-regarding emotions prove naturally attractive. Where Mr. Gandhi was most successful was in institutions which give but little scope for the traditional intimacy between master and pupil, teacher and taught, which India so well understands; and thus could offer to their students no leadership calculated to counteract Mr. Gandhi's magnetism. The susceptibility of students, in India as elsewhere, to generous emotion, and their ready acceptance of the domination of catchwords such as "non-co-operation

The Congress Programme.

Mr. Gandhi's Services to Education.

with a satanic Government" rendered them easy victims to this disastrous appeal to leave their studies.

It need hardly be said that such an organised attack upon the educational structure of the country caused a great sensation. From its inception, the good sense of a large number even of Mr. Gandhi's personal followers revolted against the enterprise; and had it not been that his destructive campaign was in all cases accompanied by a specious programme of educational re-construction by means of "National" schools and colleges, this particular phase of the non-co-operation movement would have ended in earlier failure. But the demand for "National" as opposed to "Imported" education struck a responsive chord in the breasts of many educated Indians; and it was only when the practical difficulties of Mr. Gandhi's programme obtruded themselves into notice, and when it was seen that the pathetically inefficient "National" Schools and Colleges could in no way supply the hiatus which would be caused by the indiscriminate destruction he proposed, that the campaign began for the moment to fail.

Their Effect.

Mr. Gandhi's efforts in another direction were more impressive. He exercised a potent influence upon the history of the new Councils, for he prevented the inclusion in the Reformed Legislatures of certain advanced thinkers who figure prominently in the public eye. This not only left the Liberals a clear field of which they took full advantage, but also prevented the Reforms from being wrecked by persons who bore no good will to the British connection. The position of the Liberals at this time demands a word of notice. It will be remembered that they had committed themselves from the first to an honest working of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. Their position was now one of considerable difficulty. Upon the question of the Punjab and to a less extent of the Khilafat, many of them felt as deeply as did the non-co-operators. Nor were they oblivious to the essentially nationalist sentiment which inspired many of Mr. Gandhi's followers. On the other hand, while the non-co-operation movement made a strong appeal to their hearts, their heads were too cool to succumb to its spell. They reverenced Mr. Gandhi's personality; they sympathised in large measure with his three-fold end; and although they valued the British connection, as indispensable to India's welfare, they had little more love for the Government than he had himself. But they were entirely convinced of two things, and this conviction determined their

The Moderate or Liberal Party.

conduct. They knew that Mr. Gandhi's methods would lead to disastrous results, and they firmly believed that the road to India's aspirations lay through the employment, mastery and extension of the Reforms. Despite the storm of obloquy levelled upon them in the Press and from the platform, they steadfastly refused to join Mr. Gandhi in his campaign.

The work preparatory to the launching of the new constitution was now proceeding with remarkable speed, and by the close of the year 1920, all was ready for the beginning of the new era. As His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales had not yet completely recovered from the labours of his Dominion Tour, His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught was appointed by His Majesty the King to discharge the task of formally inaugurating the new Legislatures, Central and Local.

The non-co-operation campaign continued to be waged with much vehemence of thought and expression. There seemed considerable danger lest the more impetuous supporters of this campaign should be led to indulge in speech and action which was calculated to produce that violence which they professed to shun. In particular, it appeared that they were turning their attention from the educated classes to the masses—a development which was pregnant with possibilities of serious disorder. Accordingly, in the beginning of November 1920, as mentioned in last year's Report, Government found it desirable to make plain beyond the possibility of doubt exactly what its policy was towards non-co-operation. The Resolution affirmed that while Government regarded the movement as unconstitutional, no proceedings had been instituted against those of its promoters who advocated abstention from violence, and that for three reasons. In the first place, Government declared itself reluctant to restrain freedom of speech and liberty of the Press at a time when India was on the threshhold of a great advance towards the realisation of Self-Government within the Empire : secondly, Government was always reluctant to embark upon a campaign against individuals, some of whom were actuated by honest if misguided motives, further recognising that the sympathy evoked by such proceedings might swell adherence to a cause of no intrinsic merit. Thirdly and more particularly, however, Government trusted in the commonsense of India to reject a scheme so chimerical and visionary—a trust largely justified by the unanimity of the best minds of the country in its condemnation. The Resolution proceeded to convey a plain warning of the dangers of anarchy and suffering inherent in the attempt of the non-co-operators to stir up the ignorant masses ; and appealed to sober-minded men

Government and Non-Co-operation.

for concerted measures to assist law and order. It concluded by a declaration that repressive action against the non-co-operation movement could be postponed only so long as moderate citizens were successful in keeping its dangers within bounds.

The studiously moderate tone of this Resolution and of the policy it frankly exposed, served in no small degree to strengthen the growing body of informed opinion which regarded the non-co-operation campaign as utopian in its theory and dangerous in its practice. But the real trial of strength between those who aimed at complete and immediate Swaraj, whether with or without chaos, and those who believed in a process of orderly development towards responsible Government within the Empire, was generally recognised to be the success or failure of the approaching elections. These were held successfully in the teeth of intimidation and social pressure of many subtle kinds despite the best efforts of Mr. Gandhi and his followers. The non-co-operators then turned their attention to their own organization.

The Elections.

The meeting of the National Congress held at Nagpur in December 1920 was to prove extremely important from the point of view of the country at large. It was the scene of another notable triumph for Mr. Gandhi. Notwithstanding the protests of many prominent persons who since the Special September Session had found themselves out of harmony with the spirit of the Congress, Mr Gandhi succeeded both in securing a confirmation of his non-co-operation programme, and in bringing the old "Creed" of the Congress into line with the sentiment of his extreme Muhammadan henchmen of the Muslim League by eliminating the proviso of adherence to the British connection and to constitutional methods of agitation. The session was notable for the personal ascendancy of Mr. Gandhi, and for the intolerance manifested by his followers at any divergence from the opinions of their idol. Even well-tried leaders like Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Mr. Jinnah, and Mr. Khaparde were howled down when they attempted to depict, all too truly, the ultimate implications of Mr. Gandhi's programme. Throughout the debates stress was laid by him and his immediate followers upon the possibility of obtaining Swaraj in less than a single year. A new programme was also framed, which while discarding items now plainly unsuccessful and superfluous, such as the renunciation of titles and the boycott of Councils, made certain substitutions of a very significant

Mr. Gandhi captures the Congress.

character. The most important of these was the determination to establish non-co-operation Committees in every village throughout India—an ominous foreshadowing of systematic attempts to stir up the ignorant masses of the population; to organise an Indian National Service and to raise a "Tilak Swaraj Fund" to finance all these activities. In passing, we may note, the employment of the late Mr. Tilak's name in connection with a campaign which on his very death-bed he had condemned, was an adroit attempt to conciliate the Nationalist party of Maharashtra, which had hitherto manifested no great faith in "soul force" with all the implications thereof.

As a result of the meeting at Nagpur, Mr. Gandhi not merely captured the powerful and well-organised machinery, Central, Provincial, and District, of the Indian National Congress, but in addition, gave it a distinctive turn for the furtherance of his own ends.

Congress and Non-Co-operation.

The year 1921, as we shall see, wrought a great change both in the character of the Congress and in the position of Mr. Gandhi himself. At the beginning of the year, he had approached this body almost in the character of a suppliant; before the end of the year he was to stand forth as the acknowledged dictator, not only of the non-co-operation movement, but also of the remodelled Congress organisation which lent that movement its most formidable strength. Throughout the whole of 1921 Mr. Gandhi and his lieutenants proceeded to extend the scope of Congress activities in directions diametrically opposed to those which had commended themselves alike to the founders of the institution, and to the persons who had remained in control until the year 1919. The non-co-operation leaders incorporated in their Tilak Swaraj Fund, and employed for new purposes, the funds, central and local, at the disposal of the Congress. With the aid of these funds they proceeded to re-organise the old Congress Volunteers and the new Volunteers lately raised by the Khilafat Committee, into a fresh organisation known by the name of the "National Volunteers." The function of the Congress Volunteers had previously been confined to various kinds of semi-social service, the supervision of Congress meetings, the provision of retinues for Congress leaders, and, occasionally the exercise of benevolent activities at bathing festivals, plague camps, and scenes of local catastrophies. On the other hand, the Khilafat Volunteers had from the first assumed a more militant appearance. They drilled, they marched in mass formation, they wore

The Volunteer Movement.

uniform, they were vigorous in enforcing, with scanty respect to the proviso of non-violence, the behests of local leaders in such matters as hartals, social boycott, and intimidation. The fusion of these two bodies, although never completely effected, into a single organisation, was thus a step of considerable significance. The new "National." Volunteers inevitably became militant, aggressive and formidable. Their numbers were swelled by bad characters, hooligans and ne'er do weels, attracted first by the prospect of excitement and next, by the hope of a share in the Tilak Swaraj Fund. Before long indeed, most of the "Volunteers" were in receipt of payment whether regular or occasional, and had developed into a disorderly and dangerous, if technically unarmed, militia for the enforcement of the decrees of the Congress Working Committee—a body established to direct from day to day the details of the campaign against Government. It was the existence of these Volunteers, in numbers hitherto unprecedented, and their employment, by exerting pressure, nominally peaceful but generally otherwise, for the furtherance of items in the non-co-operation programme, which gave Mr. Gandhi's movement a character progressively more anarchic and more dangerous to established order as the year 1921 proceeded.

While Mr. Gandhi and his followers were preparing for the campaign destined to produce effects so serious, not only upon the peace and tranquillity of the country, but also upon the rapidity of her advance towards Responsible Government, the new Constitution, borne aloft upon the shoulders of the Government and the Liberal Party, was successfully launched. The appointment of a distinguished Indian, Lord Sinha, as Governor of Bihar: the appointment of ten Indian Members and nineteen Indian Ministers to share in the guidance of the new Provincial Executives: the presence of overwhelming elected majorities in the Legislatures both Central and local—these might well have been taken as proof positive of British determination to provide increasing opportunity for the satisfaction of Indian aspirations. But the fact must be plainly stated: in the confused and suspicious atmosphere of the early weeks of 1921, these auguries of a new era exercised but little attraction over the majority of those to whom they would normally have made their strongest appeal. Mr. Gandhi's movement: the Punjab question: the Khilafat grievance: the acquisition of *Swaraj* within one year—these and these alone were the topics upon which the driving, as opposed to the directing, forces of Indian nationalism were mainly concentrated.

Working of the Reforms.

Only as the year proceeded, did the substantial measure of success achieved by the new Governments, contrasting so cruelly with the disaster, confusion and chaos following upon the track of non-co-operation, convince all those who could still think sanely of the magnitude of the mistake perpetrated by Mr. Gandhi and his hypnotised disciples.

The new constitution received an auspicious impetus from the presence of His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught, who had laid aside his well-earned rest to labour once more for the India he loved. He visited every principal province, formally inaugurating the Reformed Legislatures. Less perhaps by his actual words, though these of themselves brought balm to thousands of souls momentarily embittered, than by his gracious personality, the Duke accomplished in India a work which no one but the son of the Great Queen could have performed. Everywhere he emphasised the privileges, the opportunities, the responsibilities which the new era signified to the country; everywhere he appealed with touching earnestness for sobriety, harmony, and co-operation from Indians and Englishmen alike. That the non-co-operators should have declared boycott against this reverend and gracious personality was an ominous indication of their own blindness to consideration of courtesy, fair-play, and statesmanship.

His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught.

There have been few more impressive spectacles in the history of the connection between Britain and India than that afforded by the Duke's Inauguration, on February 9th, 1921, of the Parliament of India. In the new Council Chamber were gathered, beside the principal officials of Government, the elected members of the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly, upon whose wisdom and sobriety the fate of the Reformed Constitution, and with it the destinies of the country, so largely depended. Lord Chelmsford, in an impressive speech, briefly traced the rise of democratic institutions in India up to the time when he had assumed charge of the Viceroyalty whose last weeks were now running out. He continued—

Inauguration of the Indian Parliament.

"The forces which had led to the introduction of these reforms continued to gain in intensity and volume; the demand of educated Indians for a larger share in the government of their country grew year by year more insistent; and this demand could find no adequate satisfaction within the framework of the Morley-Minto constitution. This

Lord Chelmsford's speech.

constitution gave Indians much wider opportunities for the expression of their views, and greatly increased their power of influencing the policy of Government, and its administration of public business. But the element of responsibility was entirely lacking. The ultimate decision rested in all cases with the Government, and the Councils were left with no functions save that of criticism. The principle of autocracy, though much qualified, was still maintained, and the attempt to blend it with the constitutionalism of the West could but postpone for a short period the need for reconstruction on more radical lines.

" Such then was the position with which my Government were confronted in the years 1916-17. The conclusion at which we arrived was that British policy must seek a new point of departure, a fresh orientation. On the lines of the Morley-Minto Reforms there could be no further advance. That particular line of development had been carried to the furthest limit of which it admitted, and the only further change of which the system was susceptible would have made the Legislative and Administrative acts of an irremovable executive entirely amenable to elected Councils, and would have resulted in a disastrous deadlock. The Executive would have remained responsible for the government of the country but would have lacked the power to secure the measures necessary for the discharge of that responsibility. The solution which finally commended itself to us is embodied in principle in the declaration which His Majesty's Government in full agreement with us made in August 1917. By that declaration the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible Government was declared to be the goal towards which the policy of His Majesty's Government was to be directed. The increasing association of the people of India with the work of Government had always been the aim of the British Government. In that sense a continuous thread of connection links together the Act of 1861 and the declaration of August 1917. In the last analysis the latter is only the most recent and most memorable manifestation of a tendency that has been operative throughout British rule. But there are changes of degree so great as to be changes of kind, and this is one of them. For the first time the principle of autocracy which had not been wholly discarded in all earlier reforms was definitely abandoned; the conception of the British Government as a benevolent despotism was finally renounced; and in its place was substituted that of a guiding authority whose role it would be to assist the steps of India along the road that in the fullness of time would lead to complete self-government within the Empire. In

the interval required for the accomplishment of this task, certain powers of supervision, and if need be of intervention, would be retained, and substantial steps towards redeeming the pledges of the Government were to be taken at the earliest moment possible.

"And now His Majesty the King-Emperor, who has given so many proofs of his concern for the welfare of India, has been pleased to set the seal on our labours of the last four years by deputing His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught to open on his behalf the new Indian Legislature. His Royal Highness is no stranger to India. Some five years of his life were passed in this country; he has himself been a Member of the Indian Legislative Council; he knows the people of India and their problems and his interest in their well-being has never flagged. We welcome him not only as the representative of His Majesty the King-Emperor, but as an old and proved friend of India.

"And now it is my privilege and pleasure to ask His Royal Highness to inaugurate the new Assemblies of the Council of State and Legislative Assembly."

The Duke, amidst a profound silence of expectation, delivered the following message from His Majesty the King-Emperor.

The Royal Message.

"Little more than a year has elapsed since I gave my assent to the Act of Parliament which set up a constitution for British India. The intervening time has been fully occupied in perfecting the necessary machinery: and you are now at the opening of the first session of the legislatures which the Act established. On this auspicious occasion I desire to send to you, and to the members of the various Provincial Councils, my congratulations and my earnest good wishes for success in your labours and theirs.

"For years, it may be for generations, patriotic and loyal Indians have dreamed of Swaraj for their motherland. To-day you have beginnings of Swaraj within my Empire; and widest scope and ample opportunity for progress to the liberty which my other Dominions enjoy.

"On you, the first representatives of the people in the new Councils, there rests a very special responsibility. For on you it lies by the conduct of your business and the justice of your judgments to convince the world of the wisdom of this great constitutional change. But on you it also lies to remember the many millions of your fellow countrymen who are not yet qualified for a share in political life, to work for their upliftment and to cherish their interests as your own.

"I shall watch your work with unfailing sympathy, and with a resolute faith in your determination to do your duty to India and the Empire."

His Royal Highness, after dwelling upon the difficulties and privileges of the new era concluded his speech with an eloquent personal appeal—

"Gentlemen, I have finished my part in to-day's official proceedings. May I claim your patience and forbearance while I say a few words of a personal nature? Since I landed I have felt around me bitterness and estrangement between those who have been and should be friends. The shadow of Amritsar has lengthened over the fair face of India. I know how deep is the concern felt by His Majesty the King Emperor at the terrible chapter of events in the Punjab. No one can deplore those events more intensely than I do myself. I have reached a time of life when I most desire to heal wounds and to re-unite those who have been disunited. In what must be, I fear, my last visit to the India I love so well, here in the new Capital, inaugurating a new constitution, I am moved to make you a personal appeal, but in the simple words that come from my heart, not to be coldly and critically interpreted. My experience tells me that misunderstandings usually mean mistakes on either side. As an old friend of India, I appeal to you all, British and Indians, to bury along with the dead past the mistakes and misunderstandings of the past, to forgive where you have to forgive, and to join hands and to work together to realise the hopes that rise from to-day."

The Duke's Appeal.

That this appeal did not fall upon deaf ears, soon became amply apparent. The relations between the official Government and the new Indian Legislatures were, throughout the whole of the first critical session, satisfactory in the highest degree. The non-official members of the Legislative Assembly and of the Council of State, who control an absolute majority over any number of votes which Government can possibly command, throughout revealed a sense of responsibility, of sobriety and of statesmanship which surpassed all sanguine expectations. On the side of Government there was a generous response. Lord Chelmsford remarked, when the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State were inaugurated, that the principle of autocracy in the administration of India has now been definitely discarded. The officials were not slow to exhibit their realisation of the change which has come over the spirit of the time. They gladly acknowledged the power of the new

The Response.

Legislatures; took them into confidence; sought their co-operation, and recognised their responsibilities.

That such should have been the relations between the officials and the non-officials is all the more noteworthy in view of the early difficulties which beset the new Indian Parliament. It was generally felt that the debate upon the Punjab question would strike once and for all the keynote of the session. On the 15th February 1921, a resolution was moved by Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas recommending the Governor-General to declare the firm resolve of the Government of India to maintain the connection of India with the British Empire on the principle of perfect racial equality; to express regret that the Martial Law administration of the Punjab departed from this principle, and to mete out deterrent punishment to officers who have been guilty; and to satisfy himself that adequate compensation was awarded to the families of those killed or injured at the Jallianwala Bagh. The notable feature of the debate which ensued was the deep sense of responsibility felt both by the official and the non-official speakers for the present and future effects of the words they uttered. The speeches of the Indian Members revealed no rancour and no desire for vengeance. They made it plain that they were fighting for a principle. On the other side, the officials re-asserted with an added emphasis which this occasion had for the first time made possible, their disapproval of certain acts which had given rise to such bitter resentment among the educated classes of India. Sir William Vincent, who led the debate from the Government benches, while in no way underestimating the grave nature of the disturbances, the crimes of unparalleled violence that had marked them: the very difficult situation with which the officers of Government were confronted: and the propriety of the behaviour of the great majority of these officers: made plain the deep regret of the administration at the improper conduct and improper orders of certain individual officers; and their firm determination that so far as human foresight could avail, any repetition would be for ever impossible. He repudiated emphatically the suggestion that Indian lives were valued more lightly than the lives of Englishmen, expressing his sorrow that the canons of conduct for which the British administration stood had been in certain cases violated. He announced Government's intention to deal generously with those who had suffered in the disturbances. The sincerity and the earnestness of the Home Member's desire to assuage the feelings of Indians

The Punjab Debate.

exercised a profound effect upon the Assembly. Acknowledging the sympathetic attitude of Government, the Assembly agreed to welcome the Duke of Connaught's appeal, to let bye-gones be bye-gones, and to sink the whole lamentable affair in oblivion. The third clause, calling for deterrent punishment was withdrawn, and the resolution as amended was then accepted by the whole House.

The effect of this decision, and of the subsequent statement made by Government regarding the steps taken to deal with the officers whose conduct had been impugned, was most salutary. There was, it was true, a demand for the further revision of the sentences of such persons condemned by the Martial Law Tribunals as had not been released—they were few—by Government. This demand was subsequently satisfied by the personal investigation of those cases by no less an authority than Lord Reading himself; while public opinion was further gratified by the payment of compensation to Indian sufferers upon a liberal scale, and the relief of the towns of Amritsar, Kasur and Gujranwalla from the indemnities imposed upon them. Broadly speaking, the result of this debate in the Assembly, and of the frank expression of regret for the wrongs done on either side, was gradually to remove the "Punjab grievance" as a living issue from the realm of practical politics. For while Mr. Gandhi did not dare to drop this item from his programme, he was compelled to give it the very form which he had himself on earlier occasions most strongly condemned, namely a demand for executive vengeance upon, as opposed to judicial punishment of, the impugned officials, and for the arbitrary forfeiture of the pensions of General Dyer and Sir Michael O'Dwyer. At the same time neither he nor any of his followers took such steps as were open to them to bring the matter before the Courts.

Its Consequences.

Having, as it were, cleared the atmosphere of much of the electricity with which it was charged, the Assembly, like the Council of State, proceeded to steady and serious business. The deliberations of both Houses had none of that unreality which too often characterised the proceedings of the old Imperial Legislative Council with its solid official majority. The elected representatives, preponderating effectively, were brought face to face with responsibility, since the results of the debates depended primarily upon themselves. Under the wise guidance of their Presidents, both Houses proceeded to formulate for themselves sound traditions of Parliamentary procedure. The conduct of the members was

Character of the Central Legislature.

marked by a commendable sobriety. While the utmost freedom of speech was exercised as their unquestioned right, members soon came to favour terse, informed, pointed contributions to the solution of questions at issue, manifesting a steadily increasing impatience of the banal, the verbose, and the offender against the canons of good taste. When all allowances are made for inexperience, and for the imperfect appreciation of powers wielded for the first time, it is impossible to escape the conclusion that India's new Parliament passed through the ordeal of its first session with very remarkable success.

Of this the best demonstration was the extent and the solidity of the work accomplished—work which depended for its completion upon that harmonious co-operation between officials and non-officials to which reference has already been made. In the Legislative Assembly, the extensive financial powers already secured under the new constitution were consolidated by the election of Standing Committees, for Public Accounts and for Finance; the functions of the latter being extended to the sanction and control of expenditure for which the House voted "block grants," in addition to the more formal duty of scrutinizing Budget proposals, examining supplementary votes, and dealing with major schemes involving fresh expenditure. Considering the general financial situation of India at the beginning of the year 1921-22, it must be pronounced fortunate indeed that the Legislative Assembly contained a considerable sprinkling of men accustomed to play responsible parts in commerce, administration, and public life. For, as was briefly indicated in last year's Report, the disastrous economic history of 1920 had resulted in a deficit of £18½ millions, which had to be met by the imposition of fresh taxation. Now under the new Constitution, not only must all taxation proposals be passed by the Assembly and the Council of State, but, in addition, the ordinary administrative charges, with the exception of items earmarked for military and political heads, and all-India services, depend entirely upon the voting of grants by the Legislature. It is therefore in the power of the elected members at any time to bring about a deadlock by stopping supplies, and to force the Viceroy either to acquiesce in the course of action which they desire, or to employ overriding powers of a kind which cannot but injure the growth of responsibility. Had this course been adopted by the Assembly, only a miracle could have saved the Reforms. But despite their knowledge of the odium which

Its Work.

The Budget.

the imposition of fresh taxation at such a juncture would bring upon them, the members rose to the obligations entailed by their new powers. While they sharply scrutinised all the demands presented to them, and insisted upon full explanations concerning any items of which they stood in doubt, they consented to the grants, and endorsed the taxation proposals, with comparatively few alterations. In other matters also, both the Assembly and the Council of State displayed their business acumen to considerable advantage, while the Government cordially co-operated in their efforts. Committees, with effective Indian majorities, were appointed to examine the Press Act, and certain laws conferring extraordinary powers on the executive, commonly described as "repressive", with a view to their early removal from the Statute Book. The appointment of a Commission to examine the whole question of tariffs was a natural sequel to the pronouncement of the Joint Committee of Parliament on the subject of the autonomy of India in matters of fiscal policy. The policy of the administration towards non-co-operation, the exchange situation, the export of foodstuffs, the slaughter of cattle and the Khilafat movement was elicited, and approved by the Legislature, as the result of debates upon these important matters. A Committee was appointed to consider the future military requirements of India, in the light of the opinions prevailing upon the Report of Lord Esher's Committee. Satisfactory assurances were obtained from the Administration as to the early constitution of a Military College and a Territorial Force for India, which should enable the educated classes to acquire the training necessary for effective co-operation in the task of defending the country. Much useful legislation, particularised in another place, was successfully placed upon the Statute Book. Such in briefest outline was the work accomplished by the Central Legislature in its first session: well might Lord Chelmsford say in the course of his prorogation speech—

Other Activities.

"Even the British Constitution, as Mr. Gladstone has shown, may break down if it is worked in any way other than that of mutual respect and in a common interest for a common aim. It is, then, in the belief that it is with good sense and good-will that the new Constitution will be worked that I have faith in what I have set my hand to.

Lord Chelmsford's Prorogation.

"It is the first step which counts and this first session should go far to dispel the doubts of those who have looked upon our new constitutional

departure with gloomy forebodings. It should go far to hearten those who are pledged to fight the constitutional cause against the forces of disorder and anarchy. But for those who have displayed such conspicuous wisdom and courage in launching the new constitution on right lines, there still remains work to do. There is need for the spreading of the constitutional gospel in the country. You will then, I hope, in your recess make an organised effort to teach people what this reformed constitution means ; that real powers—not sham—are vested in the Councils, and how surely through these Councils, progress must come."

The work accomplished by the Provincial Legislatures, if of a kind more local in its interests, was equally solid. That mistakes should have been made, was inevitable, as when the Bengal Council rejected the demand for the maintenance of the Police establishment. But in every instance, the difficulty was overcome by the exercise of tact, the provision of opportunities for reconsideration, the gradual growth of the conviction that the responsibilities now vested in the elected majority were real and serious. What may be called the educational effects of confronting the new Councils with actual administrative problems were unquestionably very marked. Fervid oratory began to yield before sober efforts to solve knotty problems : facile demands for the advent of the Millenium faltered as their authors were faced with practical difficulties and entrusted with the task of devising practical remedies.

Provincial Legislatures.

The prorogation of the first session of the Reformed Councils, both Central and Local, coincided almost exactly with the termination of Lord Chelmsford's arduous and significant Viceroyalty. To few Governors-General has it been given to accomplish so much towards the enduring welfare of their great charge ; to fewer yet has the meed of praise and appreciation been so scantily rendered. This is not the place in which to recount his labours for the good of India, or to describe the supreme difficulty of the circumstances amidst which those labours were performed. Bare justice demands none-the-less that some brief indication should be given of the change which came over India during the course of his momentous administration. Throughout his Viceroyalty India was under the influence of the Great War. He arrived in the country at a time of singular difficulty. The first great wave of war enthusiasm had spent itself ; nothing had so far been done to satisfy the expectations aroused by the applause with which the politicians and people of Great Britain had greeted India's war efforts ; and ominous

Lord Chelmsford's Viceroyalty.

signs of break-down in the military machinery were manifest. It must be recorded of Lord Chelmsford that his administration roused India from depression into new vigour. War activities of great, almost incalculable value for the prosecution of the struggle, were carried on despite the uneasiness of the country. His Government had to bear a double burden. While consecrating to the uses of the Empire enormous supplies of men, money and material, such as could ill be spared, he had also to preserve India from external aggression and internal disaster. Great as were Lord Chelmsford's services to the Empire in general, his work for India is even more deserving of commemoration. In 1916, when he assumed charge of his high office, the educated classes were labouring uneasily beneath certain grievances which were bitterly resented. India's position in the Commonwealth was ambiguous. For while on the one hand the attitude of certain of the Dominions towards her nationals seemed to stamp her with the stigma of inferiority and the ultimate goal of British Rule remained undefined: on the other hand, internal affairs were, from the point of view of the educated classes, scarcely more satisfactory. India's sons were deprived on racial grounds of the privilege of bearing arms; they could not aspire to King's Commissions; their position in India's Imperial Services was insignificant. The Morley-Minto Reforms of 1909 had failed to confer upon them any effective power of influencing the executive. But by 1921, after five strenuous years, the picture was completely charged.

His Services to India.

Since 1917, India had been a Member of the Imperial Conference. The names of her representatives stood as signatories to the Peace Treaty of Versailles. She was an original Member of the League of Nations. One of her representatives played a prominent part in the British Empire Delegation to the Disarmament Conference at Washington. The self-governing Dominions, with a single exception, had accepted her new position in the British Commonwealth, where she was no longer a Dependency, but a sister nation on the road to complete equality with the other members. This altered situation depended upon a momentous definition of the goal of British Rule in India—a definition arising directly from the labours of Lord Chelmsford and Mr. E. S. Montagu. India's future within the Empire no longer remained undefined; she could look forward to Responsible Government as an entity of Dominion status. She was actually operating a progressive scheme leading directly to Self-Government, a scheme holding out before her infinite possibilities of advancement. In token of her changed position,

many of those anomalies which aroused such bitter feeling had been removed. The racial stigma was gone from the Arms Act. Indian soldiers were holding King's Commissions. Indian youths were being trained for Sandhurst, at an Indian Military College. Indian lads were learning in Territorial units to fit themselves for the defence of their country. In industrial and educational spheres, steady and substantial progress had been achieved, while local self-government had made notable advances. In brief, as a result of the labours of Lord Chelmsford and his Government through good repute and through ill, the face of India was changed in half a decade. The fact that this change has not contented impatient idealists; that it has not placated that post-war unrest from which India suffers in common with the rest of the world—these things must not be allowed to colour over-much a considered judgment upon Lord Chelmsford's administration. Of him and of his work alike it may be said with confidence that the future, if not the present, will assuredly do them justice.

Remarkable Changes.

India was fortunate indeed that to a Viceroy who had steered the barque of State through storms so fierce, there should have succeeded a statesman whose reputation had been won in the lists of justice. The great judicial career of Lord Reading, his liberal opinions, his services to the Empire as a diplomat, combined to mark him out as the man of all others to complete the work which Lord Chelmsford had so well begun.

CHAPTER III.

Order and Anarchy.*

The situation which awaited Lord Reading, while not devoid of hopeful elements, was anxious. In order to appreciate his difficulties, it will be necessary to resume the account of Mr. Gandhi's activities, which was broken immediately subsequent to the Nagpur Congress.

Non-Co-operation *versus* The Reforms.

While both officials and non-officials were earnestly striving to lay the foundations of a solid structure of Responsible Government, the non-co-operators, under the leadership of Mr. Gandhi and the Ali Brothers, were pursuing their campaign of misdirected energy. It is indeed instructive during the year 1921-22 to compare the achievements of the Reformed Constitution, its steady satisfaction, one by one, of the demands which educated India had voiced for decades: its vigilant watchfulness of the interests of the country: its gradually increasing dignity, authority and influence, with the utter sterility, in all healthy practical achievement of the non-co-operation campaign. The historian of the future will probably experience some difficulty in explaining to his readers how the India of 1921-22 could conceivably have hesitated, even for one moment, between the path of reform, with its infinite possibilities of progress and the path of non-co-operation, with its equally boundless possibilities of anarchy, chaos, and misery. But it should be remembered that the political atmosphere of the time was far from normal. In the earlier pages of this Report, some mention has been made of the forces which impelled all but the most sober-minded and experienced of Indians to frame their course of action according to the vagaries of sentiment rather than the dictates of reason. Nor on the other hand can it be denied that in the achievements of the Councils, rich as they were in potentialities of early progress towards self-government, there was little to touch the imagination of the enthusiastic, the impetuous,

* This chapter is based principally upon official reports, upon the current press, and upon the writings of Indian students of politics. In the last class, I must record my gratitude to Mr. Alfred Nundy, who has courteously placed his book, "Revolution or Evolution," at my disposal.

the would-be martyr. Their appeal was rather to the logical, to the clear-headed, to the disillusioned. Mr. Gandhi, on the other hand, by his frank oblivion alike to common sense and to the limitations of practical politics, gathered under his banner, together with many disaffected and many disappointed persons, a very appreciable contingent of disinterested and generous enthusiasts. While unable, largely through the peculiar character of his ideas and of his programme, to compass much positive good, he was thus empowered to spread far and wide a negative and corrosive influence highly dangerous to the stability of society.

Mr. Gandhi and the Khilafatists.

During the first three months of the year 1921, the strength of the working agreement between Mr. Gandhi and his Muhammadan "brethren" had become more than ever apparent. Each party to the alliance was in fact necessary to the other. For while on the one hand Mr. Gandhi's espousal of the Khilafat cause and his declared identification with the Ali Brothers, placed at his disposal the matchless fighting force of Muslim religious sentiment; on the other hand his own importance as a national figure, his acknowledged altruism, and his blind acceptance of any extravagant demand put forward in the name of religion, enabled the representatives of extreme Mussalman opinion to go safely in their propaganda to lengths which would in other circumstances have been impossible. Guaranteed as it were by Mr. Gandhi, safeguarded by his insistence upon non-violence, the Muslim extremists succeeded, with small interference from the authorities, in exciting the religious frenzy of their co-religionists to a dangerous heat. And while all must admit that Mr. Gandhi's aim of uniting Hindus and Muhammadans upon a common platform has much to commend it, it is impossible to deny that throughout the major portion of the year 1921, this platform, whatever his intentions may have been, was in truth nothing more nor less than racial hatred of the Government and of Englishmen. During the early months of the period, this regrettable fact became increasingly apparent. The boycott of educational institutions was pursued in a vigorously aggressive fashion. There was scarcely a University from which misguided boys did not withdraw, in larger or smaller numbers, to devote themselves to the work of agitation. Many lives were ruined: many careers blasted, before it became apparent that the movement was disastrous only to those who were so ill-advised as to participate in it. Even institu-

The Educational Campaign.

tions like Benares and Calcutta, which had long resisted the poison succumbed for a time to its effects. But the utter failure of the non-co-operators to provide for the boys whose prospects they had ruined: the inadequacy both in teaching and in resources of the mushroom "National" institutions, could not long remain concealed. This item of Mr. Gandhi's programme, after exciting the reprobation of all sober-minded men, collapsed. Meanwhile, in cheerful optimism Mr. Gandhi and the Ali Brothers toured the country preaching doctrines which shortly bore fruit in violent disorders. We shall proceed to notice in due course some of the more formidable of these disturbances; for the present it is sufficient to state that during the calendar year 1921 there were no fewer than sixty outbreaks of varying seriousness in different parts of India. But sublimely confident in his power to control the whirlwind he was sowing, Mr. Gandhi pressed forward. The members of the Volunteer organisations spread themselves over the countryside, inspiring rustics only a shade more credulous than themselves, with contempt for constituted authority. Muhammadan feeling rose to great heights, and was scarcely assuaged by the unflagging efforts of the Government of India to press their views upon His Majesty's Government—efforts which resulted in an abortive revision of the Treaty of Sevres in directions more favourable to Turkey. Economic unrest rapidly assumed a dangerous form when provided with the nucleus constituted by enthusiastic and vituperative volunteer preachers. Over the whole of this restless activity, many items of which threatened shortly to conflict with the law of the land, Mr. Gandhi threw the cloak at once of his personal sanctity and of his insistence upon non-violence. His followers, it is to be feared, paid but little heed to his admonitions on the latter topic. As in the case of his *Satyagraha* movement, he was the last to perceive, what had for some time been apparent to others, that he was evoking forces which were beyond his powers to control. Utterly convinced of the justice of his ends, believing himself to be a humble instrument for the unification of the Indian people and the re-generation of Indian life, he persisted in the various items of his programme. The condition of the country might well have inspired with doubt and hesitation anyone less blindly convinced of his own infallibility. A brief survey of the situation will show how dangerous were the possibilities of widespread disorder. During January, there were serious agrarian riots, accompanied

Mr. Gandhi's Activities.

Condition of the Country.

by extensive looting and widespread anarchy, in certain districts of the United Provinces. Was this the peasantry to whom a wise man would have introduced the conception of the sanctity of defying organised authority? The Punjab, also, was in a highly inflammatory condition. To the legacy of bitterness following the occurrences of 1919, there was now added a serious dispute between two sections of the Sikh community which, from the tragic interest it aroused, merits a word of elucidation. The "new" reforming party had been for some time dissatisfied with the management of the Gurudwaras, or shrines, which for long years, under arrangements sanctioned by the "old" conservative party, had been controlled by resident abbots. Many of these *Mahants*, although enjoying wide discretion in the management of considerable revenues, were less Sikhs than Hindus—a fact not unconnected with an inextricable admixture, in the endowment of many of the shrines, of Hindu and Sikh beneficence. The "new" Sikhs alleged malversation and abuses of every kind: the "old" Sikhs regarded the malcontents as inspired only by a desire for plunder. Into this quarrel, primarily domestic to the Sikh community, the emissaries of non-co-operation now penetrated, with the result that the "new Sikhs," and particularly the Akali jathas—bands of volunteers forming the most zealous section of the reformers—became strongly anti-Government and even revolutionary in their outlook. Refusing to be appeased by the efforts of Government to enquire into, and remedy, cases of alleged mismanagement, the Akalis began to "occupy" shrines, and eject the lawful incumbents. Taking their cue from the non-co-operation movement, they eschewed the ordinary processes of law, while professing to act in a "non-violent" manner—so long as they were not resisted. Somewhat naturally, these tactics were combated by the other party. Bloody quarrels, such as will necessarily occur between opposing factions of a simple-minded and warlike people, shortly broke out. In January, there was a serious affray at Tarn Taran. In February India shuddered to hear of a terrible massacre, by the Hindu abbot of Nankana Sahib, of the band of "new Sikhs" designing to eject him from his great and wealthy shrine. For this tragedy, wherein some 130 lives were lost in circumstances of appalling savagery, the spirit of lawlessness arising from the non-co-operation movement, which had made possible such a flagrant attempt to subvert private rights, must be held indirectly responsible. Elsewhere also, the condition of India was almost equally disquieting. In Bihar, there was a strike, complicated by non-co-operation activities

The Sikh Question.

in the East Indian Railway Collieries, leading to a riot at Giridih.

Sporadic Disorders.

Another strike, also accompanied by disorder, broke out on the Oudh and Rohilkhand Railway. At Nagpur, in the Central Provinces, the intimidation practised by "National Volunteers" against persons resorting to liquor shops, led to serious disturbances. In Assam, as we shall notice later, inflammatory appeals to ignorant tea-garden labourers, began to produce their inevitable effects in riot and disorder. In the Madras and Bombay Presidencies mobs of hooligans, with the name of Gandhi upon their lips, practised subtle terrorism and intimidation of a sort with which the authorities found it most difficult to cope, while Khilafat preachers roused the frenzy of poor and ignorant Muslims with the cry of "Religion in danger." Everywhere through these masses of combustible elements, moved the emissaries of non-co-operation, preaching, it is true, non-violence, but coupling with this admonition fervent exhortations as to the necessity of "passively" defying the authority of the State, and inflammatory appeals for the rectification of the Punjab and Khilafat grievances, and the acquisition of immediate Swaraj. Everywhere they invoked the magic of Mr. Gandhi's name thereby strengthening, whether consciously or unconsciously, the belief of the credulous masses in his miraculous powers. Thousands of ignorant and humble persons, whether dwellers in the city or in the countryside, were fired with enthusiasm for the great "Mahatma," whose kingdom when it came, would bring them prosperity, affluence and a respite from labour. Little wonder that while eagerly drinking in the tales of Government's iniquity and oppression, they set small store by admonitions against the use of violence.

The fountain-head of all these activities, steadily ignoring the terrible potentialities of his campaign, continued to extol the virtues of soul-force, love, and non-violence. The occurrences of disturbances, week by week, almost day by day, which could be traced beyond the possibility of doubt to persons professing to follow his behests, occasioned him from time to time passing, if real, remorse. He was accustomed to express this when some more than usually flagrant example of violence was brought to his notice. But these events affected his belief in the efficacy of his schemes not one whit. In March 1921,

Mr. Gandhi's New Programme.

apparently in answer to those who complained of the purely negative and destructive character of non-co-operation activities, a fresh programme was put forward. Mr. Gandhi now proposed to concentrate

for the next three months upon collecting as much money as possible, upon removing the curses of untouchability and alcoholism and upon inducing every Indian home to employ the hand spinning wheel. In passing, it may be noticed that this last item is of particular interest since it shows that Mr. Gandhi's belief in the efficacy of his Tolstoyan creed had in no way diminished with his emergence upon the stage of Indian politics. To the extreme consternation of many of his followers—particularly in the Muslim section—he announced that the spinning wheel was the key to India's freedom. Once let the nation spin its own thread and weave its own cloth; once let it throw off the curse of modern commercialism; once let it liberate itself from the sway of Lancashire and of machinery: and, he said triumphantly, "Swaraj is realised." The new programme crystalised itself before long into three main items; first, the collection of such monies as would bring the Tilak Swaraj Fund to a total of ten million rupees; second, the collection of ten million members for the Indian National Congress; and thirdly, the installation of two million spinning wheels in two million homes.

Arrival of Lord Reading.

At this juncture Lord Reading landed in India. His great judicial reputation, which had preceded him, was not without its influence even upon the non-co-operators. Mr. Gandhi declined to declare *hartals* on the day of the new Viceroy's arrival, expressing willingness to allow him an opportunity of forming independent conclusions upon the Indian situation. For the moment there was a certain lull in the political tension. The early utterances of Lord Reading, his impressive personality, his manifest determination to render justice to all, were alike instrumental in exciting the hope that the extravagances of non-co-operation would yield before the counsels of intelligence and sanity. But whatever may have been the inclinations of Mr. Gandhi himself, a fresh impetus to the movement was shortly supplied by forces within his own camp.

The Cloth Boycott.

The latest turn which Mr. Gandhi desired to give to the non-co-operation movement, while it displayed to the impartial observer the consistency of his character, threatened to result in a split among various sections of his followers. So stalwart a nationalist as Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal washed his hands of a movement which professed to find India's freedom at the point of the spindle. There was also a commercial side to the cult of the spinning wheel. Considerable pressure seems to have been brought to bear to induce Mr. Gandhi to modify his

opinions concerning machinery. This was apparently unsuccessful. But extraordinary to relate, he was led to reverse his previous solemn denunciation of boycott as a form of "violence." In June, as will be seen later, he declared a rigorous boycott of imported cloth, and ordered its destruction by fire. Little wonder that Indian mill-shares soared, and that certain grateful owners contributed largely to the Swaraj Fund. This difficulty being evaded, Mr. Gandhi turned his attention elsewhere. More serious from his point of view was the growing divergence between his own aims and those of the Khilafat party. These latter made a concerted attempt to force his hand, and to procure a programme more in harmony with their own militant spirit. The Khilafat extremists in general, and the Ali Brothers in particular, proceeded to deliver a series of violent speeches pointing unmistakably in the direction of Islamic supremacy, a religious war, and the liberation of India from the British yoke, with the help of Trans-Frontier Muhammadan forces. For example, Mr. Mohamed Ali, in the course of a singularly offensive speech at Madras, announced that Englishmen would soon be compelled to leave India, and that if the Amir of Afghanistan were to invade India, not aggressively, but for the liberation of the country from an infidel yoke, it would be the duty of all Muslims to assist him actively. Now in view of the uncertainty which then existed as to the attitude of Afghanistan, this declaration came as a severe shock to Hindu sentiment, which still retains a lively memory of past "frightfulness." Its effects were further reinforced by a growing resentment against what was regarded in many quarters as Mr. Gandhi's undue yielding to Muslim predilections in the matter of cowkilling, the preference of Urdu to Hindi, overweighted representation upon deliberative bodies, and like. The Hindu-Muslim unity, to which he attached so much importance, and for which he had demanded so many sacrifices, seemed to be on the point of crumbling. Despite his attempts to gloss over the violent speeches of his Muslim co-workers, and his pathetic assertion of his entire reliance upon the peaceful intentions of the Ali Brothers, a large section of Hindus was being steadily alienated from the non-co-operation movement by the manifest religious intolerance and Pan-Islamic aims of its extreme Mussalman supporters. The reiterated assertions of the Ali Brothers that they were "Muslims first and everything else afterwards," excited genuine alarm among many of those who had been most

Impatience of the Khilafatists.

Hindu-Muslim Dissensions.

actively in sympathy with their cause. In the next place, Government which had held its hand so long as the activities of the non-co-operators were compatible with the law of the land, found itself obliged to consider the question of prosecuting the Ali Brothers for the incitement to violence contained in certain of their recent speeches.

Attitude of Government.

In accordance with the policy already explained, the various administrations of India, both Central and Local, had taken no repressive action against Mr. Gandhi's movement in its unalloyed forms. It would be a mistake, however, to imagine that they were either indifferent or apathetic. While the Government of India did not believe, for reasons set forth in the November resolution, that proceedings against the principal promoters of non-violent non-co-operation would be expedient, they pursued a deliberate and consistent policy in relation to Mr. Gandhi's movement. This policy had both a negative and a positive aspect. On the negative side they directed that vigorous action should be taken under the ordinary law against all those who by speech or writing attempted to incite the public to violence or to tamper with the loyalty of troops or police. They impressed upon local Governments the necessity of keeping the closest possible watch upon efforts to spread disaffection among the masses : of enforcing general respect for the law ; and of prosecuting persons guilty of seditious speeches. From time to time during the year 1921, these instructions were revised, as particular aspects of non-co-operative activity became manifest. In the middle of the year, for example, it was found desirable to issue special orders to deal with the oppression perpetrated by self-constituted Village Arbitration Committees, and with the tyranny to which dealers in foreign cloth and liquor sellers were subjected. Local administrations were encouraged to enquire promptly into all complaints of oppression on the part of non-co-operation courts ; to promise protection to peaceful citizens in the exercise of their rights to purchase and sell what goods they liked : and to form strong battalions of armed police. Action was also taken against newspapers publishing seditious articles : pamphlets and leaflets inciting to disaffection were confiscated. On the positive side, the authorities trusted both to the enactment of such remedial measures as would remove legitimate political, agrarian and industrial grievances, and to the organisation of counter-propaganda. Loyal citizens were encouraged to form themselves into Leagues of Order : bodies known as *Aman Sabhas* were constituted in various provinces

to undertake publicity work among the masses: the policy and intentions of Government were explained unwearyingly by official and non-official workers: the non-co-operation programme was destructively criticised in the Press and from the Platform: concerted efforts were made to arouse the general public to a realisation of the dangers inherent in Mr. Gandhi's activities. While this counter-propaganda was not without effect, it suffered from one serious, nay fundamental, weakness. In relation to the dominant figure of Mr. Gandhi it was compelled to stand for the most part on the defensive. Even those members of the Liberal Party who were convinced of the errors and follies of the non-co-operation movement, could never bring themselves to question the motives or the eminence of its principal protagonist. Thanks therefore to the reputation enjoyed by Mr. Gandhi, the criticisms levelled against his campaign were shorn of much of their vehemence: for his antagonists generally accompanied their denunciation of his activities with protestations of profound respect for his personality. The honest conviction underlying this attitude was not weakened by the tactics of the non-co-operators, who broke up meetings, howled down speakers and refused to give ear to anything but crude denunciation of the "Satanic" Government. The position of the Liberals was further weakened by the fact that their party was in office. This enabled the non-co-operators to taunt them with the accusation of place-hunting—an effective, if unjust, indictment when the catchword of self-sacrifice was all-dominant.

Difficulties of Counter-Propaganda.

The nature of the speeches delivered by the Ali Brothers, rendered it impossible for the authorities to hold their hand longer. A prosecution was plainly inevitable unless something could be done. Accordingly Mr. Gandhi in a desperate effort to save the situation, embarked upon a course of action damaging at once to his movement and to his own reputation for consistency. He, the head and forefront of the campaign for non-co-operation with a "Satanic" Government, actually presented himself in person before that Government's principal embodiment. To those of his followers who objected to this display of tolerance, Mr. Gandhi replied that he was waging war, not with individuals but with a system. It would have been well for the fair fame of his country if he had remembered this epigram at the coming of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. In May, as a result of the good offices of Pandit Madan Mohan

Impending Prosecution of the Ali Brothers.

Malaviya, a series of interviews were arranged between the Viceroy and Mr. Gandhi. What passed in the course of these interviews, was not made public, but a few days after Mr. Gandhi had left Simla, the Ali Brothers published an apology in the following terms :—

Their Apology.

"Friends have drawn our attention to certain speeches of ours which, in their opinion, have a tendency to incite to violence. We desire to state that we never intended to incite to violence, and we never imagined that any passages in our speeches were capable of bearing the interpretation put upon them. But we recognise the force of our friends' argument and interpretation.

"We therefore sincerely feel sorry and express our regret for the unnecessary heat of some of the passages in these speeches, and we give our public assurance and promise to all who may require it, that so long as we are associated with the movement of non-co-operation we shall not, directly or indirectly, advocate violence at present, or in the future, nor create an atmosphere of preparedness for violence. Indeed we hold it contrary to the spirit of non-violent non-co-operation, to which we have pledged our word."

The effect of this apology, which was very considerable, was emphasised by Lord Reading in a speech delivered a few days later :—

The Viceroy and Mr. Gandhi.

"I informed Mr. Malaviya that if Mr. Gandhi applied to me for an interview I would readily grant it, and I should be glad to hear his views. The consequence was that in due course Mr. Gandhi did apply, and there was not only one interview, but several interviews between us. There was no finesse or manœuvre about it. It seemed to be a plain and straightforward arrangement for an interview.

"Here again I think I am not quite free to tell you all that you might desire to know. Yet I will say that I am quite certain that the result of these interviews produced at least this satisfactory result, that I got to know Mr. Gandhi and he got to know me.

"This may be somewhat vague and indefinite, yet it is not entirely so. As you may be aware, the result of these visits and discussions was that Mr. Mohamed Ali and Mr. Shaukat Ali have issued a public pronouncement, which doubtless you have seen to-day, expressing their sincere regret for certain speeches that they had made inciting to violence, and have given a solemn public undertaking that they will not repeat these speeches or similar speeches so long as they remain associated with Mr. Gandhi. I do not want to discuss this matter at any length,

I merely refer to it as showing that the interviews were not entirely fruitless, because, so far as Government is concerned, we achieved our immediate object, which was to prevent incitement to violence. I have had occasion once before to say that it almost always reacts with fatal effect upon those who are most innocent.

"As a Government we have a duty to perform. We have to protect those who may be thus led away, and we therefore had determined to take steps in order to vindicate the law, to maintain its authority, and to prevent the recurrence of any further violence. Fortunately it has not been necessary to have recourse to the ordinary law of the land, for the reason that we have now got the undertaking to which I have referred. I certainly shall assume that it is intended to keep that undertaking and that the expressions of regret are as sincere as those expressions seem to denote; and so long as that undertaking is observed we need not fear that such speeches will recur and, provided the undertaking is observed, they, too, may be sure that there will be no prosecution for them."

This struck a severe blow at the reputation of the Ali Brothers. They attempted to deny that the apology was offered to Government, and they even succeeded in obtaining the half-hearted support of Mr. Gandhi to their position. But the fact remains that their credit with the more fanatical members of their own community was shaken, and the non-co-operation movement on the Khilafat side suffered a defeat. The policy of suspending a prosecution after obtaining a public apology was employed in numerous other cases, also with good effect.

Renewed Activities of Mr. Gandhi.

Mr. Gandhi, undismayed by this temporary set-back, devoted his unflagging energies to the programme which he had put forward in March. He and his lieutenants continued to preach without ceasing the virtues of the spinning wheel, the satanic character of foreign cloth, the evils of indulgence in drink. Had they confined their movement to exhortation and practical help, their efforts would doubtless have been productive of good. There is much room in India for the introduction of cottage industries, which might to great advantage occupy the weeks when climatic considerations forbid the practice of agriculture. Further, it cannot be denied that the flimsier kinds of imported cloth, which have for so long been fashionable even among the poorest, are less serviceable than home-spun. The temperance question also has for years attracted

the attention of social reformers. But in all three directions, Mr. Gandhi's campaign was marked by a whirlwind intolerance which in the long run could not fail to hinder the causes he had at heart. Hand-spinning cannot possibly supply India's needs in the way of cloth: the finer counts of material must necessarily be imported. Moreover, large stocks of English cloth were actually in the country. Hence the attempt to boycott foreign cloth and those who wore it and dealt in it, when carried out by picketting and other methods more impatient than judicious, led to frequent breaches of the peace, and much intolerable intimidation. The price of cloth manufactured in India rose in sympathy with the spectacular bonfires, dear to Mr. Gandhi's heart, of imported garments. Altogether the spinning wheel campaign, while it made home-spun fashionable among the upper classes, did little to achieve its professed object. The like is true of the campaign against alcoholic liquor. Boycott of liquor shops, and ostracism, sometimes accompanied by revolting brutality, of those who resorted to them, while it led to a considerable fall in excise revenue, in many places greatly stimulated illicit distillation. The campaign against "untouchability," where it did not fail completely, produced the utmost bitterness between the upper castes, jealous of their age-long prerogatives, and the lower, who began to proclaim their right to equal treatment in all social matters. In certain parts of the Bombay Presidency, oddly enough, the lower castes started such an effective boycott of the upper, that the local organs of non-co-operation were driven, in defiance of consistency and with a complete oblivion of the ridiculous, to implore the assistance of Government in suppressing a movement so subversive of decency and order. In other directions, also, Mr. Gandhi's campaign was beginning to produce regrettable results. The boycott of the law courts, preached by his followers, led in some places to the erection of tribunals based, there is some reason to think, upon the analogy of the Sinn Fein Courts in Ireland. Unfortunately in India these tribunals consisted for the most part of ignorant villagers, who after illegally compelling their fellows to submit to their jurisdiction, prescribed and enforced punishments of revolting brutality for breach of arbitrary decrees. Social ostracism of minor officials, village watchmen and the like, led to retaliation and recurrent disorder, in which the non-co-operators bore their share of suffering. As His Excellency

More Haste Less Speed.

Some Unexpected Consequences.

Sir Harcourt Butler had already stated in a speech delivered towards the close of March, the non-co-operation movement was now appearing as a revolutionary movement, "playing on passions and pandering to ignorance." But, from enthusiastic followers of Mr. Gandhi, these disasters were concealed. Fresh activities, new channels of self-expression, were continually forthcoming. All efforts were shortly concentrated upon a "drive" for the Tilak Swaraj Fund; and at the end of July, amidst overwhelming enthusiasm, it was announced that the desired sum of Rupees 10,000,000 had been collected. How much of this money ever materialised, and how much still remains to be realised from unhonoured promises, will probably never be known; since the finances of certain non-co-operating bodies, and their administration of public monies, have long been a scandal and a mockery. But quite apart from the impetus gained by Mr. Gandhi's movement from this spectacular success, the monetary backing which he acquired must have been considerable. Its effects were apparent to the outside world in an immense accession of numbers to the "National Volunteers" and a great stimulus to the more aggressive characteristics of their activity. Indeed, he publicly announced his determination of devoting the Fund "largely" to these purposes. Thus invigorated, Mr. Gandhi announced that he would concentrate all his efforts upon the boycott of foreign cloth which was to be completely achieved before September 30th—when *Swaraj* would be realised—and the universal employment of the spinning wheel. To this last he continued to ascribe mystic virtues, even advocating, as a solution of the North-West Frontier problem, its introduction among the warlike and predatory Border tribes.

The Tilak Swaraj Fund.

Unfortunately, the stern facts of human psychology continued to give the lie to Mr. Gandhi's benevolent dreams of a regenerated India. The lamentable tale of riots and disorders had continued month by month, regardless of his exhortations. Many of these could be traced, without reasonable doubt, to the activities of persons who took his name as their battle cry. The most common cause was mob violence, consequent upon the arrest of "National Volunteers" for breach of the law. At Giridih (Bihar) for example, in April there had been a serious riot connected with the trial of "Volunteers" who had attempted to enforce the decree of a locally constituted

Disorders Increase.

Giridih.

"arbitration committee." A mob of ten thousand people looted the police station and burned the records after unsuccessfully attempting to storm the jail. In the same month, a much more serious outrage had occurred at Malegaon (Bombay), where a brutal outbreak of mob violence arising from the trial of Khilafat workers who had perpetrated intolerable terrorism, resulted in the murder of a sub-inspector and four constables: while almost simultaneously, in the Madras Presidency, "National Volunteers" had come to blows with reserve police. Throughout May, there had been labour troubles in many parts of India, excited in considerable degree by the non-co-operators. The situation in Assam, in particular, was serious: for thousands of simple and ignorant labourers, looking for the advent of the "Gandhi Raj," when all should eat without toiling and rest without intermission, were being persuaded to break their contracts, to leave their work and their possessions in a pathetic endeavour to make their way home to the villages, often hundreds of miles away, from which they had originally hailed. Strikes on the railways, precipitated by non-co-operation demagogues out of alleged "sympathy," seriously complicated matters; indeed, until the strikers perceived, to their own bitter indignation, that they were being used as a cat's paw in the political game, something like a deadlock resulted. Such labourers as were repatriated, either through the efforts of Government or by private charity, often suffered the same cruel disillusioning as had befallen the Muslim emigrants of 1920. Their villages knew them no more: they were strangers, often outcastes. Sadly, amidst much suffering, the movement of mass-immigration subsided. But very untoward results had followed, notably at Chandpur, and the local authorities were freely accused of brutality by the non-co-operators—a charge which only received its quietus when discussed and refuted in the Bengal Legislature. In June, the general state of the country was less disturbed, but in July, sporadic disorders broke out afresh. Labour troubles in Madras, complicated by bitter communal disputes between caste-Hindus and Panchamas, led to formidable rioting, widespread afson, and regrettable loss of life. The hand of the non-co-operator was more directly manifest in riots at Karachi and Dharwar (Bombay) arising out of aggressive picketing of liquor shops; while the trial of "National Volunteers" led to disturbances at Calcutta

Malegaon.

Assam.

Madras.

Bombay.

and Chittagong, as well as to a most formidable outbreak of mob rule and anarchy, necessitating the despatch of troops, at Aligarh.

Bengal and United Provinces.

In all these troubles, the prominence of those non-co-operators who specialised in the "Khilafat grievance" was noteworthy. In many cases it was their violence of speech or of action which had driven the local authorities to intervene; and generally, they were the people who bore the brunt of the outraged majesty of law. The accusation was indeed freely made by the Muslim section of the non-co-operating press, that the Muhammadan community was taking more than its fair share of the work—and of the penalties—of defying organised authority. Partly no doubt on this account, and partly from the frenzied excitement aroused by the Greek offensive against Angora; by the strained relations between the Turkish Nationalists and His Majesty's Government; and by the failure to secure the desired modification of the Treaty of Sevres, the extreme section of Khilafat opinion began to throw prudence to the winds. Islamic sentiment rose to great heights: the necessity of proclaiming a Holy War was freely canvassed. At the Khilafat Conference held in July at Karachi, the Ali Brothers, as though to compensate for their much-regretted apology, indulged in a violence of speech which exceeded all their previous efforts. They tried once again to force Mr. Gandhi's hand, committing themselves to the position that the programme sanctioned by the Nagpur Congress was a dead letter, and that if no settlement of the Khilafat question was reached by Christmas, the projected National Congress at Ahmedabad would proceed to declare an Indian Republic. Further to their own undoing they called upon Muhammadan soldiers in the Army to desert, alleging that military service under the present Government was religiously unlawful. They called upon all religious leaders to bring home this doctrine to the sepoys. This step finally exhausted the patience of a long-suffering administration. After the interval necessary for examination of the evidence, as will be seen in the next chapter, the two brothers with certain of their adherents, were tried and condemned in accordance with the ordinary law.

The Activities of the Khilafatists.

The Karachi Resolutions.

Between the Karachi Conference and the prosecution of the principal actors, Mr. Gandhi found himself obliged to take active steps for the repair of the rents everywhere appearing in the fabric of Hindu-Muslim unity. To reassure Hindu sentiment, which was much exercised by

the intolerance displayed at Karachi, he proclaimed his belief that the Ali Brothers did not really intend to depart from the principle of non-violence; while the demand for independence, even if not universally acceptable, was perfectly permissible under the Congress Creed. For the rest, he threw his influence into the task of curbing the impatience of his over-enthusiastic followers. In certain provinces, the non-co-operators, both Hindu and Muslim, had deluded themselves into supposing that they had already broken the power of Government. Mistaking tolerance for timidity and restraint for weakness, they were so blind as to believe that the death-knell of the established system was already ringing. They insistently demanded that "civil disobedience" to constituted authority should be proclaimed, and that a "National" structure of administration, parallel in every respect to the established machinery of Government should be erected in readiness for the coming of Swaraj. In other words, the advanced wing of the non-co-operation movement was already assuming a revolutionary aspect, which differed only from insurrection in the accepted sense of the term through its loudly advocated, if constantly belied, reliance upon peaceful methods. Whatever sympathy Mr. Gandhi may have had with their ultimate objects, his attitude towards the leaders of this school seems to have been conditioned by his perception that the country was not yet "educated" to the paramount essential of advance along these lines, namely, rigid adherence to the principle of non-violence.

Mr. Gandhi's Difficulties.

Impatient Idealists.

When, early in August, the All India Congress Committee met in Bombay, Mr. Gandhi consistently opposed the efforts of the more impatient spirits. All talk of independence or of a Republic was quietly relegated to the background, and after some lively scenes, it was agreed that attention should be concentrated upon the boycott of foreign cloth and the promotion of hand-spinning and weaving; upon the temperance campaign and upon the promulgation of the doctrine of non-violence. The Committee recommended the postponement, for the present, of civil disobedience until the cloth boycott had been achieved; but in order to preserve the more zealous from undue discouragement, agreed that civil disobedience might be adopted in any given locality provided the permission of the Working Committee, over which Mr. Gandhi's will was law, were first obtained. Unfortunately there was one further recommendation, the nature of which reflected seriously

His Restraining Influence.

upon their appreciation of the dictates of ordinary propriety. This was to the effect that if His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales should come to India—the idea of his visit had been for some time "in the air," the non-co-operators were to boycott all functions arranged in his honour. They added, apparently in all earnestness, that they bore no ill-will to the Prince, but that they regarded the proposed visit as a "political move."

Theory and Practice.

But while Mr. Gandhi and the Congress Committee were discoursing upon the virtues of non-violence, the activities of those who professed to follow their dictates were sowing seeds soon to germinate into widespread and frightful disorder. The Malabar territory of Madras Presidency, in addition to some two million Hindus, contains about a million persons, of mixed Arab and Indian descent, who under the name of Moplahs, have acquired an unenviable reputation for crime perpetrated under the impulse of religious frenzy. Fanatical Muhammadans, poor and ignorant, under the thumb of a bigoted priesthood, they are prone to sudden waves of religious mania, which inspires them with the simple desire to win the Martyr's crown after killing as many non-Muslims as possible. Systematic attempts have long been made to improve their educational and economic status: but progress is slow, and meanwhile, the soil is only too responsive to the seed sown by the religious agitator. No fewer than thirty-five outbreaks, principally of a minor kind, have occurred during the period of British Rule; but among the most terrible of all was that which burst forth in August 1921. As soon as the activities of the Khilafat Committee were in full progress, Government had realised the dangerous consequences which might result from the application of inflammatory propaganda to Malabar. Considerable pains were therefore taken to exclude from the Moplah area the notable figures among Mr. Gandhi's Muhammadan contingent. But during the early months of 1921, excitement spread speedily from mosque to mosque, from village to village. The violent speeches of the Ali Brothers, the early approach of Swaraj as foretold in the non-co-operating press, the July resolutions of the Khilafat Conference—all these combined to fire the train. Throughout July and August innumerable Khilafat meetings were held, in which the resolutions of the Karachi Conference were fervently endorsed. The doctrine spread that "Government was satanic" and should be paralysed so that "Swaraj" might be set up. The stipulation of non-violence attracted little attention. Knives, swords and spears,

The Moplah Outbreak.

were secretly manufactured, bands of desperados collected, and preparations were made to proclaim the coming of the Kingdom of Islam. Soon policemen were obstructed in the course of their duty. Worse was to follow. On August 20th, when the District Magistrate of Calicut, with the help of troops and police, attempted to arrest certain leaders who were in possession of arms at Tirurangadi, a severe encounter took place, which was the signal for immediate rebellion throughout the whole locality. Roads were blocked, telegraph lines cut, and the railway destroyed in a number of places. The District Magistrate returned to Calicut to prevent the spread of trouble northwards, and the machinery of Government was temporarily reduced to a number of isolated offices and police stations which were attacked by the rebels in detail. Such Europeans as did not succeed in escaping—and they were fortunately few—were murdered with bestial savagery. As soon as the administration had been paralysed, the Moplahs declared that Swaraj was established. A certain Ali Musaliar was proclaimed Raja, Khilafat flags were flown, and Ernad and Walluvanad were declared Khilafat Kingdoms. The main brunt of Moplah ferocity was borne, not by Government, but the luckless Hindus who constituted the majority of the population. Somewhat naturally they did not join a purely Muslim revolutionary movement, and accordingly paid a bitter price for their loyalty when the temporary collapse of Government authority placed them at the mercy of their savage neighbours. Massacres, forcible conversions, desecration of temples, foul outrages upon women, pillage, arson and destruction—in short, all the accompaniments of brutal and unrestrained barbarism, were perpetrated freely until such time as troops could be hurried to the task of restoring order throughout a difficult and extensive tract of country. The military aspects of the rebellion have already been sufficiently noticed in a previous chapter, and it only remains in this place to indicate the effect of the tragedy upon the general situation in India.

Origin of the Outbreak.

The Khilafat Raj.

At first, the attitude of the non-co-operating party was one of incredulity. The accounts of the outrages which appeared in the Press were denounced as official inventions, as Machiavellian attempts to divide the Mussalmans from the Hindus. But when the tale of distress and suffering grew daily ; when increasing numbers of desperate Hindu refugees poured into the safe asylum of Calicut ; when the very

Effect upon Indian Opinion.

office-bearers of the local Congress and Khilafat Committees bore horrified testimony to the conditions which prevailed in Malabar, denials were impossible. Half-hearted attempts were then made to show that the non-co-operation movement was not responsible for the tragedy ; that Government had brought all these troubles upon itself by refusing permission to the apostles of peace and non-violence to enter Malabar. These manœuvres availed but little in the face of patent facts. From refugees in the great camps opened by public and private charity at Calicut, accounts were gathered which more than confirmed the most terrible stories of carefully fomented excitement leading to the ebullition of barbarous and fanatical cruelty. Local non-co-operators who obtained permission to enter the disturbed area in order to " pacify " the Moplahs, speedily returned with the admission that they could effect nothing. All over Southern India, a wave of horrified feeling spread among Hindus of every shade of opinion, which was intensified when certain Khilafat leaders were so misguided as to pass resolutions of " congratulation " to the Moplahs on the brave fight they were conducting for the sake of religion. Mr. Gandhi, doubtless deceived by those around him, himself spoke of the " brave God-fearing Moplahs " who were " fighting for what they consider as religion, and in a manner which they consider as religious." However, in the face of unanimous and horrible testimony to Moplah savagery, bloodlust and fanaticism, his endeavours to conciliate Hindu opinion by explanations, denials, and censure of the authorities, did but little to bridge the ever-widening gulf between the two communities. Sane and sober opinion all over the country pointed to the conditions in Malabar as a foretaste of Swaraj, and as a practical example of the dangers inherent in the non-co-operation campaign. None the less, Mr. Gandhi persisted in his movement: and brushed aside the Malabar outbreak as a mere incident.

Who was to Blame ?

While the activities of Mr. Gandhi and his followers were involving India in turbulence, confusion, and distress, the working of the Reformed Constitution was unmistakably pointing the path along which true progress lay. Between the end of March and the beginning of September, ample evidence was afforded of the desire of the administration to work in fullest sympathy with the new Legislatures. In the provinces, Englishmen and Indians, Ministers and Executive Councillors, laboured strenuously, while the non-official majorities in the Legislature employed their power, some incidents apart, with a growing

The Working of the Reforms.

sense of responsibility. Much work of a useful kind was accomplished and various remedial measures were introduced, of which an account will be found in another place. In the sphere of the Central Government, the achievements of the working alliance between Government and the Liberals were of the most substantial character. The Committees appointed to examine the Press Acts and "Repressive Legislation" produced in due season reports which gave great satisfaction. The first Committee recommended the repeal of the Press Act and the Newspaper (Incitement to Offences) Act, but advocated the amending of the Press and Registration of Books Act in such a way as to strengthen the responsibility of the Indian Press and to protect the Administration against the dissemination of openly seditious literature. The second Committee recommended the repeal of a number of Acts of a kind generally regarded as adversely affecting the liberties of the individual, although in view of the disturbed condition of the country due to the non-co-operation movement, they agreed to the retention for the present of the Seditious Meetings Act and the second part of the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1908, which included provisions against illegal associations. Both these Reports were unanimous—a fact of some interest when the mixed official and non-official character of the Committees is considered. A third committee, which sat under the presidency of Lord Rawlinson, considered the military requirements of India in light of the important resolutions which the Legislative Assembly had passed regarding the Esher Report. Its conclusions were forwarded to the Home Government for examination by a Sub-Committee of the Committee of Imperial Defence. In other directions also the first session of the Central Legislature had already led to results full of promise for the future. A Territorial organisation was started, consisting of seven units for different parts of India and Burma. A scheme was initiated, and sanctioned, for the establishment of an Indian Military College, which should prepare Indian lads for Sandhurst. The Government of India entered into correspondence with the Secretary of State with the object of enabling Indians to qualify for commissions in the Artillery and Engineer services, as well as in the Royal Air Force. Prior to the September session of the new "Parliament," arrangements for the projected Fiscal Commission were well advanced and the members of this body entered upon their important labours before the close of the year.

Important Committees.

Other Achievements.

Thus when Lord Reading opened in State at Simla the second Session of the Central Legislature he was able to refer with justifiable pride to the work already accomplished under the Reformed Constitution. In the course of his inaugural speech the Viceroy announced the approaching visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.

Simla Session : Lord Reading's Speech.

"You will remember, that a little more than a year ago, His Majesty the King Emperor by Royal Proclamation informed the Princes and people of India of his decision that the visit of the Prince of Wales to India must be deferred for a time in order that His Royal Highness might recover from the fatigue of his labours in other parts of the Empire. We have recently heard to our great joy that the health of His Royal Highness has been sufficiently restored to enable the visit to take place in November next. The ceremony of inaugurating the Reformed Legislatures which was to have been his, has been performed by His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught, and India will not readily forget the sympathy and love which inspired him, the devoted friend of India, in the discharge of his great mission. The Prince of Wales will come to India on this occasion as the son of the King-Emperor and as the Heir to the Throne, not as the representative of any Government or to promote the interests of any political party, but in order to become personally acquainted with the Princes and the people of India and to see as much as will be possible during his visit to this most interesting country. I know that I may safely count on those who belong to this great Indian Empire, and more particularly on the representatives of the Reformed Legislatures now gathered within these walls, to give to His Royal Highness who has endeared himself to all who have been privileged to meet him, a warm welcome characteristic of the traditional loyalty of the Indian people and their devotion to the King Emperor and His House."

The Royal Visit.

The Viceroy then passed to another matter which had of late excited deep public interest. In the case of certain persons charged with munitions frauds, proceedings had been suddenly withdrawn by Government. Adverse comment was made by a large section of the Indian and English Press. When it was found that the Member for Industries, Sir Thomas Holland, had acted in the matter without consulting His Excellency the Viceroy, the volume of criticism became overwhelming and Sir Thomas Holland placed his resignation in the hands of Lord Reading. The

The Munitions Cases.

position of the Government in the matter of the prosecutions had already been explained to the public, and the references of the Viceroy in his inaugural speech represented the last chapter in this unfortunate episode, which had recently deprived India of the services of one who had done much for her industrial advancement.

"You will already have learnt that the resignation tendered by Sir Thomas Holland has been accepted by His Majesty. In communicating to me the regret, with which he had reached his conclusion, the Secretary of State expresses his general sense of the importance of the contribution which Sir Thomas Holland had made to the Industrial development of India. The Secretary of State further records his appreciation of the high ability and strenuous labours which Sir Thomas Holland devoted during the war to the task of organising and increasing the supply of munitions. His services then rendered were of the highest value, not only to India but to the Empire, which the Secretary of State gratefully recognises. I associate myself with the tribute and add only that my regret is the greater because I lose a colleague in the Council with whom I have been associated from the moment I became Viceroy. The facts and conclusions of my Government have already been placed before you in the official statement published by my Government and I need not refer to them again. The public felt, and beyond all doubt rightly felt, that the proceedings in Court had shaken the very foundations of justice. Fundamental principles of administration and justice had been violated, and the acceptance of the resignation was therefore inevitable. Our conclusions were announced only in relation to the proceedings in Court and to the omission to refer to me as the head of the Government. Lest there should be any misapprehension, I must, however, add, on my own behalf and that of my colleagues, that the existence of civil suits against the Government by the accused should be entirely disregarded in relation to the criminal case. Their unconditional withdrawal ought not to have any influence upon consideration of the withdrawal of the prosecution."

External Affairs.

The Viceroy then proceeded to survey external affairs: the then unsettled relations with Afghanistan: the operations in Waziristan: the Greco-Turkish hostilities so distressing to Indian Muslims: the representation of India on the League of Nations: the notable efforts of India's delegates at the Imperial Conference, which had raised the status of their country

in the councils of the Empire. Turning to internal affairs, he adverted with sympathy and regret to the terrible Moplah outbreak.

"It is obvious from the reports received that the ground had been carefully prepared for the purpose of creating an atmosphere favourable to violence, and no effort had been spared to rouse the passions and fury of the Moplahs. The spark which kindled the flame was the resistance by a large and hostile crowd of Moplahs, armed with swords and knives, to a lawful attempt by the Police to effect certain arrests in connection with a case of house-breaking. The Police were powerless to effect the capture of the criminals, and the significance of the incident is, that it was regarded as a defeat of the police and, therefore, of the Government. Additional troops and special police had to be drafted to Malabar in order to effect the arrests. The subsequent events are now fairly well known, although it is impossible at present to state the number of the innocent victims of the Moplahs. These events have been chronicled in the Press and I shall not recapitulate them. The situation is now, to all intents and purposes, in hand. It has been saved by the prompt and effective action of the military and naval assistance for which we are duly grateful, although some time must necessarily elapse before order can be completely restored and normal life under the civil Government resumed. But consider the sacrifice of life and property! A few Europeans and many Hindus have been murdered, communications have been obstructed, Government offices burnt and looted, and records have been destroyed, Hindu temples sacked, houses of Europeans and Hindus burnt. According to reports, Hindus were forcibly converted to Islam, and one of the most fertile tracts of South India is threatened with famine. The result has been the temporary collapse of Civil Government, offices and courts have ceased to function, and ordinary business has been brought to a standstill. European and Hindu refugees of all classes are concentrated at Calicut, and it is satisfactory to know that they are safe there. One trembles to think of the consequences if the forces of order had not prevailed for the protection of Calicut."

The Moplah Outburst.

Passing the general question of internal unrest, His Excellency remarked—"To us who are responsible for the peace and good government of this great Empire, and I trust to men of sanity and common sense in all classes of society, it must be clear that defiance of the Government and constituted authority can only result in widespread

Non-Co-operation and Civil Disobedience.

disorder, in political chaos, in anarchy and in ruin. There are signs that the activity of the movement, or at least of one section of it, may take a form of even a more direct challenge to law and order. There has been wild talk of a general policy of disobedience to law, in some cases, I regret to say, accompanied by an open recognition that such a course must lead to disorder and bloodshed. Attempts have even been made by some fanatical followers of Islam to seduce His Majesty's soldiers and police from their allegiance, attempts that have, I am glad to say, met with no success. As head of the Government, however, I need not assure you that we shall not be deterred one hair's breadth from doing our duty. We shall continue to do all in our power to protect the lives and property of all law-abiding citizens, and to secure to them their right to pursue their lawful avocations and above all, we shall continue to enforce the ordinary law and to take care that it is respected."

After briefly surveying the solid achievements that had resulted from co-operation between the Government and the Legislature, Lord Reading expressed the anxiety of his administration to consider two questions of great moment, namely the well-being of Indian labour, and the tension which unhappily existed between Englishmen and Indians. In the first connection he referred to a bill to amend the Indian Factories Act, to Workmen's Compensation, to the protection of Trade Unions, and to the adoption of arbitration in labour disputes. In the second connection, he mentioned the desire of Government to examine the differences of legal procedure applicable to the criminal trials of Indians and of Europeans. He concluded his address, amidst sustained applause, by an eloquent appeal to the members of the Legislature to remember that their duty was not confined to their work within the Chamber, but included also the obligation of going abroad among the people.

The session thus happily inaugurated proved every whit as successful as that which had been held at Delhi in the course of the preceding cold weather.

Work of the Session.

Both the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State unanimously resolved to present an address of welcome to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales on the occasion of his forthcoming visit, as well as to extend their cordial greetings to Lord Reading. Both bodies then proceeded to deal with urgent business. Adjournments to consider the Moplah troubles displayed the steady support of the Legislature to the policy which Government was adopting, combined with the anxiety of the members

to be satisfied that the administration of Martial Law in the disturbed area was free from those blemishes which had distinguished it in certain parts of the Punjab in 1919. Among other matters which attracted the attention of the members, reference must be made to the

Racial Matters.

removal of certain racial disabilities and to the improvement of the status of Indians. As a result of a resolution for the removal of distinctions between Indian and European members of the Indian Civil Service in regard to criminal jurisdiction over European British subjects; and for the removal of distinctions between Indians and Europeans in regard to trial, sentence and appeal, Government agreed to appoint a Committee to consider what amendments could be made in the provisions of the Criminal Procedure Code, and to report on the best methods of giving effect to their proposals. Equality of status for Indians in the East African Colonies and Protectorates in accordance with the Government of India's despatch of the 21st of October 1921 was also demanded, and Government gave a satisfactory assurance that it was determined to abide by the principle of equal citizenship. The admission of Indians to responsible positions in the Secretariat was also requested, and Government agreed that Indians should be given opportunities for becoming qualified for the posts referred to. The topic of constitutional advance also occupied the attention of both Chambers. A suggestion that the Legislature should adopt the practice followed at Westminster of voting an address after the speech from the Throne, was set aside for examination. A resolution relating to the grant of provincial autonomy

Constitutional Matters.

and responsibility in the Central Government on the termination of the existing Legislatures, and the grant of full Dominion status at the end of 9 years was debated at length. Finally a formula suggested by Government as summing up the general attitude of the Assembly was moved as an amendment and carried. This recommended that the Governor General in Council should convey to the Secretary of State the Assembly's view that the progress made by India on the path of Responsible Government warrants a re-examination and revision of the present constitution at an earlier date than 1931. Financial matters also occupied the attention of

Finance.

the Assembly, supplementary grants being carefully scrutinised, and sanctioned with discretion. All demands were passed save that which was proposed to meet the expenses of the projected Indian tour of Lord Lytton's Committee dealing with the grievances of Indian students in

the United Kingdom. A noticeable feature of the discussions on the supplementary grants was the manner in which members of the Finance Committee supported Government in putting forward items they had themselves previously passed. This Committee now constitutes a link between the Government and the Legislature which promises fully to justify the wisdom of those responsible for the experiment. A further addition to the strength of the position occupied by the Assembly resulted from the introduction of the new Income Tax Bill, which relates solely to matters of administration and, in accordance with the English practice, leaves the imposition of any particular rate of tax to come up every year before the Legislature. Much useful legislation of other kinds was also undertaken.

Legislative Measures.

Six resolutions dealing with the recommendations of the Geneva Labour Conference were passed; effect was given to the recommendations of the Press Act Committee by the introduction of a Government measure; and some private Bills of considerable importance were introduced. Of all these particulars will be found elsewhere. Social reform occupied a certain amount of attention, among the topics discussed being the introduction of religious and moral education in aided and Government schools and colleges; and the temperance movement, with which the Assembly expressed its sympathy. Consistent attention was directed to Industrial affairs; resolutions dealing with the purchase of Government materials, with the encouragement of sugar industry, with the Railway Committee Report being eagerly debated. Important resolutions designed to encourage the separation of judicial and executive functions, dealing with the construction of the Sukkur Barrage Irrigation project, and with the reduction of contributions from the provinces to the Central Government, were also adopted.

Industrial Matters.

The output of work during this session was large; while the atmosphere in which it was achieved was at once cordial and full of promise for the future. Among other noteworthy events, mention should be made of the initiation of the party system. Certain members turned their organising capacity to the creation of a group which should vote *en bloc* on certain agreed issues. They owed much to Dr. Gour, a well-known lawyer from the Central Provinces who had made his mark from the commencement of the first session, as well as to the debating ability of certain Madras representatives, among whom Mr. Rangachariar, Mr. Seshagiri Iyer and Mr. Subrahmanayam, deserve particular

mention. A member from Burma, Mr. Ginwalla, was appointed chie

The Democratic Party.

whip, and the leading figures of the party were placed in charge of particular topics—finance, education and the like. These early beginnings promise to produce considerable results in the future.

CHAPTER IV.

Later Developments.

The Position in October.

During the month of October Mr. Gandhi devoted his personal attention to the cloth boycott campaign, which received considerable stimulus from his tours in the United Provinces, Bengal and Madras. In the last area, however, the effect upon Hindu opinion of the Moplah atrocities was already becoming marked, and evidence was not lacking of the increasing labours sustained by Mr. Gandhi in his endeavours to preserve the solidity of his party. At this time, it would appear, he experienced some difficulties both from the Khilafat extremists, who were frankly disappointed by his continued insistence upon the canon of non-violence, and from the shrewd politicians of Maharashtra, who failed to discern in what manner political Swaraj could be achieved through the cloth campaign. During the month of October, indeed, it seemed that the non-co-operation movement was weakening; certainly the propaganda on the part of Moderates against it was increasing in vehemence.

But the damage which it had already wrought was apparent. Racial feeling increased to such a degree that the position of British officers in the various services became in certain localities almost unbearable. Deep and bitter complaints were voiced at the impossibility of serving India effectively in an atmosphere of hostility, distrust and persecution. Moreover, defiance of constituted authority was plainly on the increase; and despite the best efforts of the administration, a spirit of disorder was spreading. The prohibition of mass civil disobedience in the Congress Working Committee held in October, seemed to exert a temporarily depressing influence upon the progress of non-co-operation. The prosecution of the Ali Brothers, to which reference was made in the last chapter, passed off quietly—a severe blow to the pretensions of the aggressive section of their party. In the course of the trial which took place at Karachi in October, the Judge pointed out that however permissible the Khilafat movement might have been in the earlier stages, those who were controlling it

soon began to rely upon dangerous religious propaganda. They openly gloried in hatred of the British Government, and maintained "first, that their religion compels them to do certain acts: secondly, that no law which restrains them from doing those acts which their religion compels them to do has any validity: and thirdly, that in answer to the charge of breaking the law of the land, it is sufficient to raise and prove the plea that the act which is alleged to be an offence is one which is enjoined by their religion." The Ali Brothers were sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment.

Trial of the Ali Brothers.

Meanwhile preparations were being busily pursued for the reception of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. In reply to the allegations, already noticed, that the Prince was coming to serve some political end, Lord Reading made plain the real position beyond all possibility of doubt. "I desire, with all the authority at my command, emphatically to repudiate these suggestions, and to assure the Indian people that neither I nor my Government have ever had the faintest intention of using His Royal Highness' visit for political purposes. I fully acknowledge that there are many matters of public policy upon which serious and even acute differences of opinon obtain in this country. I and my Government have always been and still are, most desirous of reconciling these differences and solving these problems. But the Prince of Wales stands apart from and above all such political controversies. His Royal Highness' visit to India is in accordance with the precedent set by his august Father and Grandfather, and he comes to India as the Heir to the Throne and the future Emperor of India, and in that capacity alone. His reception will not be a test of opinions that may be held on the political problems and differences of the day, but will be a test of the loyalty and attachment of the people of India towards the Crown itself."

Objects of the Prince's Tour.

It would be unreasonable to maintain that the larger portion of the Indian people required any such admonition, since from the moment when the visit of His Royal Highness was finally settled, considerable enthusiasm prevailed among those many persons who desired to set eyes upon their future Emperor. Care was taken that India's welcome to the Prince should be truly Indian in character. An influential Royal Visit Advisory Committee, on which sat Ruling Princes and Indian Politicians, was constituted at Simla to assist Government in settling

Preparations for the Visit.

the details of the Prince's programme. Separate sub-committees dealt with Press arrangements, finance and others of the multifarious topics which emerged for discussion. Very eager was the competition on the part of various interests for the honour of entertaining the Prince and the restrictions imposed by a four-months time-limit resulted in many heart-burnings. In the Provinces, preparations were equally active. Reception Committees and Programme Committees were constituted, principally of Indians, in all those places which the Prince was to visit. Had one-half of the engagements so eagerly suggested in each town been suffered to stand, it may safely be said that scarcely in a year could His Royal Highness have fulfilled them. Great was the tact and infinite the patience required of those in whose hands the final decision lay. At length all was ready. A certain amount of disappointment, naturally, was caused ; but on the whole, the fixture list commended itself to all. As the days drew on, the Press of India devoted more and more attention to the personality of the Prince ; to his Imperial activities ; to his various pronouncements. There was no doubt as to the interest which such information possessed for the reading public.

Non-co-operation Activities.

In November, however, the non-co-operation movement assumed a new and infinitely more dangerous aspect. At the beginning of the month the All-India Congress Committee authorised every province to commence civil disobedience, subject to the fulfilment of certain conditions, of which the most important were the guarantee of a non-violent atmosphere, and the complete boycott of foreign cloth. The Provincial Congress Committee of Gujarat took the lead and allowed the Bardoli and Anand *taluqs* to prepare for mass civil disobedience. In the former area the movement was to begin on November the 23rd under the personal direction of Mr. Gandhi. Meanwhile this leader issued a manifesto calling upon all Government servants who could support themselves to leave their service and rally to the Congress flag; advising all localities to organize meetings and support the Karachi resolutions for which the Ali Brothers had been prosecuted ; and peremptorily enjoining the complete boycott of foreign cloth before the end of the month. Thus stimulated, the activities of the non-co-operation party redoubled. The number of Khilafat and Non-co-operation meetings rose to unprecedented heights, and a steady stream of inflammatory oratory was poured forth. Hostility to Government increased, encouraging the tendency towards general lawlessness. The

volunteer movement became more formidable : intimidation was freely practised, and the police were molested in the exercise of their duty. The design of erecting an administration parallel to that of Government, which should be ready on the slightest warning to take over the whole regulation of the country, was freely bruited. Some idea of the programme which local leaders intended to follow may be gathered from the speech of Mr. Dip Narayan Singh, a well-known non-co-operator in Bihar. According to him, a notice calling upon Government to grant Swaraj within seven days would first be served upon the chief civil officer present in the locality selected for civil disobedience. Subsequently the residents of that particular locality would be directed to disobey all orders and laws of Government, and to refuse to pay taxes, to register documents, or to perform any of the ordinary acts of recognition. At the same time police stations and Courts would be surrounded, and the officials told to deposit their uniforms and other badges of office. Thereafter police stations, offices, and Courts would be treated as Swaraj property. The whole of this ambitious programme was to be achieved by insistence upon non-violence ; but, as may be well imagined, announcements of the kind quoted were not calculated to inspire the ignorant and the unlettered with any reluctance to employ force in the achievement of that Swaraj which, as they had frequently been told, would prove for them a golden age. All too soon this became undeniably apparent.

Revolutionary Designs.

November 17th, the day of the Prince's arrival in Bombay dawned with all the splendid promise of an Indian winter morning. To welcome the Prince there had gathered at Bombay not merely the Viceroy and a large number of Ruling Princes, but also leading business men and landed aristocrats from all parts of the Presidency. Amidst scenes of great enthusiasm His Royal Highness landed on the shore of India, and was received rapturously by a large and distinguished gathering. As a fitting commencement of his beneficent activities, he delivered a message from His Majesty the King Emperor :—

The Prince Arrives.

" On this day, when my son lands for the first time upon your shores I wish to send through him my greetings to you, the Princes and Peoples of India. His coming is a token and a renewal of the pledges of affection which it has been the heritage of our House to re-affirm to you. My father when Prince of Wales counted it his privilege to see

The Imperial Message.

and seeing to understand the great Empire in the East over which it was to be his destiny to rule ; and I recall with thankfulness and pride that when he was called to the Throne, it fell to me to follow his illustrious example. With this same hope and in this same spirit my son is with you to-day. The thought of his arrival brings with a welcome vividness to my mind the happy memories I have stored of what I myself have learned in India ; its charm and beauty, its immemorial history, its noble monuments, and above all, the devotion of India's faithful people, since proved, as if by fire, in their response to the Empire's call in the hour of its greatest need. These memories will ever be with me as I trace his steps, my heart is with him as he moves amongst you, and with mine the heart of the Queen Empress, whose love for India is no less than mine. To friends whose loyalty we and our fathers have treasured, he brings this message of trust and hope. My sympathy in all that passes in your lives is unabated. During recent years my thoughts have been yet more constantly with you. Throughout the civilised world, the foundations of social order have been tested by war and change. Wherever citizenship exists, it has had to meet the test, and India like other countries has been called on to face new and special problems of her own. For this task her armoury is in new powers and new responsibilities with which she has been equipped. That with the help of these, aided by the ready guidance of my Government and its officers, you will bring those problems to an issue worthy of your historic past and of happiness for your future ; that all disquiet will vanish in well-ordered progress, is my earnest wish and my confident belief. Your anxieties and your rejoicings are my own. In all that may touch your happiness, in all that gives you hope and promotes your welfare, I feel with you in the spirit of sympathy. My son has followed from afar your fortunes. It is now his ambition, by his coming among you, to ripen good will into a yet fuller understanding. I trust and believe when he leaves your shores your hearts will follow him and his will stay with you, and that one link more will be added to the golden chain of sympathy which for these many years has held my throne to India. And it is my warmest prayer that wisdom and contentment growing hand in hand will lead India into increasing national greatness within a free Empire, the Empire for which I labour and for which, if it be the Divine Will, my son shall labour after me."

The enthusiasm aroused among the spectators by this gracious message was confirmed and augmented by the Prince's own reply to the address of the Bombay Corporation. In a few simple sentences, spoken

straight from the heart, he outlined the purpose of his mission and the spirit in which he undertook it.

The Keynote of the Visit.

"I need not tell you that I have been looking forward to my visit and have been eagerly awaiting the opportunities of seeing India and making friends there. I want to appreciate at first hand all that India is, and has done and can do. I want to grasp your difficulties and to understand your aspirations. I want you to know me and I want to know you."

The procession of His Royal Highness from the Apollo Bunder to Government House was a conspicuous triumph. Every yard of the route, more than four miles long, was crowded with spectators, and at the lowest computation there must have been over two hundred thousand people assembled. The enthusiasm spread like wild-fire, the warmth and volume of the welcome increased at every yard. Thus it was that Bombay welcomed her honoured visitor—a right royal welcome in the fullest sense of the terms.

Fruits of Non-co-operation.

Unfortunately there was another side to the picture. The local non-co-operators had for some weeks been concentrating their efforts upon the task of spoiling the unanimity of the welcome. They had inoculated the more turbulent elements of the population with a determination to break the peace. Mr. Gandhi addressed a meeting held simultaneously with the Prince's landing, at which the attendance was disappointing. But the hooligan element, giving no heed to his admonitions against the use of violence, was even at that moment engaged in terrorising those other elements of the population who desired to welcome the Prince. Parsi and European passers-by were severely assaulted by mobs armed with bludgeons. Tramcars were damaged, rails torn up, motor cars destroyed, and liquor shops set on fire. Disorder developed rapidly owing to the withdrawal of numbers of police and military to the processional route. As soon as the forces of order arrived on the scene, the situation became more quiet. Numerous arrests were made and on several occasions fire had to be opened upon violent mobs. Serious rioting lasted for nearly three days, as a result of which the total casualty list amounted to 53 killed and approximately 400 wounded. Too late, Mr. Gandhi attempted to stop the disturbances by personal appeals, and he issued a series of pathetic proclamations in which he sternly rebuked his followers and stated that the outbreak of mob

violence had convinced him that his hopes of reviving mass civil disobedience were illusory. "With non-violence on our lips" he wrote, "we have terrorised those who happened to differ from us. The *Swaraj* that I have witnessed during the last two days has stunk in my nostrils." And he openly admitted his responsibility. "I am more instrumental than any other in bringing into being a spirit of revolt. I find myself not fully capable of controlling and disciplining that spirit." Nor was the trouble of the 17th of November confined to Bombay. Throughout Calcutta and the principal towns of Northern India, there was a general cessation of business, produced in the majority of cases by undisguised and open intimidation on the part of "national volunteers." Violence and obstruction of every kind were freely employed, inflicting the gravest inconvenience upon law-abiding citizens, and for the moment discounting the authority of the State. The terrorism practised by the volunteers not merely transcended all bounds but was widespread, organised and simultaneous. It became clear that unless prompt and adequate measures were taken, the stability of the established order would be threatened by the almost complete effacement of authority.

The Volunteers at Work.

The ebullition of mob violence in Bombay and elsewhere made a deep impression upon Mr. Gandhi. Indeed his embarrassingly candid pronouncements aroused the resentment of certain of his followers who shared neither his high ideals nor his altruistic motives. In previous portions of this narrative mention has been made of Mr. Gandhi's expression of repentance for the regrettable consequences which from time to time have resulted from his campaign. In no case, as we have seen, has that repentance or regret been of such force and duration as to cause him to suspend his activities. But the Bombay events seriously shook his belief in the capacity of India to sustain, in a non-violent manner, the acid test of civil disobedience. Accordingly, he suspended his intention of starting civil disobedience on the 23rd at Bardoli, and announced his determination to concentrate upon the production of a non-violent atmosphere.

Mr. Gandhi Shaken.

The lamentable outbreak at Bombay, when taken in conjunction with the simultaneous *hartals*, violence, obstruction and lawlessness in many other parts of India, brought Government face to face with a new and formidable aspect of the non-co-operation movement.

It had for some time been plain that the outbreaks of the last few months were leading to the growth of a dangerous spirit of anarchy and an increasing disregard for lawful authority. As previously mentioned, Government had been throughout alive to the serious nature of Mr. Gandhi's campaign; but they had persisted in their declared policy towards it, not because they distrusted their own powers, not because they were fettered by higher authority, but because they believed it necessary to carry with them, in any steps taken against the non-co-operation movement, the approval and acquiescence of Indian opinion. They knew that this movement was largely engendered and sustained by nationalist aspirations in the case of the Hindus, and by religious feeling in the case of the Muhammadans—two motives which inevitably appealed strongly to many persons who did not adopt Mr. Gandhi's programme. They realised that in the changed position of India under the new constitution it was impossible, without damage to the declared policy of His Majesty's Government, to embark upon a campaign of repression which, if effective, would have intensified racial feeling, paralysed the Liberals, and nullified the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. Therefore, while consistently punishing open incitements to violence, and pursuing the other activities already described, they had exercised towards those who professed to observe non-violence as much forbearance as was compatible with their own responsibilities. The disorders which had for some time afflicted India assumed a new and more dangerous aspect when viewed in conjunction with the general *hartals* and widespread intimidation of November 17th. Further, it was plain that the campaign which had produced these untoward results was augmenting rather than diminishing in violence. On the one hand, the fervid oratory displayed at non-co-operation meetings was producing a cumulative effect upon the mentality of the average man. On the other, it was undeniable that all proceedings under the ordinary criminal law had proved ineffective to restrain the violence and intimidation upon which many of the volunteer associations had embarked. Finally the announcement of a campaign of civil disobedience in Gujarat seemed to threaten that this movement, if not decisively checked, would spread to other provinces. In these circumstances, Government determined to supplement their anti-non-co-operation activities by employing, for the defence of society and of the state, certain Acts conferring extraordinary powers upon the Executive. Local Governments were accordingly informed that for the purpose

Government Move.

of checking the increasing volume of inflammatory speeches the application of the Seditious Meetings Act to any district in which it was considered necessary would be sanctioned. They were also instructed that the provisions of Part II of the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1908 should be vigorously employed for combating the illegal activities of the volunteer associations, whose drilling, picketing and intimidation were threatening the peace of the country. The Government of India further called for more vigorous action on the part of the police in protecting peaceful citizens from terrorism : urged that every effort should be made to prevent the seduction of constables and soldiers : and instructed the provincial administrations to deal promptly with incitements to violence, to sedition, to the inception of civil disobedience.

Local Governments were not slow to take action on these lines. Some had already issued instructions to their officers to the same effect. From this time forward, a steadily increasing pressure was exerted upon those forms of non-co-operation activity which were directed towards the effacement of law and order.

Reception of the New Policy.

The simultaneous outbreaks of November 17th, and the intimidation so widely practised, came as a great shock to Liberal opinion. It was now clear to all reasonable Indians that whatever Mr. Gandhi's intentions might be, the fruit of his campaign was little short of anarchy. A strong wave of protest passed over the country. In this European opinion emphatically joined, and Government was attacked with considerable vigour for having allowed the non-co-operation movement to assume such a dangerous aspect. Civil Guards were organised in certain places to assist the police : a determination was evinced to eradicate terrorism. While the local administrations were not slow to take advantage of the change in public sentiment, Lord Reading himself embraced the opportunity afforded by the presentation to him of various addresses to make plain the position of his Government. He emphasised in his replies the determination of the State to spare no effort to protect peaceful law-abiding citizens against violence, coercion, intimidation, or other breaches of the law. But among the first effects of the action taken by Government against the volunteers was the arrest of a considerable number of high-minded and much respected persons who were believed by many Indians to be animated by motives of disinterested patriotism. The prosecution and conviction both of these people

and of a number of immature and misguided students led to a disappointing revulsion on the part of moderate sentiment. Further, the Seditious Meetings Act falls within the category of those enactments which Indian opinion stigmatises as "repressive"; and its application, even in the circumstances already related, gave rise to uneasiness. There became manifest a noticeable inclination to represent the new policy as an interference, for political purposes, with the rights of freedom of speech and of freedom of association; and on this ground a disposition was shown to make common cause with the extremists in attacking Government. With some members of the Moderate Party, this attitude seems to have been due to the belief that the latest manifestation of Government policy was calculated to cement that unity among the non-co-operators which was now fast breaking down under the influence of internal dissensions; and to supply the movement with a new and undesirable lease of life. In part also, it seems to have been due to sympathy for high-minded, if mistaken, people who were the earliest victims of the majesty of the law; and in part, to a general belief that the powers now employed by the executive were being misused in an oppressive manner by subordinates. At this juncture Government acted with the utmost care. The key-note of official policy was to allow the Moderates to experience for themselves that bankruptcy in reason and statesmanship which distinguished the extreme section of the non-co-operating party. To the success of this policy, which resulted in the gradual reassuring of Liberal opinion, the great judicial reputation of Lord Reading, and the admirable temper of his speeches, materially contributed. Instructions were issued that in the prosecution of volunteers, evidence should be recorded in full and all legal formalities scrupulously observed: and consistent efforts were made to dispel the impression — which the non-co-operators steadily fostered—that Government was embarking upon a policy of indiscriminate arrests and vindictive severity towards even the most peaceful activities of Mr. Gandhi's party. When certain of the Moderates displayed a great anxiety to arrange a compromise by means of a Round Table Conference, Lord Reading did indeed make plain the fact that nothing could be done until the non-co-operation party discontinued open breaches of the law, and the practice of intimidation; but he did not discourage efforts which were so plainly well-

Moderate Uneasiness.

Tactful Handling.

The "Round Table" Project.

intentioned. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and the other would-be peace-makers found that it was Mr. Gandhi who was adamant. As if anxious to discount the charges of weakness freely brought against him by his own followers in connection with his Bombay pronouncements, he demanded, as a preliminary to any conference, the withdrawal of the recent proscription of the volunteer organisations and the release of all persons—including the Ali Brothers—recently convicted for what he described as non-violent activities. He on his part announced his intention of continuing the recruitment of his volunteers and of pushing on preparations for civil disobedience, the project of which he had again revived. Accordingly when the deputation of intermediaries waited upon the Viceroy in Calcutta, they were not in a position to put forward, on behalf of the non-co-operators, any pledges of good behaviour of the kind which Government could accept. Lord Reading's reply, delivered on the 21st of December, fully explained the reasons which led Government to enforce special Acts; emphasised his determination to protect law-abiding subjects, and, further, in view of the approaching visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, conveyed grave warning as to the effect likely to be produced on the public and Parliament of the United Kingdom by affronts offered to the Heir to the Throne. His Excellency insisted also as a condition precedent even to the discussion of any project of a conference, on the imperative necessity for the discontinuance of the unlawful activities of the non-co-operation party. This speech, combined with the uncompromising attitude of Mr. Gandhi, exercised a steadying effect on Moderate opinion, which was shortly confirmed in its traditional dislike of the non-co-operation movement by the events of the next four weeks. When the Annual Conference of the Liberal Federation met in Allahabad, sympathy was expressed for the difficulties of Government, and while the administration was requested to exercise every care in the execution of its new policy, that policy was supported and endorsed.

Mr. Gandhi's Attitude.

While these events were in progress, the Prince had been steadily pursuing his tour of India. The welcome which had been given to him by the responsible sections of the population in Bombay found an enthusiastic echo in Poona, whither he proceeded to lay the foundation stone of the All-India Shivaji Memorial. The character of the duty which he was undertaking, combined with the Prince's own personal charm, to make him

The Prince's Tour.

the idol of the great landlords and the sturdy peasantry of Mahrashtra. Throughout the whole course of his tour, no scenes were more impressive than the great outburst of popular devotion which took place at the ancient capital of the Maratha Empire. After a few more days at Bombay, rendered notable for the ever-growing enthusiasm even of elements previously recalcitrant, the Prince started on a lengthy tour of the Indian States. Baroda, Udaipur, Jodhpur, Bikaner, all welcomed him with the greatest delight. From Bharatpur, early in December, the Prince once again entered British India. At Lucknow despite the efforts of the local non-co-operators, he received an enthusiastic welcome both from the inhabitants of the city and from the rustics of the countryside. He delighted all who were privileged to come into contact with him—officials, serving soldiers, policemen, pensioners—by his frank and kindly interest, his sportsmanship and his affability. He won the heart of Lucknow—as indeed, he did of every place whose inhabitants were free to meet him. But his visit to Allahabad and Benares almost synchronised with the arrest, for defiance of the law, of certain leading non-co-operators greatly beloved by the student community. In consequence, in both these places, the reception given to His Royal Highness was disappointing. After a week's shooting in Nepal, he came to Patna, where again his welcome was excellent, although its unanimity was to some extent marred by a *hartal*. Thence he passed to Calcutta. Here, the non-co-operators, in defiance alike of prudence and propriety, had made great efforts, to procure a boycott of the festivities connected with the visit. Again, the charm of his personality conquered. On the first day *hartal* was observed in the northern part of the city, but his reception by the loyal elements of the population was none the less enthusiastic. Thereafter all difficulties ceased. Even the non-co-operating party, against their will, as it were, found themselves attracted to the festivities which marked that brilliant week. Before he left for Burma, on the eve of the New Year, he had succeeded in winning the hearts of thousands. There was a perceptible relaxation of the political tension and all law-abiding citizens breathed more freely for his visit.

His Personal Triumphs.

The meeting of the Indian National Congress and of the All-India Muslim League which took place in December at Ahmedabad attracted little attention. For one thing a large number of the more prominent leaders were at the moment in prison for their defiance of the law

The Congress and Muslim League.

For another, the presence of the Prince of Wales in Calcutta, and the brilliant festivities which accompanied his welcome distracted public attention from what is normally the principal journalistic event of Christmas week. But undiscouraged by these symptoms, Mr. Gandhi and such of his supporters as rallied to Ahmedabad proceeded to formulate resolutions of a type more dangerous even than those to which they had previously given their adherence. It was determined that the volunteer organisations should be extended, and that all persons should be invited to join them for the purpose of organising civil disobedience. This was defined as the deliberate and wilful breach of State-made non-moral laws, for the purpose of diminishing the authority of or overthrowing, the State. Individual civil disobedience was sanctioned immediately; while mass civil disobedience, of an aggressive character, was to be undertaken as soon as the country had been adequately prepared for it. To the process of preparation the whole of the activities of the Congress were now to be directed. In the course of the discussions Mr. Gandhi, who was appointed as the sole repository of the executive authority of the Congress, with power to nominate his own successor, announced that Lord Reading must clearly understand that the non-co-operators were at war with the Government. Advanced as these resolutions might seem they did not go so far as the extreme section of the Khilafat party desired. The hopes of this section had recently suffered a severe blow by the conclusion of the Anglo-Afghan Treaty, to which reference is made in the first chapter of this Report. That the leading Muslim Kingdom of Central Asia should have bound herself to neighbourly relations with the Government which they had stigmatised as unholy, was somewhat embarrassing. Hence, while sober Hindu and Muslim opinion was thereby much relieved, the more fanatical Khilafatists persisted in their attitude. Maulana Hasrat Mohani, the President of the All-India Muslim League, frankly voiced the preference of his section of opinion for an immediate declaration of complete independence, unaccompanied by any embarrassing prohibition of the use of force. He also defended the conduct of the Moplahs towards the Hindus on the plea that in the course of "defensive war for the sake of their religion" they were hindered and not helped by non-Muslim neighbours. In the Congress he expressed the feeling of many people among the rank and file of the non-co-operators, when he challenged, at least by implication, the success of Mr. Gandhi's non-violent campaign as evidenced by a year of trial. And

Further Aggression.

Mr. Gandhi's Difficulties.

although Mr. Gandhi's personal influence was sufficient once more to unite the divergent sections of his followers into the appearance of unity, there can be little doubt that the tone of the Ahmedabad debates materially assisted in banishing from his mind the remembrance of the Bombay tragedy. He began once more to resume the thread of his former activities, and to revive the scheme of initiating civil disobedience at Bardoli. But the truth is that his influence as a political leader was now beginning to decline. While his personality still excited all the old reverence, the faith of his followers in the efficacy of his programme was severely shaken. It was becoming apparent to all that non-co-operation had failed to realise the expectations of its begetter. Swaraj had not been realised, despite successive postponements of the date of its arrival ; and the passage of December 31st without the introduction of the millennium, came as a severe awakening to many simple souls. Government was stronger than ever ; the volunteer movement was steadily succumbing to the pressure of the authorities ; the stream of seditious eloquence, both from press and platform, was diminishing to insignificant proportions. Nevertheless, Mr. Gandhi, so his followers realised, was still the main asset of non-co-operation. He cast over it the halo of his own sanctity : his personality alone could lend a show of unanimity to the rapidly diverging aims of conflicting elements. Without his name as their talisman, the influence of local ' leaders ' over the masses would be small indeed. Hence along with a growing inclination to question the infallibility of his political foresight, there went a continued realisation of his indispensability. But even this was to be sadly shaken in the course of the next three months.

Renewed Attempts at Conference.

In the middle of January a number of politicians outside the Congress ranks, undiscouraged by the previous failure of other mediators, attempted once more to arrange a basis for a Conference between the non-co-operators and Government. This Conference was presided over by Sir C. Sankaran Nair who had recently resigned his membership of the Secretary of State's Council in order to assume high office in an Indian State. Mr. Gandhi attended, in the capacity of an adviser, but to the disgust and disappointment of those who had arranged the Conference, his attitude was every whit as unyielding as that which had led to the breakdown of the previous attempt at a compromise. In return for impossible conditions which Government were asked to accept without question, he reserved the right to continue the enrolment of volunteers,

and to push forward his preparations for civil disobedience. This attitude led to the withdrawal of Sir C. Sankaran Nair, who not only condemned the attitude of the non-co-operators in a widely published and influential communication to the Press, but further damaged their cause and exposed their pretensions in a powerful pamphlet. The organisers of the Conference, however, persisted in their well-nigh hopeless task until Mr. Gandhi himself cut the ground from under their feet by issuing an ultimatum to the Viceroy. In order to comprehend this attitude, it is necessary to remember that Mr. Gandhi's position at the time was somewhat embarrassing. The measures taken by Government against the volunteers were rapidly proving successful to a degree which the non-co-operation party had certainly not anticipated. Recruits of the right type were now no longer coming forward in adequate numbers; and whenever an impressive demonstration was desired, it was generally found necessary to hire men for the occasion. This not merely caused heavy inroads upon the funds available, but in addition, adversely affected the character and composition of the volunteer bodies, who quickly gained a reputation in face of which it was useless to expound the patriotic nature of their activities. They prevented doctors from going on errands of mercy: they even exhumed and mutilated a corpse: they outraged public decency and provoked peaceful persons to bitter resentment. When in addition they made the arrival of the Prince in Madras the excuse for attempted terrorism, at once futile and irritating, coupled with destruction of property, they exasperated many persons previously in sympathy with non-co-operation. Official measures against the volunteers, so far from being resented, as Mr. Gandhi had hoped, were in many cases openly welcomed: in most cases hailed with secret relief. Being thus deprived by gradual degrees of his principal weapon, Mr. Gandhi seems to have cherished two designs. In the first place, he was determined to make a bid for Moderate support; and in the second place, he made up his mind, as a last resource, to put into practice that plan of civil disobedience whose dangers he so vividly realized. It seems probable at this juncture, that he underestimated alike the strength of Government and the damage which his own movement had suffered in the public eye from its many failures to redeem confident prophecies—notably the prophecy concerning Swaraj. The ultimatum which he addressed to the Viceroy at the beginning of February was plainly intended to detach the Liberal Party from Government. He declared that a camp-

Further Difficulties of Mr. Gandhi.

Mr. Gandhi's Ultimatum.

aign of civil disobedience had been forced on the non-co-operation party in order to secure the elementary rights of free speech, free association, and a free press. These rights, he asserted, the Government had sought to repress by its recent application of the Seditious Meetings and Criminal Law Amendment Act. He charged the Viceroy with having summarily rejected the proposal for a Conference, although the terms accepted by the recent Working Committee of Congress were in accordance with the requirements of His Excellency as indicated in his Calcutta speech. Mr. Gandhi announced at the same time that should the Government agree to the release of all prisoners convicted and under-trial for non-violent activities, and undertake to refrain absolutely from interference with the non-co-operation party, he would be prepared to postpone civil disobedience of an aggressive character till the offenders now in jail had had an opportunity of reviewing the whole situation. He insisted, however, on continuing the propaganda of non-co-operation. Now in the issue of this ultimatum, Mr. Gandhi had reckoned without his host. It appears evident that he believed Government to be on the point of yielding, and that it merely remained for him to propose the terms which he would accept. But to the dismay of his party, the Government of India retorted by a powerful and closely reasoned statement. They emphatically repudiated his assertion that the campaign of civil disobedience had been forced on the non-co-operation party, recapitulating the circumstances which had necessitated the adoption of comprehensive and drastic measures against the volunteers. They also disposed conclusively of the allegation that Lord Reading had summarily rejected the proposals for a Conference. They criticised in withering fashion the demands put forward by Mr. Gandhi, and concluded with a solemn warning that mass civil disobedience if adopted, would be met with measures of sternness and severity. Mr. Gandhi's position thus became more difficult than ever. He had entirely failed to overawe Government into accepting his terms; the Liberal party showed no signs of changing their attitude. He was practically thrown back upon his final resource, namely civil disobedience; but he made a last effort to win over the Moderates by issuing a reply, which indeed convinced few, to the official communiqué.

Government Reply.

When the new policy of Government came up for discussion in the Reformed Councils, both Central and Provincial, Mr. Gandhi's last hope of detaching the Moderates must have vanished. In Bengal, indeed, a motion for the suspension of the new policy was carried against

Government; but the Legislature was satisfied when the submission of the proceedings against the volunteers to the scrutiny of a High Court Judge was promised. Elsewhere, and notably in the Indian Legislature, the elected members approved, in sober and weighty fashion, of the action taken by the authorities.

Preparations for Civil Disobedience.

Civil disobedience being his last resort, to civil disobedience did Mr. Gandhi now propose to turn. In some districts of the east coast of the Madras Presidency, a campaign against the payment of Government dues had already begun, only to collapse in a few weeks before the determined opposition of the local authorities. Mr. Gandhi himself went to Bardoli in order to supervise the commencement of civil disobedience in that taluk. But at the critical moment there occurred a disorder of the very type which Mr. Gandhi had obviously feared. At Chauri Chaura in the United Provinces, a terrible outrage occurred on the 4th of February. Some twenty-one policemen and rural watchmen were murdered in the most deliberate manner by a mob of "volunteers" and infuriated peasantry. Both the brutality of this outrage and its unprovoked character combined to deal the final blow to Mr. Gandhi's hopes of immediate success. Responsible opinion all over the country, irrespective of creed and race, was horrified at this sudden revelation of the appalling possibilities of non-co-operation. Men felt that they had been walking insecurely upon the edge of an abyss, into which they might at any moment be precipitated. A recrudescence of agrarian trouble in the United Provinces, under the form of an *eka* or "one big union" of anti-landlord cultivators; a serious strike, obviously political in its bearing, upon the East Indian Railway—all combined to arouse public opinion against non-co-operation. To his credit be it said, Mr. Gandhi did not hesitate. Whether, as some have maintained, he made Chauri Chaura the excuse for suspending a movement which he had always regarded as dangerous and now knew to be, at least for the present, hopeless; or whether this outbreak convinced him of the impossibility of carrying civil disobedience to a successful conclusion by non-violent methods, may be open to question. The fact remains that at an emergent meeting of the Working Committee held at Bardoli on the 11th and the 12th of February, he resolved to suspend mass civil disobedience forthwith, and to instruct his followers to suspend every preparation of an offensive nature. He further advised Congress organisations to stop all activities designed to court arrest and

Chauri Chaura.

Bardoli.

imprisonment, together with all volunteer processions and public meetings designed to defy the notifications prohibiting them. The only picketing which he was now prepared to permit was that carried on by volunteers of known good character in connection with liquor shops. He advised that all Congress organisations should confine themselves first to the enlistment of at least one crore of members for the Indian National Congress; secondly, to the popularization of the spinning-wheel, hand-spun and hand-woven cloth; thirdly, to the organisation of national schools; fourthly, to the salvation of the depressed classes; fifthly, to the organisation of the temperance campaign, and sixthly, to the organisation of village and town arbitration committees for the private settlement of disputes.

Delhi.

The Bardoli resolutions, it is safe to say, came with an even greater shock to the rank and file of the non-co-operating party than did the outrage which had occasioned them. From this moment onwards may be traced a marked decline of confidence in Mr. Gandhi's political leadership. While his personality was still reverenced, his wisdom in matters political was from henceforward openly and boldly questioned. A fortnight later, when the All-India Congress Committee met at Delhi to consider the Bardoli resolutions, his personal ascendancy even over his immediate followers was severely taxed. Delegates from Maharashtra emphatically stated that the haste with which mass civil disobedience was twice recommended and with equal haste twice suspended, had culminated in national humiliation. The extreme Khilafatists were even more dissatisfied, and it seemed doubtful whether they would much longer be amenable to his influence. In face of opposition of a kind more determined than he had hitherto encountered, Mr. Gandhi was compelled to modify in some degree the strictness of his Bardoli resolutions. While he was successful in saving his face through the confirmation of the Bardoli ban against mass civil disobedience, he was compelled to accept the position that individual civil disobedience, whether defensive or aggressive, might still be commenced by permission of the Provincial Congress Committees. Further, individual civil disobedience was defined in a manner which made the distinction between individual and mass civil disobedience of little practical moment. He was also obliged to extend his permission regarding picketing to foreign-cloth-shops as well as to liquor-shops. On these terms, the Bardoli resolutions were in name confirmed. But whatever compromises Mr. Gandhi might be

compelled to adopt when confronted with the growing restiveness of various sections of his adherents, he himself was plainly convinced in his own mind that mass civil disobedience or anything equivalent to it was for the moment entirely impossible. A remarkable feature of the political discussions in the press and on the platform during the next few weeks is the entire disappearance of the Delhi resolutions—which were quietly dropped by Mr. Gandhi—and the reversion to the policy outlined at Bardoli.

The Prince at Delhi.

Meanwhile the Prince, in pursuance of the concluding portion of his tour programme, was journeying northward to Delhi. From a popular point of view, His Royal Highness' visits to the capital of the Southern Presidency, to the great States of Mysore and Hyderabad, had been uniformly successful. At Indore he had made the acquaintance of the Ruling Princes of Central India, at Gwalior he had been the guest of the Maharaja Sindhia. At Delhi, the non-co-operators had made a concerted effort to mar the enthusiasm which the coming of a member of the House of Windsor would normally have excited; but their efforts were seriously disconcerted by the publication, a day or two before his arrival, of the Bardoli resolutions. The complete cessation of all aggressive activity which these resolutions implied, filled the local enthusiasts with dismay. Accordingly, they hesitated to employ their accustomed tactics, and left the loyal elements of the population free to obey their own impulses. In consequence, the Prince's visit to Delhi, and all the functions which made up that busy week passed off with the utmost success and brilliance. From Delhi, he entered the Punjab, where he spent the major portion of his time in reviewing serving and pensioned soldiers and displaying his keen personal interest in all matters connected with the Army. Lahore itself gave him a welcome hardly second to any which he had received in India. The non-co-operators seemed for the moment utterly disconcerted, and the enthusiasm which marked the Prince's public functions was alike unbounded and unquestioned. His visit to the North-West Frontier Province was equally successful. At Peshawar the hooligan element in the city did their best to mar the warm welcome given by the bulk of the inhabitants, but their conduct excited nothing but reprobation. The Afridi tribesmen gave His Royal Highness an enthusiastic reception, which was more than equalled by the interest and delight displayed by the Yusufzais at his visit to the Malakand Pass. From these northern regions the Prince revisited the United Provinces, whence,

In the North.

after witnessing the competition for the Kadir Cup, he passed to Karachi, where H. M. S. "Renown" awaited him.

Non-co-operators' Dissensions.

Through the greater part of February, the councils of the non-co-operators continued to be confused by the lightning change which Mr. Gandhi had introduced so unexpectedly into his campaign. The Khilafat party, with their clear-cut religious grievance, alone seemed to preserve if not their equanimity, at least their enthusiasm. Had it not been for the fact that false rumours of British help, principally financial, to Greece were at the moment exciting the bitterest resentment among the Khilafatists, it seems probable that the non-co-operation movement might have dissolved into a welter of chaos. Fierce internal dissensions broke out between those who saw in Mr. Gandhi's latest pronouncement a confession of failure, and those who were convinced that it was only necessary to persevere until all his aims were realized. The strength of Khilafat feeling, however, continued to lend non-co-operation a formidable appearance. But in the beginning of March, a considerable sensation was made in Muslim circles by the publication of a strongly-worded representation by the Government of India to the Home Government. Lord Reading's Administration, with the concurrence of the local Governments and Administrations, once more laid before His Majesty's Government their conviction of the intensity of the feeling in India regarding the necessity for a revision of the Treaty of Sevres. In particular, they urged upon His Majesty's Government three points as being of the first importance, subject to certain safeguards; the evacuation of Constantinople; the suzerainty of the Sultan over the Holy Places; the restoration to Turkey of Ottoman Thrace including Adrianople, and of Smyrna. The publication of this document, combined with a growing sense of disappointment at the failure of Mr. Gandhi's campaign, produced a great effect upon Muslim opinion. The non-co-operation movement was in consequence considerably weakened, since many even of the most ardent Khilafatists began to believe that there was more to be gained by supporting Government in its honest efforts than by adhering to the hitherto infructuous schemes of Mr. Gandhi. The sensation thus produced began to dispute with Mr. Gandhi's movement for the first place in public interest. Almost immediately, came another even greater sensation, which completely overshadowed the non-co-operation campaign. When the news of

Government's Memorandum.

Mr. Montagu's resignation, following the publication of the Memorandum, came to India, a general feeling of apprehension spread over the country. It was feared lest the disappearanec from office of a Secretary of State whose name had been associated, even by enemies of the British connection, with the utmost friendship and liberality towards Indian aspirations, might indicate a determination on the part of the British Government to change its angle of vision. As soon the circumstances of that resignation were known in India, the first feeling of apprehension gradually passed away. But the interest excited in all quarters by the manifest desire of Lord Reading's Government to satisfy Muslim opinion still continued to exist as a factor hostile to Mr. Gandhi. Indeed by alienating from him that Muslim sentiment which had once been his most formidable political asset, it struck the final blow to his political, as opposed to his personal, prestige. He had already lost the support of many of his followers by his refusal to persist in mass civil disobedience. He had forfeited the fickle trust of the lower classes by his failure to secure Swaraj on the date when they understood him to have promised it: while to the upper classes the dangers of his movement were daily becoming more apparent. At this juncture the administration decided to order his arrest, which took place on March 10th. This step had long been contemplated, but had been postponed from time to time for various reasons. In the first place there was a natural reluctance to incarcerate a man who, however mistaken might be his activities, was by all widely respected and by millions revered as a saint. Moreover, he had consistently preached the gospel of non-violence, and done all that he could to restrain the more impatient of his followers from embarking upon forcible methods. It was further impossible to ignore the fact that until a substantial body of Indian opinion was prepared to support measures against Mr. Gandhi's person: and until the popular belief in his divine inspiration had been weakened by the efflux of time, there was reason to fear that his arrest would have been attended with bloody outbreaks in numerous places, by the intensification of racial bitterness, and by the creation of conditions in which the new constitution would have little or no chance of success. That the arrest, being well-timed, passed off peacefully, should not mislead the reader into thinking that it could have been effected with equal absence of popular excitement at an earlier period. It came when Mr. Gandhi's political reputation, for reasons already

Mr. Montagu's Resignation.

Mr. Gandhi Arrested.

outlined, was at its nadir ; when the enthusiasm of his followers had reached the lowest ebb ; when the public mind of India was engrossed with other issues. His trial passed off in complete tranquillity. The Advocate General of Bombay had no difficulty in proving that certain articles written by Mr. Gandhi, which formed the subject matter of the charges, were part of a campaign to spread disaffection openly and systematically, to render Government impossible and to over throw it. Mr. Gandhi pleaded guilty. In the course of his speech he said :

His Address to the Court.

" And I wish to endorse all the blame that the Advocate General has thrown on my shoulders in connection with the Bombay occurrences, the Madras occurrences and the Chauri Chaura occurrences. Thinking over these things deeply, and sleeping over them night after night and examining my heart I have come to the conclusion that it is impossible for me to dissociate myself from the diabolical crimes of Chauri Chaura or the mad outrages of Bombay. He is quite right when he says that as a man of responsibility, a man having received a fair share of education, having had a fair share of experience of this world, I should know the consequences of every one of my acts. I knew them. I knew that I was playing with fire. I ran the risk and if I was set free I would still do the same. I would be failing in my duty if I did not do so. I have felt it this morning that I would have failed in my duty if I did not say all that I have said here just now. I wanted to avoid violence ; I want to avoid violence. Non-violence is the first article of my faith. It is the last article of my faith. But I had to make my choice ; I had either to submit to a system which I consider has done irreparable harm to my country, or incur the risk of the mad fury of my people bursting forth when they understood the truth from my lips. I know that my people have sometimes gone mad ; I am deeply sorry for it ; and I am therefore here to submit not to a light penalty but to the highest penalty. I do not ask for mercy. I do not plead any extenuating act. I am here therefore to invite and submit to the highest penalty that can be inflicted upon me for what in law is a deliberate crime and what appears to me to be the highest duty of a citizen."

The Judge while paying full tribute to Mr. Gandhi's position in the eyes of millions of his countrymen, emphasised that it was his duty to judge him as an individual subject to the law, who had on his own admission broken the law and committed what to an ordinary man

must appear to be grave offences against the State. "I do not forget," said the Judge, "that you have consistently preached against violence and that you have on many occasions, as I am willing to believe, done much to prevent violence. But having regard to the nature of your political teaching and the nature of many of those to whom it was addressed, how you could have continued to believe that violence would not be the inevitable consequence, it passes my capacity to understand. There are probably few people in India who do not sincerely regret that you have made it impossible for any Government to leave you at liberty. But it is so." Mr. Gandhi was sentenced to six years' simple imprisonment.

His Conviction.

The sentence, like the proceedings which led up to it, was received with entire calmness in India. General regret was expressed, by all shades of opinion, that Mr. Gandhi had brought upon his own head a punishment so severe. But the removal of this remarkable man from the sphere which he had for so long dominated, produced neither disturbance nor resentment. The fact is that the non-co-operation movement was largely paralysed by those internal dissensions which had from time to time taxed to the uttermost Mr. Gandhi's authority even when he was at the height of his reputation. The gradual decline in his prestige had set them free, so that there was no more cohesion in his party. Hindu-Muslim differences, from the beginning formidable, had recently been emphasised by Muhammadan appreciation of Government's efforts on behalf of the Khilafat, and by a growing resentment at Mr. Gandhi's unfulfilled promises. Extreme Hindu opinion was alienated by his failure to realise Swaraj and to bring Government to submission. The more responsible sections of the population had come to realise the anarchical implications of his programme. In a word, he had lost the confidence of his most formidable supporters. Moreover, the lengthy period of intensive agitation was now beginning to merge into its natural consequence, apathy and indifference. The classes were less excited, the masses, occupied with excellent crops, more contented. Hence the fortuitous occurrence, simultaneously with Mr. Gandhi's arrest, of Mr. Montagu's resignation, was sufficient completely to overshadow the trial and conviction of the famous Mahatma.

The disappearance from the political scene of the principal actor in the non-co-operation movement affords a convenient opportunity for reviewing the achievements of that movement up to the time of writing.

It will be realised from what has been previously remarked, that the specific items of the non-co-operation programme have in large measure miscarried. The demand for the resignation of titles and honorary posts has produced a disappointing response. The boycott of Councils has inflicted hardship only on the non-co-operation party. The boycott of law courts, accompanied by the erection of arbitration committees, has done nothing to relieve the congestion of civil litigation with which the Indian law courts are normally burdened. The anti-drink campaign, while responsible for a considerable amount of intimidation and disorder, has produced results of little value to earnest reformers. The like can be said of the movement for the removal of " untouchability," which, where it did not fail altogether, has resulted in an increasing acerbity of caste feeling. In the cult of the spinning wheel, some useful work was unquestionably performed; but the failure to popularise simultaneously hand-loom weaving has prevented the campaign for the general introduction of home-spun cloth from achieving results which might otherwise have rewarded it. The boycott of foreign cloth, which was favoured by the support of certain Indian Mill-owners and by the paralysis of piece goods dealers resulting from the exchange deadlock, certainly assisted a reduction of cloth imports. On the other hand, when the present glut of imports is exhausted, fresh orders must soon be placed abroad in order to satisfy the Indian demand. The effort to enrol Congress members to the number of 10 millions has not up to the time of writing been successful. The boycott of educational institutions has resulted, as already indicated, in the infliction of ruinous misery upon thousands of promising lives. Its services to the cause of education, national or otherwise, are negative. Mr. Gandhi's one conspicuous success, the Tilak Swaraj Fund, was largely dissipated in unproductive fashion upon the volunteer organisations. So much then for the specific items of the non-co-operation campaign.

The Non-co-operation Programme Unrealised.

But when we turn to consider the campaign as a whole, it would be idle to assert that it was infructuous. Whether the results obtained are desirable or undesirable, will be demonstrated beyond all possibility of doubt by the mere passage of time. But that these results are real is no longer open to question. Mr. Gandhi's intensive movement during the years 1921 and 1922 has diffused far and wide among classes previously oblivious to political considerations, a strong negative patriotism born of race hatred of the foreigner. The

General Results of Non-co-operation.

less prosperous classes both in the town and in the country side have become aroused to certain aspects—even though these be mischievous, exaggerated and false—of the existing political situation. On the whole, this must be pronounced up to the present, the most formidable achievement of the non-co-operation movement. That it has certain potentialities for good will be maintained by many; that it will immensely increase the dangers and difficulties of the next few years can be denied by few.

Damage to the Community.

As against this single positive achievement, there has to be set a large debit balance. Keen Indian critics have begun to notice certain disastrous consequences to the moral sense of the community resulting from the spread of Mr. Gandhi's doctrines. In the first place, the demand for complete and absolute conformity with Mr. Gandhi's orders has inevitably led to certain patent insincerities. Many of those who have taken the most prominent part in his movement have failed themselves to give effect to some of his most elementary behests. Many lawyers who support his campaign have failed to sever their connection with active practice. Many persons who are prominent in preaching the boycott of State educational institutions, refuse to withdraw their own children therefrom. Many of those who preach the removal of untouchability are themselves notorious for their rigid adherence to the age-long prerogatives of the upper castes. Enthusiastic exponents to the public of the spinning wheel and of home-spun cloth are found in private life clothing themselves in the finest imported fabrics. But this is hardly surprising when Mr. Gandhi himself, while actively preaching the benefits of the simple life, has been himself conspicuous for his employment of every resource of modern civilisation in the furtherance of his campaign. He, who has long denounced railways, telegraphs and machinery, has utilised all of them in his rapid and meteoric activities. Such a contrast between theory and practice among those who inspire reverence as national leaders, cannot but serve to injure the moral sense of the community. Insincerity has been rampant, hypocrisy so notorious as to be self-evident; added to which, the collection of large sums of money from the public has produced regrettable effects upon the honesty of many. It would be interesting to know what proportion of the Tilak Swaraj Fund was actually at the disposal of those controlling the campaign, and what proportion remained in the pockets of those

Insincerity.

Corruption.

who were responsible for the actual collection. Specific charges, never denied, have been brought against the personal integrity of many prominent figures in the non-co-operation movement. Mr. Mahomed Ali has been asked by the Urdu Press of Upper India to account for no fewer than six different funds which have from time to time passed through his hands. From the more punctilious leaders of the movement, bitter comments have proceeded on occasion regarding the casual audit and perfunctory balance sheets favoured by the local representatives of the Congress. Furthermore, while the non-co-operation movement has been in its purest form non-violent, the character of the propaganda by which it has been sustained has inevitably led to violent outbreaks. The enrolment of local hooligans and even public women in the ranks of national volunteers, besides leading to a marked deterioration in the general sense of public propriety, has inflicted infinite damage upon the general capacity of the community for self-restraint. In consequence, intolerance is rampant, racial hatred supreme.

Intolerance.

The time has not yet arrived to write the epitaph of the non-co-operation movement. It is still conceivable that the defeats it has recently sustained will result in the diversion of such disinterested national aspirations as are at present overlaid with baser motives, into the noble channels of social reform. But from the political point of view, it would seem that non-co-operation has proved but a negative force; that its revival, if this should unfortunately occur, would be productive only of harm. It has immensely complicated the progress of the new reforms; it has retarded India's advance towards Dominion status; it has smirched her reputation in the eyes of the world. The tragedy is that a movement of this character, which in its origin contained such considerable elements of disinterested patriotism, should have been diverted into activities which have fostered anarchy, inflamed racial hatred, and produced infinite, though it may be trusted, temporary, damage to India's potentialities for political development.

Conclusion.

During the closing scenes of Mr. Gandhi's activities, the reformed Councils were giving renewed testimony of their capacity as instruments of political advance. The Delhi session of the Indian Legislature began in the middle of January. After adopting an address of welcome to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, and an address of congratulation to Her Royal Highness Princess Mary, both Chambers devoted themselves to a long list of highly important public business. Among

the most dramatic debates of the session was that initiated in the Legislative Assembly on Mr. Iswar Saran's motion for the immediate abandonment of the so-called " repressive " policy of Government. Those who attacked this policy based their contention on the belief that it was merely aggravating the critical condition of India by supplying further fuel to the flames of non-co-operation. On the other hand, its supporters emphasised the difference between constitutional and unconstitutional agitation, maintaining that if Government, to combat those outlaws who were at war with it, had adopted certain measures, those measures could not be pilloried as repressive. On the Government side, Sir William Vincent and Dr. Sapru made convincing and forceful speeches which produced a great effect upon the Assembly. The Home Member mentioned that during the year 1921, the military had been called out 47 times to suppress serious disorders; while during the last three months of that year, their assistance was evoked no fewer than 20 times. The House, he said, should ponder over its responsibility and see that consistently with its allegiance to the Crown, it did not deliberately encourage those who intended to overthrow Government by all possible means. The tenor of the debate showed conclusively that the majority of the House was behind Government. Both the original motion and various amendments to it were decisively negatived. The Council of State endorsed the Assembly's approval of the policy of the Executive by rejecting a motion for a session of the two Houses to settle the lines of a Round Table Conference. Further evidence of the serious manner in which majority of Members of the Legislature realised their responsibility during the critical juncture which confronted the country was provided when one member of the Assembly moved a resolution asking the Viceroy to release the Ali Brothers. Sir William Vincent, in the course of a crushing reply, gave a detailed account of the manner in which the two brothers had been consistently hostile to Government, had promoted Pan-Islamism, and had opposed the ideas of true nationalism. During the great war and in the Afghan war, said Sir William Vincent, the one idea of these men had been to support and encourage the King's enemies. After their release from internment by Royal clemency, they had been carrying on a ceaseless campaign in the direction of violence. The grave character of their offence in seducing troops and their past conduct made them entirely unworthy of consideration. So great was the effect

The Legislature Supports the Executive.

The Ali Brothers.

produced by this speech that although the resolution had at first received the support of certain Muhammadan members, not one of them recorded his vote in its favour, and it was unanimously defeated. Among other pressing questions which were taken up by the Legislature, mention may be made of a message of confidence in Mr. Montagu, which was despatched at the request of the non-official members of the Legislative Assembly. On a subsequent occasion, when the Secretary of State's resignation was known, the Assembly adopted a resolution expressing its deep regret at the event, and its profound sense of gratitude for the services which he had rendered to India and the Empire. From the Government benches, the speeches were mainly directed to the task of dissipating any apprehensions which might exist that Mr. Montagu's resignation implied a change in the policy of His Majesty's Government. In the Council of State emphasis was also laid upon Mr. Montagu's services to the Khilafat cause.

Other Questions.

While the debates in both Houses upon questions of urgent public interest displayed the general support of the elected members of Government's policy, certain members both of the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State showed themselves most anxious to enlarge in every way the powers of the respective bodies. On the other hand, certain other members were only prepared to lend cautious and discriminating support to such projects. Illustrations of both attitudes, as now the one and now the other section predominated, are readily forthcoming. A lively debate took place on a resolution recommending the Governor General to abolish the distinction between votable and non-votable items—a step which, according to one of two possible interpretations of a certain section of the Government of India Act, seemed within his competence. This resolution was carried; and when it was announced that the law officers of the Crown had decided that it was not within the competence of the Governor General to declare as votable those items which had by statute been declared non-votable, there was considerable disappointment among the non-official members. On the other hand in the Council of State a resolution for the introduction of the practice of voting an address after the speech from the Throne—that is, after the Viceroy's speech at the beginning of the session—was rejected: for the majority of the House were convinced by the Home Member's exposition of the constitutional difficulties raised by the demand. In another direc-

Impetuosity and Caution.

tion also, the constitutional sense of the Council prevailed over the enthusiasm of certain of its members. A motion for the election of India's representatives to the Imperial and other International Conferences, was rejected, when it was pointed out that not only was there no precedent for sending representatives elected by the Legislature to a Conference where various Powers entered into negotiations, but that the proposal was of itself impossible under the Government of India Act. In the Assembly, moreover a resolution on broadly similar lines met a like fate. On the other hand, despite the opposition of the official benches, a resolution for associating Standing Committees with certain departments of the Government of India for the purpose of enabling non-officials to understand the inner-workings of the Government departments, was adopted. Towards the end of the session, however, Government accepted a proposal that the functions of the Finance Committee should be so defined as to include the scrutiny of all proposals for new votable expenditure, the sanction of allotments out of lump grants, the suggestion of retrenchment and economy in expenditure, and the general assistance of the Finance Department when advice was sought. This further enlarged the powers of the Standing Finance Committee which has now become a very important body.

The Legislature and the Budget.

Matters financial, indeed, occupied a large share of the attention of both Houses. As will be apparent in the subsequent chapter, the disastrous Budget for 1922-23 seemed to threaten a repetition of the danger of deadlock, which had been avoided a year previously through the moderation of the new Parliament. When the general discussion on the budget took place, it revealed remarkable unanimity among all the non-official members of the Assembly, both European and Indian. The financial policy of Government was subjected to severe attack, and there were vigorous and repeated demands for retrenchment. Many suggestions, some of a drastic character, were put forward for the reduction of the heavy item of military expenditure. On the official side, it was pointed out that the successive deficits during past years were not due to extravagance on the part of Government; and in particular, the military expenditure was defended in forcible manner. The general line taken by the Assembly was much more determined than that of last year. The members, non-official European as well as Indian, were not satisfied with the economies hitherto effected in the administration. They demanded the appointment of a Retrenchment Committee—a point upon which Government

met their views—and meanwhile they refused to vote more than 20 crores (£20 millions) of new taxation out of the total demand of 29 crores (£29 millions). On the demands for individual grants, reductions were made which totalled something under a crore of rupees (£1 million). The Finance Bill was amended in such fashion as to exclude the proposed increase in salt duty, in cotton excise, in duty on machinery and on cotton piece goods. A new clause was added providing for the amendment of the Indian Paper Currency Act of 1920 which will have the effect of removing, for 2 years from the 1st of April 1921, the obligation to utilise interest derived from securities in the Paper Currency Reserve in cancelling such securities. The net result of the changes introduced by the Assembly has been to leave a total uncovered deficit of slightly over 9 crores of rupees (£9 millions). The supplementary estimates which came up on the 1st of March were sanctioned after some slight discussion. To these proceedings particular interest is lent by the fact that Lord Reading did not exercise the Governor General's power of "certifying" the Finance Bill: while the Government did not employ its emergency powers for the restoration of excised items. The Legislature is thus left to face the consequences, whether for good or for ill, of its own action, a procedure which cannot fail still further to confirm the growing sense of responsibility which distinguishes the majority of members.

Comments.

The manner in which the Budget was treated by the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State evoked considerable criticism from the press in England, as well as from certain sections of the press in India. But responsible public opinion in India has for some time been pressing upon the authorities the necessity for retrenchment. The Assembly in consequence found much effective support for its position—support which was by no means confined to the Indian-edited newspapers. That this position will involve the administration in considerable difficulties in the course of the current financial year, cannot be denied; but it is to be hoped, not without confidence, that as soon as the Legislature shall have been satisfied, by the Report of the Retrenchment Committee, that all possible economies have been effected in the administration, it will have no scruples in voting the taxation necessary to meet essential expenditure.

Other Business.

Racial questions continued to excite deep interest in the Central Legislature. Resolutions were put forward to accelerate the recruitment of Indians for the

All-India services. Considerable attention was devoted to the recruitment of Indians for the Indian Marine as well as for technical professions of various kinds. The position of Indians abroad aroused considerable comment and Government were again urged to press the Indian standpoint upon the Home authorities. Both the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State devoted attention to discussing various resolutions designed to improve the industrial condition of the country. The suggestion, that in so far as possible, the 150 crores (£150 millions) which were to be set aside for the rehabilitation of the railways during the next 5 years should be spent in India, was accepted by Government. It was agreed that India should participate in the British Empire Exhibition in London in 1924, and adequate funds were provided for the purpose. Questions of public health and social reform were also discussed, as a result of resolutions which will be dealt with more fully in another place. The Delhi session of the Legislature was happily notable for the continuance of cordial relations between Government and the elected members. Further, despite the deep interest displayed in racial questions, the division list was very rarely arranged on racial lines. The European non-officials were by no means found invariably in the Government lobby—a fact which certain critics in England have failed to appreciate at its true significance. The growth of the party system exposed Government to occasional difficulty; but, on the other hand, often enabled the officials to turn the scale according as they threw their weight in support of the Democratic party, or of its rival, the National party—a promising creation of this session. Sober, even conservative, opinion was by no means absent; and Government has on many occasions been able to secure substantial support for a good case. The majority of members seemed to realise fully that a deadlock was to the interests of no one: and appeals to their sense of responsibility were almost always effective. In short, despite all difficulties, the new constitution is securing increasing support, and laying the foundations of a real sense of responsibility among those who are engaged in working it.

Character of the Session.

Before the Delhi session of the Indian Legislature came to a close, His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales had left the country. While from many points of view it is regrettable that during his visit the political condition of India should have been so disturbed, yet there are certain compensations which should not be omitted from any attempt to estimate the

The Royal Visit.

effects of his tour. His Royal Highness has seen India at a time when the ebb and flow of political currents have arrested attention: he has acquired a knowledge of her conditions which cannot fail to be of the utmost value in the future. He has learned, at first hand and from his own experience, of her difficulties, of her aspirations, and of her uneasiness. These experiences can but bear fruit in the exercise of that full measure of sympathy and interest which has ever characterised the feelings of the British Crown towards the Indian Empire. His Royal Highness took many opportunities of appraising for himself the work done by the civil services of India and of discussing with officers the conditions and difficulties in which their task is performed. This sympathy from one, whose motto is "I serve" and who, though worn in Empire travel and service, did not spare himself by deferring his visit to India: who, while in India, carried out the purposes of his journey with steadfast devotion and scrupulous care, cannot fail to inspire and hearten the Public Services of India. It would be idle to deny that the misguided attempts of the non-co-operators to boycott His Royal Highness have produced a serious effect upon public opinion not merely in the United Kingdom, but also in America. These attempts have been considered, not unreasonably, as a deliberate affront to the Majesty of the Crown and to the person of one who has made himself beloved in every country he has visited. But, as His Royal Highness has himself said from time to time, the inmost heart of India remains sound and loyal. In him the real, the fundamental India has secured an interpreter who will be able to make plain to the world her difficulties and the manner in which she is facing them. His visit has aroused an interest in Indian affairs among the people of Great Britain such as has never been known before; and this interest has been awakened at the very moment when India most needs sympathy, understanding, and assistance.

The Prince's Activities.

Space would fail were we to attempt to indicate in any detail the manifold public activities which characterised His Royal Highness' Indian tour. It must suffice to summarise in the briefest possible manner, some of their immediate effects. His visits to the Indian States must be accounted an Imperial asset of the utmost importance. Only a Member of the House of Windsor can unite the Ruling Princes and Chiefs of India in common loyalty with the people who live in British Territory. The tie which holds these Princes to the Throne must inevitably be largely one of allegiance to the person of the King-Emperor. His Royal Highness'

personal charm, his sportsmanship, and his frank comradeship, have proved a direct inspiration to many Indian Rulers. They have helped to bind the Indian States in closer loyalty to the British Throne, and in doing so, to bind them in closer comradeship to British India. Outside the States, in the course of his travels among the direct subjects of the King-Emperor, the Prince has performed work of the utmost value to the Empire. His gracious replies to the addresses of welcome presented to him by the Legislative Councils, Central and Provincial; his interviews with the Indian Ministers and Members of Council; his keen interest in democratic institutions have combined to give a considerable impetus to the Reforms. He has raised those now engaged in working the new constitution in the social estimation of their countrymen; he has provided them with additional inspiration; he has added to their sense of responsibility. Among other classes of the community, also, his work has been equally beneficent. Substantial elements of society, so important from the stabilising influence they exert upon their countrymen—local notables, leading merchants, important landholders—have received additional encouragement in their loyalty. Large numbers of the lower classes, both from town and country side, who have come into contact with him, have taken away into their humble homes an impression of His Royal Highness' gracious personality which will endure throughout their lives. Further, to the Army and to the Police, those great organisations upon which the established order of all States ultimately depends, his visit has been an unmixed joy. Quite apart from the encouragement which his gracious interest has given to service men of all ranks, many pensioners, gathered from villages far and wide, have taken back with them an inspiring recollection of this gallant young Prince, who speaks to them in their own tongue and displays so lively and so entirely human an interest in their welfare. Unmistakable feelings of pride have been aroused in thousands of hearts at the feeling that they are one in comradeship-at-arms with their future King-Emperor. Finally, upon the non-co-operation movement itself, the visit of His Royal Highness has not been without effect. Before he left, there was a general growing feeling among the substantial classes of the population that the outrageous conduct of the non-co-operators had disgraced India's fair fame. The fact that His Royal Highness' programme was carried out in detail despite the loudly proclaimed efforts of the non-co-operation leaders, has not failed to prove a severe set back to their claims. On the whole it may be said that His Royal Highness' visit to India has

been an inspiring example to every subject of His Majesty the King-Emperor, and for this reason alone, has proved of notable service to the Empire. Of His Royal Highness' own feelings, his Farewell Message gives evidence.

" I bid farewell to India to-day with feelings of the deepest regret. I pride the hand of friendship which India has extended to me and shall ever treasure the memories of my first visit in future years. By God's help I may now hope to view India, her Princes and peoples with an understanding eye. My gathered knowledge will, I trust, assist me to read her needs aright and will enable me to approach her problems with sympathy, appreciate her difficulties and appraise her achievements. It has been a wonderful experience for me to see the provinces and States of India and to watch the machinery of the Government with interest. I have noted signs of expansion and development, on every side. It has been a great privilege to thank the Princes and peoples of India for their efforts and sacrifices on behalf of the Empire in the great war and to renew my acquaintance with her gallant fighting forces. Finally my warmest thanks are due to Your Excellency, to the officials of your Government and to the Princes and peoples of India by whose cordial assistance I have been helped at every stage of my journey to secure my cherished ambition. I undertook this journey to see and know India and to be known by her. Your Excellency's welcome at the outset and the encouragement which I have constantly received on all hands since landing in India has given me heart for the task. I have received continuous proofs of devotion to the throne and the person of the King-Emperor and on my return to England it will be my privilege to convey these assurances of loyalty to His Imperial Majesty. I trust that my sojourn in this country may have helped to add some grains to that great store of mutual trust and regard and of desire to help each other which must ever form the foundation of India's well being. On my part I will only say that if the memories which I leave behind in India are half as precious as those I take away I may indeed feel that my visit has brought us closer together. That India may progress and prosper is my earnest prayer. I hope it may be my good fortune to see India again in the years to come.—Edward P."

To which His Excellency the Viceroy replied :

" The heart of India will be stirred by Your Royal Highness' message of farewell. You came to India on an embassy of good-will, the youthful heir to the Throne, a veteran soldier of the King, India's friend. You leave India having won India's heart, for road to the heart of people lies

through knowledge and sympathy. From the day you landed in India you set yourself to gain the one. Providence has endowed you with the other. Long will the memory of your embassy live in India's heart. On behalf of the Princes, peoples and officials of India I thank Your Royal Highness and express for myself and them our particular gratification that Your Royal Highness hopes to see India again in the future. For myself and them I wish you God-speed, all happiness until we again have the inestimable privilege of welcoming Your Royal Highness to India."

CHAPTER V.

India's Economic Position.

As was the case in former Reports, it will be necessary to premise the account of India's economic life during the period under review by some indication of the general conditions regulating the finances of the country. From the external aspect, we may notice that India has large commitments in London, in payment for which a sum averaging over £25 million sterling is annually required. The major portion of this sum is interest on capital lent to India for purpose of internal development. Originally borrowed at a lower rate, in most cases about 3½ per cent., it now brings to the Indian Exchequer a return of approximately 7 per cent. Another item is the annual remittance in payment for Government stores of a kind which could not hitherto be obtained in India. This head is destined gradually to disappear with India's increasing industrial development, of which an account will be given in subsequent pages. Finally come the payments made to England for the leave allowance of State servants, and for their pensions after they have left India. Until lately, this annual remittance to London included the charges for the maintenance of the whole of the India Office; but as a result of the changed relations between India and England consequent upon the declaration of August 20th, 1917, a portion of the India Office is now a charge upon the British Exchequer. In substitution for this, however, comes the cost of maintaining the Indian High Commissioner, who discharges functions in England similar to those discharged by the High Commissioners of the self-governing Dominions.

The "Drain" to England.

Turning now to the internal aspect of India's finances, we must note that a large proportion of the revenues of the Government of India is derived not from taxation, but from such sources as land revenue, opium, railways, forests and irrigation. The country being still in the main agricultural, Indian revenues are always largely influenced by the character of the season. Up to the time of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, the Budget of the Government of India was made

Central and Provincial Finance.

to include the transactions of the local Governments, the revenues enjoyed by the latter being mainly derived from sources of income shared between themselves and the Government of India. The Central Government out of these incomings was responsible for defence charges, for the upkeep of railways, posts and telegraphs, for the payment of interest on debt, and for the home charges. The provinces from their income met the expenses connected with land revenue and general administration, with forests, police, courts and jails, with education and with medical services. Charges for irrigation and ordinary public works were common both to the Central and to the Provincial Governments.

Separation.

This state of affairs has passed away as a result of the changes introduced by the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. The authors of the Reforms had urged the necessity of complete separation between the finances of the Central Government and those of the various Provincial Governments. Their main recommendations were that no head of revenue should continue to be divided; that land revenue, irrigation, excise and judicial stamps should be completely provincialized; and that income-tax and general stamps should become central heads of revenue. Inasmuch as under this re-arrangement the Government of India would lose heavily, the scheme proposed that contributions should be levied on the provinces to make up the deficit. As was related in last year's report, a Committee was appointed in January 1920 to investigate the financial relations between the new Central and Provincial Governments. The Committee proposed that receipts from general stamps should be credited to the provinces and not to the Central Government, and suggested a plan by which the Provincial Governments were to contribute Rs. 983 lakhs (£9·83 millions) to the Central Government in 1921-22. The standard contribution of each Province was also fixed as proportion of the total contribution necessary to make good the deficit of the Government of India. This proportion was 19 per cent. from Bengal; 18 per cent. from the United Provinces; 17 per cent. from Madras; 13 per cent. from Bombay; 10 per cent. from Bihar and Orissa; 9 per cent. from the Punjab; 6½ per cent. from Burma; 5 per cent. from the Central Provinces; and 2½ per cent. from Assam. The Committee recommended that contribution should be adjusted to this standard percentage by equal increments, contributions extending over a period of 7 years. These recommendations were not accepted in full by the Joint Select Committee of Both Houses of Parliament. It was finally settled that from the year 1922-23, a total contribution of £9·83

millions (Rs. 983 lakhs), or such smaller sum as may be determined by the Governor-General in Council, shall be paid by the local Governments, provision being made for reduction when the Governor-General in Council fixes as the total amount of the contribution a sum smaller than that payable in the preceding year. Unfortunately, during the course of the period under review, the Provincial Governments, in common with the Central Government, underwent financial disaster. Their expenditure was on the up grade, and the non-co-operation agitation, to which reference has been made in previous chapters, had a baneful effect on some of their items of revenue, such as excise and stamps. It is therefore not astonishing that in most, if not all, provinces, there grew up a strong feeling against the system of provincial contributions which was an integral feature of the financial arrangements under the reformed constitution. This feeling was most vocal in Bengal and Madras. Though the Central Government could not contemplate with any satisfaction the loss in their revenues entailed by the remission or reduction of any contributions—since, as will shortly be apparent, their own financial position was itself precarious—yet it was felt that the case of Bengal was peculiar. Indeed, the Joint Select Committee on the Government of India Act had in their report specially stated that :—

Difficulties of Adjustment.

"The Committee desire to add their recognition of the peculiar financial difficulties of the Presidency of Bengal, which they accordingly commend to the special consideration of the Government of India."

In the course of the year under review, the question was taken up by the Bengal Legislative Council, which sent a deputation to His Excellency the Viceroy to explain the difficulties of the Province. In the September session of the Indian Legislative Assembly, a Resolution was moved by the Finance Member, recommending the remission of the Bengal contribution for a period of three years. This was accepted by the Assembly, which felt that, for political reasons, if for no other, it was advisable to help Bengal in her distress. This concession naturally led to similar demands from other Provinces, Madras being exceptionally vociferous in her insistence on a revision of her contribution. This second demand produced no effect for the moment, since it had by this time become clear that the finances of the Central Government were such as to make it utterly out of the question to reduce provincial contributions. It is this financial position which we must now proceed briefly to explain.

Concession to Bengal.

Difficulties of the Central Government.

As has already been stated, the year 1921-22 was the first year of the new order of things, in which Central and Provincial finances were completely separate. The Budget of the Central Government anticipated a serious deficit which had to be made good by increased taxation. As mentioned in last year's Report, the new legislatures were faced at the outset of their career with proposals for taxation necessary to cover an anticipated deficit of more than Rs. 18 crores (£18 millions). As has already been related, they proved equal to their responsibilities and accepted, with few modifications, the proposals of Government. The additional taxation was mostly under Customs, and included an increase of the general *ad valorem* duty from 7½ per cent. to 11 per cent., and a special duty of 20 per cent. on luxuries like motor cars, silks and the like. It was hoped that these measures would leave a small surplus. Unfortunately, the close of the year 1920 found India bearing her share of a universal depression of trade. The exchange value of the rupee had fallen to 1*s.* 5½*d.*, or just half the maximum recorded earlier in that year. In consequence, importers found themselves seriously placed in paying for goods ordered when exchange was high, and their difficulties were accentuated by the universal slump in prices and the falling off in local demand. Exporters were also hard hit; for although a low rate of exchange naturally favours export trade, the existence of heavy stocks in foreign countries purchased at high prices checked any tendency towards a revival of orders. It was in this atmosphere of trade depression that the Budget for the year 1921-22 was put forward. The estimates allowed for a definite retardation in the normal growth which the revenues might otherwise have been expected to exhibit. But it was impossible to foresee that the depression of trade would reach such dismal depths, or that its consequences would react so disastrously upon the Indian finances. The position was complicated both by internal and external factors. As to the former, the effects of the poor monsoon of 1920 continued to show themselves throughout the year 1921. The price of wheat rose to almost unexampled figures, with the result that the Government of India was forced not only to continue the embargo on the export of wheat, but also to encourage heavy importations. Labour troubles at the collieries curtailed the raisings of coal; and the service of the railways could only be maintained by purchase of foreign coal at greatly increased expenditure with detrimental effect on the trade balance. Moreover, the conditions of the country

Trade Depression.

were such, through causes partly economic and partly political, that there was a complete stagnation of the ordinary activities of internal trade. One of the most unfortunate features was the locking up of many million pounds worth of imported goods, owing to the inability or the failure of importers to take up their contracts. This was particularly prominent in the all-important piece-goods trade. Orders for piece-goods had been freely placed in the United Kingdom when exchange was high. British manufacturers were then working at full pressure, and some months necessarily elapsed before orders were executed and deliveries made. By that time, exchange had fallen and importers in India were faced with serious losses. Whether justifiably or not, they had counted on the stability of the rupee at the level of 2*s.* gold which, as we saw in last year's Report, was recommended by the Currency Committee of 1919. But the rush of remittances overwhelmed exchange, which fell remorselessly during the remainder of the year. The importers of course could have protected themselves by entering into forward contracts with the banks on an exchange basis of 2*s.* But piece goods importers do not usually fix their exchange forward, for in normal years, they can count on a rise in rupee prices, under the stimulus of higher replacing costs, to neutralize a fall in exchange. However the simultaneous fall of rupee prices and of exchange was one of the many abnormal features of the year's trade. Accordingly, at the end of the year 1920, resolutions had been passed by various associations of Indian piece-goods merchants, that no fresh business in foreign piece-goods would be undertaken. Further resolutions were also passed urging members under penalty to postpone payment for British piece-goods, which had already arrived, until the exchange reached 2*s.* per rupee; and for Japanese piece-goods until the exchange reached Rs. 150 per hundred yen. Importing houses and banks, as well as manufacturers in England were of course affected by these decisions. The stagnation which resulted was typical of much of the history of internal trade throughout the year. Not even an unusually favourable monsoon in the autumn of 1921 succeeded in solving the position due to the interaction of economic and political influences. So far as the external conditions were concerned, the prevailing depression in Russia and Central Europe aggravated by famine conditions in the former country, continued to deprive India of the customers on whom in normal years she was wont to rely. How unstable was the basis on which their exports depended is shown by the history of her reviving trade with Germany. Exports to that country which averaged 1½ crores (£1·5 millions) monthly during

the period July-September 1921 collapsed with the catastrophic fall of the mark in October, and had fallen in December to only Rs. ½ crore (£0·5 millions). India's exports which had reached their height with Rs. 31 crores (£31 millions) in March 1920 had declined to Rs. 18 crores (£18 millions) in March 1921, and reached their lowest point in June of that same year with Rs. 16 crores (£16 millions). There was indeed a recovery to 21 crores (£21 millions) in December 1921 ; but on the whole, greatly reduced as has been the scale of India's imports, there was a total trade balance against her of 33 crores (£33 millions) for the ten months ending January 1922.

Fate of the Budget, 1921-22.

The Budget estimates of 1921-22, as finally passed, provided for a small surplus of Rs. 71 lakhs (£0·71 millions), the revenue, including new taxation being estimated at Rs. 128·3 crores (£128·3 millions) and the expenditure at just over Rs. 127·5 crores (£127·5 millions). But at the end of the financial year 1921-22 it was estimated that the revenue had fallen short of expectation by more than Rs. 20 crores (£20 millions). There was an estimated falling off of Rs. 4·25 crores (£4·25 millions) under Customs. Income-tax was, it was thought, short by Rs. 90 lakhs (£0·9 millions). Salt fell by roughly the same figure, and Opium by a little less. Receipts under Railway showed a figure of Rs. 83 crores (£83 millions) instead of Rs. 87 crores (£87 millions) ; but far worse than the decline of gross traffic receipts was the increase in working expenditure. Largely owing to short raisings of coal, and the consequent supplementing of the home supply by heavy purchases abroad, the total excess of working expenses over the budgeted figure was Rs. 7·25 crores (£7·25 millions). Allowing further for some falling off in the receipts the total worsening of the railway budget was no less than Rs. 13 crores (£13 millions). Under Posts and Telegraphs, the gross revenue was about Rs. 1·5 crores (£1·5 millions) less than was anticipated. Both these two commercial departments were worked at a loss to the general tax-payer during the year under review. Nor did the acute financial position of the Government of India depend merely upon decreased revenue. There were certain heavy additions, amounting to more than Rs. 14 crores (£14 millions) in expenditure. Under this head the heaviest items were the cost of operations in Waziristan, which amounted to Rs. 2·75 crores (£2·75 millions) more than had been anticipated ; and loss under exchange, which had to be taken at the heavy figure of Rs. 5·75 crores (£5·75 millions) more than in the Budget. Accordingly, the total deficit with which the Government of India

was faced amounted to no less than Rs. 34 crores (£34 millions).

Proposals to meet Deficit.

There was, further, reason to believe that a similar deficit would occur next year, but for extra taxation. Under these circumstances, as already related, Government determined to meet the deficit by means of an increase in the railway passengers' fares: in postal rates: in general customs duty: in cotton excise: in duty on sugar, on machinery, on matches, salt, and articles of luxury. Income tax and super-tax were also to be raised. This new taxation was expected to yield 29 crores of rupees (£29 millions), leaving an uncovered deficit of nearly 3 crores of rupees (£3 millions). As we have already noticed, the Indian Legislature put forward insistent demands for retrenchment and so modified the taxation proposals that they covered only 20 crores of rupees (£20 millions) out of the total demand of 29 crores (£29 millions).

In budgeting for a deficit, the Central Government had many companions in misfortune. Taking the Provinces as a whole, it may be said that the majority of them are working to a deficit. At the beginning of the year 1921-22, the total Provincial balance amounted to Rs. 16·16 crores (£16·16 millions), while at the end of the year, the aggregate balances are expected to be only 5·5 crores (£5·5 millions), even after allowing for the various loans which several Provincial Governments have raised or will be raising during the two years, and also for the proceeds of extra taxation which several Provinces are imposing for their own purposes. It was obviously impossible for the Central Government, in view of its own financial position, to reduce the Provincial contributions. But in view of the difficulties which each local Government had to face, the Government of India considered that the time had come to discuss the whole position. The financial officials of each local Government were therefore invited to a Conference, which was held in April 1922, in order to discuss both the general position regarding the provincial contributions and also the problems which each Province has to face in the matter of financing capital outlay on irrigation and other schemes for which the Provinces are now responsible.

General Situation.

Both for the Government of India and for the Provincial Governments, as will be apparent from what has been said, the year 1921-22 has been difficult and disappointing. Nor is there yet a clear promise of the early lifting of the clouds which veiled the financial horizon. One fact stands out in

	Accounts, 1919-1920.	Revised Estimate, 1920-1921.	Budget Estimate, 1921-1922.
REVENUE—	R	R	R
Principal Heads of Revenue—			
Customs	21,46,69,935	32,37,80,000	37,73,28,000
Taxes on Income	22,43,41,180	19,77,78,000	18,58,07,000
Salt	5,70,83,914	6,14,93,000	7,00,66,000
Opium	4,55,61,793	3,62,31,000	3,72,85,000
Other Heads	2,28,51,068	2,34,01,000	2,44,80,000
TOTAL PRINCIPAL HEADS . .	56,45,07,890	64,26,83,000	69,49,66,000
Railways : Net Receipts . .	31,76,99,344	25,69,32,000	27,25,63,000
Irrigation : Net Receipts . .	4,77,574	4,23,000	4,24,000
Posts and Telegraphs : Net Receipts.	2,95,81,944	1,68,64,000	2,08,74,000
Debt Services	4,22,99,265	3,74,30,000	3,49,09,000
Civil Administration . . .	62,16,507	75,08,000	76,35,000
Currency, Mint and Exchange .	5,71,29,369	2,86,06,000	49,73,000
Buildings, Roads, and Miscellaneus Public Improvements.	10,04,444	11,42,000	10,38,000
Miscellaneous	1,74,58,075	2,13,00,000	7,52,76,000
Military Receipts . . .	3,90,52,245	3,37,02,000	4,11,10,000
Contributions and Assignments to the Central Government by Provincial Governments. .	9,83,00,000	9,83,00,000	12,93,75,000
TOTAL REVENUE . .	1,17,37,26,657	1,14,48,90,000	1,28,31,43,000
DEFICIT . .	20,81,89,830	20,45,79,000	...
TOTAL . .	1,38,19,16,487	1,34,94,69,000	1,28,31,43,000

Revenue of the Central Government, in India and in England.

	Accounts, 1919-1920.	Revised Estimate, 1920-1921.	Budget Estimate, 1921-1922.
	R	R	R
EXPENDITURE—			
Direct Demands on the Revenues.	3,50,93,737	3,90,86,000	4,93,51,000
Railways: Interest and Miscellaneous Charges . .	17,95,97,900	21,13,94,000	23,17,13,000
Irrigation	18,18,368	11,97,000	11,76,000
Posts and Telegraphs Capital Account.	60,13,961	1,73,40,000	98,02,000
Debt Services	13,58,92,647	13,77,38,000	13,08,61,000
Civil Administration . . .	8,00,04,809	9,18,96,000	8,43,18,000
Currency, Mint and Exchange .	96,50,031	3,77,66,000	4,18,80,000
Buildings, Roads and Miscellaneous Public Improvements.	1,49,89,301	1,78,15,000	1,51,11,000
Miscellaneous	3,99,99,390	4,52,34,000	4,24,37,000
Military Services	87,25,32,343	74,36,79,000	66,31,10,000
Miscellaneous adjustments between the Central and Provincial Governments.	63,24,000	63,24,000	62,84,000
TOTAL EXPENDITURE CHARGED TO REVENUE	1,38,19,16,487	1,34,94,69,000	1,27,60,43,000
SURPLUS . . .	...	...	71,00,000
TOTAL ..	1,38,19,16,487	1,34,94,69,000	1,28,31,43,000

prominence; and it is the overwhelming importance to India's trade and exchange of world factors over which she has no control. Any attempt to devise a remedy as if India was a separate entity, divorced from world conditions, seems to be doomed to failure. It is also plain that India, in common with the world at large, has underestimated the period of convalescence necessary for recovery from the maladies of the war. The conclusion seems equally clear. If India's troubles are due to world causes, she must move in line with the best thinkers of the outside world in seeking the remedy, and the one solution which they can indicate for the difficulties in which State finances are now everywhere involved is to make revenue and expenditure balance.

Financial Position of India.

At the end of the period under review the national debt amounted, at the old value of the rupee, to about £383 millions, or about £1. 11*s.* per head of population, as compared with a total public revenue of £137 millions. This favourable position is largely due to the care with which, in pre-war years, outlay was restricted to available means. When the war began, almost the whole of India's debt represented productive outlay on railways and irrigation, normally yielding a return which exceeded considerably not only interest on the amount borrowed, but also interest on the small debt classified as unproductive. In March 1921, despite India's war contribution of £100 millions, the amount of the ordinary debt outstanding was actually £15 millions less than the contribution itself. Nor are these the only facts indicative of India's financial strength. The interest on her public debt is not only secured by the revenue from productive works, but is a charge on the public revenues as a whole. During the last six years, revenue and expenditure have approximately balanced at an average figure—taking the Rupee at 1*s.* 4*d.*—of £115 millions.

Loans.

Useful evidence of India's financial strength is to be found in the success of the various loans issued during the period under review. At the beginning of the financial year 1921-22, the Secretary of State issued a 7 per cent. sterling loan for £7·5 millions redeemable at par in ten years. Considerable agitation was aroused in India, not merely by the high rate of interest, but also by the generous terms of conversion offered. Further, since the issue of the loan was attended by immediate over-subscription and the closing of lists, there were no facilities for Indian investors to take part in it. Strong feeling arose against the Secretary of State's alleged indifference to the interests of Indian investors. Accordingly, when

the next sterling loan was put on the market in December, sufficient facilities were provided for any Indian investors who desired to take it up. Although, owing to the low exchange prevalent at the time, these facilities were not utilised to any great extent, the fact that they had been provided, combined with the lower rate of issue—5½ per cent. at 93½ redeemable at par in ten years—accounted for the absence of any unfavourable comments on the terms offered. The loan was an unqualified success, for the amount of £10 millions was over-subscribed very quickly. In India the Government of India's rupee-borrowings were also considerable. Their loan was on the market from the 20th of June 1921 to the end of July, taking the form of a 6 per cent. income-tax free loan for 5 or 10 years. The total applications exceeded Rs. 49 crores (£49 millions), of which hardly more than Rs. 11 crores (£11 millions) was for the longer period; and nearly Rs. 38½ crores (£38·5 millions) was in cash. The total of Rs. 49 crores has only once been exceeded in the history of Indian loans, the exception being the second war loan of 1918, which amounted to Rs. 56 crores. The large subscription is principally ascribable to great ease in the money market, a result of the slack demand for trade purposes. On the other hand the prevailin agricultural depression, due to the failure of the 1920 monsoon, caused a falling off in the number of small subscribers. The average subscription was Rs. 22,291 as compared with Rs. 12,305 for the 1920 loan, while in the case of the 1918 war loan, the average was as low as Rs. 2,460. The 1921 loan, it is interesting to notice, was well advertised in various novel ways, the cost of the campaign being under one lakh of Rupees (£10,000). Rupee borrowings were not confined to the Government of India. At the end of September, the Government of the United Provinces issued their loan for development purposes. This consisted of 6 per cent. income-tax free bonds issued at 93, the special feature being that a proportion of it was repayable at the option of subscribers in each year from the 5th to the 20th. Though the loan was withdrawn before the full period had expired, it produced over Rs. 4 crores (£4 millions), which was more than double of the amount originally proposed.

Rehabilitation of Government Paper.

During the period under review, attempts were made to deal with the serious depreciation of the old 3 and 3½ per cent. stock, which had for some time been engaging the attention of Government. Two non-official committees were formed in Calcutta and Bombay respec-

tively with an experienced officer of the Finance Department as Secretary to both. Both committees were opposed to any concessions such as the raising of the rate of interest, which would benefit the holders of those securities at the expense of the general tax-payer. The Calcutta Committee favoured the issue, at a discount if necessary, of a long-date terminable loan at 5 per cent. interest, income-tax free, into which the holders of 3, 3½ and 4 per cent. securities should be allowed to convert their holdings on payment of a cash subscription to be fixed at the time of the conversion with reference to market quotations. The Bombay Committee recommended that Government should undertake to pay off the 3 and 3½ per cent. loans between the 45th and 50th year from the present time ; and also purchase by public tender for cancellation every year 2 per cent. of such securities outstanding at the beginning of the year. These recommendations were published by Government for general information, but a decision on them had to be deferred till the future liabilities in the matter of new capital expenditure had become sufficiently determined to enable a borrowing policy to be settled for the future

Company Registration, 1920-21.

Although the period under review was disastrous from the point of view of the finances of the Central Government, the number of new Companies registered in British India and the States of Mysore and Baroda increased from 905 in 1919-20 to 966 in 1920-21. The authorised capital, however, decreased from Rs. 276 crores (£276 millions) to Rs. 146 crores (£146 millions) in comparison with the preceding year. Among the most notable increases may be mentioned those of enterprises for sugar manufacture, for railways and tramways, for rice mills, for printing, publishing and stationery, for banking and loan, for cotton and jute, screws and presses. Noticeable decreases occurred under insurance, navigation, shipping, landing and warehousing, mills for wool, silk and hemp, cotton mills and jute mills, and tea.

Banking.

In previous reports mention has been made of the importance to the development of Indian trade of the extension of the banking facilities with which India is now so imperfectly provided. According to the latest figures available, in the pre-war year 1913 there were 12 Exchange banks doing business in India, of which the aggregate capital and reserves amounted to £37 millions, and their deposits in India to £31 millions. By 1920, notwithstanding the elimination of the great German Asiatic Bank, the total

number had risen to 15, of which the aggregate capital and reserves amounted to £90 millions and the deposits in India to £74 millions. Indian Joint Stock Banks with a paid-up capital and reserve of Rs. 5 lakhs and over have increased from 18 in 1913 to 25 in 1920; while their capital and reserves have increased in the same period from Rs. 364 lakhs (£3·64 millions) to Rs. 1,092 lakhs (£10·92 millions). The deposits of the Presidency Banks, which are now amalgamated as the Imperial Bank of India, rose from Rs. 588 lakhs in 1913 to Rs. 902 lakhs in 1920. The amalgamation to which reference has just been made was consummated in January 1921 by the disruption and reconstruction of the three Presidency Banks of Bengal, Bombay and Madras. The idea of a Central Bank had been under discussion for over three-quarters of a century; but it was principally as a result of war experience that the three banks realised the necessity of coming to an arrangement among themselves. Under the Imperial Bank of India Act, the nominal capital of the Bank is trebled, the capital of the three Presidency Banks, being 3¾ crores (£3·75 millions) and the additional authorised capital 7½ crores (£7·5 millions) in shares of Rs. 500 each. The control of the policy of the Bank is in the hands of a Central Board of Governors, while local affairs are controlled by local Boards at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, which are the lineal successors of the Directorates of the old Presidency Banks. The Presidents, Vice-Presidents and Secretaries of these local Boards are on the Central Board, upon which the Governor General in Council is empowered to nominate four non-officials. The Board is completed by two Managing Governors and the Controller of the Currency or another officer nominated by the Governor General. The Act retains with some slight modifications the limitations of the class of business in which the Bank may engage. The greatest innovation is the constitution of a London Office. By agreement with the administration, all the general banking business of Government is conducted by the Bank which is intended to hold all treasury balances wherever it has branches. The Bank further undertakes to open one hundred new branches within five years, the location of one-fifth being at the absolute discretion of Government. One of the important clauses of this agreement empowers the Governor General in Council to issue instructions to the Bank in respect of any matter which in his opinion vitally affects his financial policy or the safety of the Government balances. It further provides that the Controller of the Currency or other officer nominated by the Governor General

The Imperial Bank of India.

in Council to the Central Board may prevent any action being taken by the Board until the previous approval of the Governor General in Council has been attained, if he considers such action detrimental to the financial policy of Government.

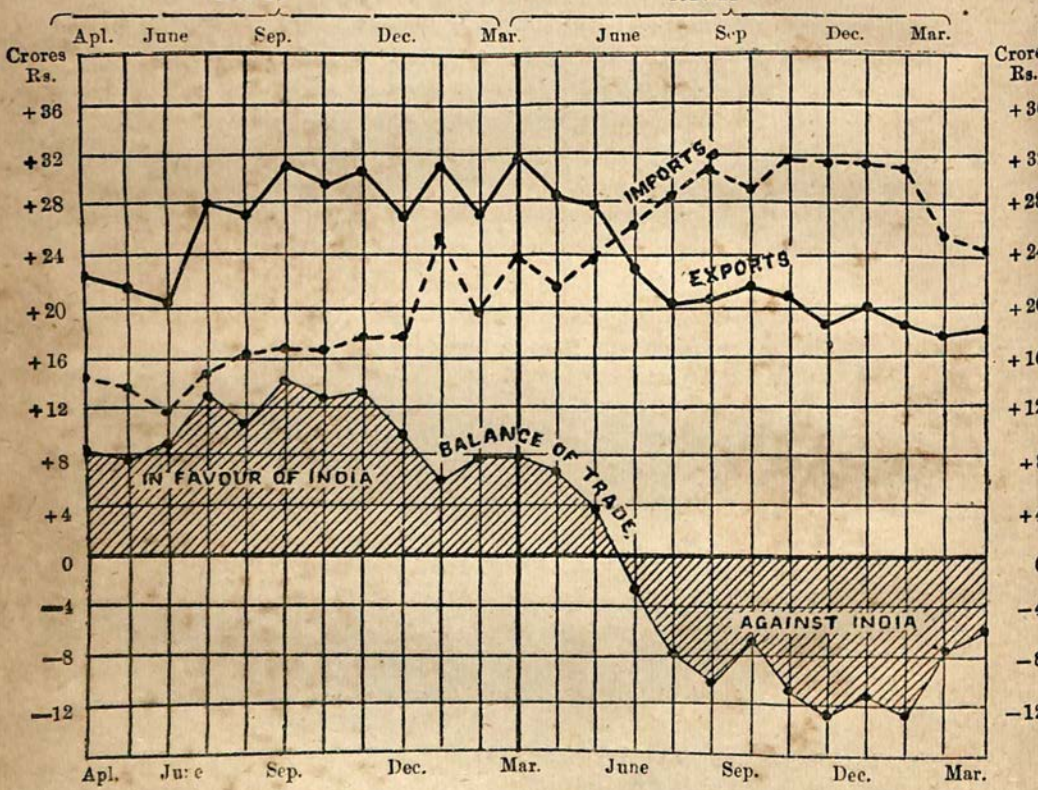
General Trade Conditions, 1920-21.

A brief analysis of Indian trade during the year 1920-21 is necessary in order to understand the financial conditions which have been outlined on a previous page. In the last year's report we noticed that the total foreign trade of British India had attained the unprecedented figure of £535 millions on the basis of a 2*s.* rupee, as against £427 millions in the preceding year. The pace was too fast to last, and before the year 1919-20 had closed, there were clear indications that the inevitable reaction was at hand. By January 1920, freights had fallen, and tonnage was no longer scarce. Since freight charges are an important item in the landed cost of produce, and since neither dealers nor manufacturers can afford to buy on a falling market save for urgent requirements, forward orders on India diminished and subsequent business was largely confined to spot transactions. In February, 1920, a check to the rising prices of one or two commodities indicated that the stocks of those goods in the world's markets were approaching satiety levels. The downward trend of exchange, which was noticed in last year's report, constituted a third important factor. Moreover, taxation was everywhere high, financial stringency prevailed, foreign exchanges were capricious, and unrest was beginning seriously to affect the world's industries. Russia and Central Europe were still out of the market and India had lost in them some of her principal customers. Finally, owing to the poor harvest of 1920, it was impossible wholly to remove embargos on the export of food-grains, and one of the incidents to a favourable trade balance was in consequence curtailed. Fortunately, the slump found India commercially and financially in a strong position. Her currency does not show the signs of inflation so marked in other countries.

India's Strength.

The deflation of her notes was carried out to the extent of Rs. 19 crores (£19 millions) from Rs. 185 crores (£185 millions) in January 1920 to Rs. 166 crores (£166 millions) in March 1921. Financial stringency was at no time during the year so apparent or so keenly felt as in Europe and in America. Indeed, inspite of adverse trade conditions which operated persistently throughout 1920-21, the total trade of the year, imports and exports combined, reached the very high figure of Rs. 592 crores (£592 millions) and thus exceeded the record of the previous year. The strong

IMPORTS, EXPORTS. AND BALANCE OF TRADE IN INDIA (PRIVATE MERCHANDISE ONLY).



position built up by India during the war may be stated in terms of her balance of trade. During the five years ending in March 1914, she closed her annual trade accounts of private merchandise with an average credit balance of Rs. 78 crores. During the five years of war 1914-15 to 1918-19, the annual credit was reduced to Rs. 76 crores but increased to the record figure of Rs. 119 crores during the year ending the 31st March 1920. During the year ending the 31st March 1921, however, the trade balance swung against India to the extent of Rs. 79 crores (£79 millions at the new rate of the rupee). It is not easy to determine exactly to what extent this adverse balance implies the dissipation of financial strength. The bulk of the imports during the year 1920-21 represented the execution on a falling rupee of orders placed when exchange was high. But, although each order represented a loss, in view of the steady fall both of exchange and prices, and in view of the consequent locking-up of capital in stocks which might never return even the expenditure originally remitted, India's financial resources as a whole had emerged successfully from the war and she was better able to face the prospective loss than she would have been 8 or 9 years earlier. The adverse trade balance of the year must therefore be considered in view of the fact that this period follows an epoch of remarkable prosperity, during which foreign trade was extended and profits were amassed. Although the larger proportion of these profits were remitted abroad, during the early months of the year, they went largely to finance the purchase of machinery, railway materials and other productive expenditure. The closing months of the financial year, January to March 1921, showed the volume of exports low in comparison with earlier records, but none the less fairly steady at about Rs. 18 crores each month. Imports dwindled from Rs. 31·25 crores for January to nearly 25½ crores for February and 24¼ crores for March. After this, as will subsequently be apparent, exports dropped steadily on account of smaller shipments of raw hides and skins, raw cotton, raw jute, cotton twist and yarn and jute gunny bags and cloth, only to increase once more in November and December 1921 on account of the larger exports of raw cotton, hides and skins and tea. But, although the year 1920-21 closed in a state of serious depression, which continued almost to the end of the calendar year 1921, there are certain factors of considerable importance which seem to indicate that permanent

Balance of Trade, 1920-21.

Trade Prospects.

obstacles to a revival of trade do not exist. While exchange is low and fluctuating, it has survived the slump of Continental exchanges. The internal currency position is good, and the note-issue well supported. On the other hand, labour difficulties are in evidence as in other parts of the world; and railway facilities, which vitally affect the coal position, are handicapped by many years' depreciation. India has a lee-way to make up in productive capital expenditure on plant, machinery and railway materials. But the favourable monsoon of the year 1921, together with the fact that Continental countries, particularly those commonly judged bankrupt, have already begun to purchase Indian goods in small quantities, seems to show that, though the revival of trade may be slow, the conditions essential to such a revival are in existence.

India's Imports, 1920-21.

Turning first to the imports of merchandise, we see that in the year 1920-21 the total value under this head amounted to £335 millions (Rs. 335 crores). Of this, the most important item was cotton manufactures, which increased considerably in value from Rs. 59 crores (£59 millions) in 1919-20 to Rs. 102 crores (£102 millions) in 1920-21. Comparing these figures with those of the pre-war year 1913-14, which were Rs. 66 crores, it may be remarked that the value of cotton manufactures represented respectively 28, 30, and 36 per cent. of India's total imports during each of the three years specified. Imports of Indian twist and yarn decreased slightly in average value during 1920-21 but increased enormously in quantity, namely, from 15 million lbs. in 1919-20 to 47 million lbs. in the period under review. Cotton piece-goods, which have always taken a prominent place among India's imports, exceeded in value during 1920-21 any other three classes of imported goods. The principal increase during that period was in coloured, printed and dyed goods, the most expensive class. These rose in quantity from 208 million yards in 1919-20 to 489 million yards in 1920-21. But it is interesting to notice that the serious price-inflation of recent years has been responsible for a remarkable reduction in India's demand for two or three of the principal classes of goods. In the pre-war year 1913-14 the imports of grey, white and coloured goods in million yards were approximately 1,534; 790 and 830. In the year under review these figures had shrunk respectively to 580; 421 and 489. Compared with the year 1919-20, the United Kingdom improved her position in Indian markets during the year 1920-21 so far as coloured piece-goods were concerned, but lost ground to Japan in greys. In white goods there was a little change.

Cotton.

SHARE OF THE PRINCIPAL ARTICLES AND COUNTRIES IN THE IMPORT TRADE OF BRITISH INDIA IN 1920-21, AS COMPARED WITH THE YEAR 1919-20.

IMPORTS

Note the increase in the percentage share of iron and steel, machinery, cotton manufactures, railway plant and hardware and the decrease in the case of sugar, mineral oil and silk, as compared with the previous year.

Note the increase in the share of the United Kingdom and the decrease in the case of Other parts of the British Empire, the United States, Japan and Java, as compared with the previous year

Iron and Steel.

Next in order of importance after cotton manufactures come imports of iron and steel, which during 1920-21 usurped from sugar the second place. The reason for this is plain. India had long been starving for iron and steel goods. In 1913-14 her requirements had exceeded one million tons, whereas in 1918-19 she had only been able to secure something less than one-fifth and in 1919-20 something less than one-half, of that quantity. During 1920-21, imports under this head were just short of 0·7 million tons. The most important items were sheets and plates, imported in 1920 21 to the extent of 0·22 million tons; steel bars and channel account for 0·15 million tons. Constructional materials—beams, pillars, girders and bridge work—had been for some years in great demand in India, but difficult to secure. As against a 1913-14 requirement of these materials amounting to 0·09 million tons, the country was able to obtain in 1919-20 only 0·02 million tons and in 1920-21, 0·08 million tons. The import from the United Kingdom, which was 0·5 million tons under the whole class, nearly doubled that of 1919-20: Britain's share in the total trade being 70 per cent. as compared with 63 per cent. in 1919-20. The share of the United States decreased from 31 to 16 per cent.

Machinery and Mill Work.

Third in importance comes machinery and mill work. The total imports of 1920-21 were valued at Rs. 24 crores (£24 millions) as compared with Rs. 9·6 crores (£9·6 millions) in 1919-20. The most important items were electrical machinery (£2 millions), cotton textile machinery (£3·7 millions) and jute mill machinery (£2·8 millions). Imports of paper mill, rice mill, sugar and tea machinery all increased as compared with the previous year. Of the total imports under this head the United Kingdom supplied 79 per cent., as against 67 per cent. in 1919. The share of the United States decreased to 17 per cent. from 30 per cent. in the previous year.

Railway Plant and Rolling Stock.

Next in importance come Railway plant and rolling-stock. Imports under this head on private and Government account were valued at £16·5 millions (Rs. 16·5 crores) in 1920-21. This total considerably exceeded that of the previous year (£9 millions) and even the total of the last pre-war year (£14 millions). But in view of high prices, the total quantities of constructional material, plant and rolling stocks secured during the year under review must have been considerably less than the quantities purchased in 1913-14. The London loan of £7½

millions, to which reference has previously been made, will, so it is announced, be entirely devoted to the purchase of railway material.

Sugar.

During the year under review, sugar, which in the war period had ranked second only to cotton piece-goods in India's import trade, sank to a poor fourth. The total quantity imported during the year 1920-21 fell from 0·4 million tons to 0·24 million tons. The principal source of supply was, as always, Java, which easily maintained the first place with 0·21 million tons or nearly 89 per cent. of the total imports. India's own production of cane sugar fell from 3 million tons in 1919-20 to 2·5 million tons in 1920-21, the yield being seriously affected by a poor monsoon and by a contracted acreage.

Motor Cars, etc.

In motor cars and motor cycles the trade has increased considerably of late years. In 1913-14 it ranked only 13th in order of importance; while in 1920-21 it was 6th, with a total value of £12 millions. The increase in imports of motor cars, which rose from 400 in 1918-19 to nearly 10,000 in 1919-20 was repeated in 1920-21 when more than 15,000 cars to the value of nearly £8 millions were imported. Of these more than 2,500 came from the United Kingdom as compared with 448 in 1919-20. The United States still holds by far the most prominent place with an importation of more than 10,000.

Hardware.

The important category of hardware, which includes a number of items such as tools, metal lamps, enamel iron ware, agricultural implements, etc., rose from slightly over 4 crores (£4 millions) in 1919-20 to more than 9 crores (£9 millions) in 1920-21, the imports of agricultural instruments and metal lamps doubling the values recorded for the previous year. Of the total imports of hardware, 58 per cent. came from the United Kingdom, 25 per cent. from America and 8 per cent. from Japan.

Mineral Oils.

Among other heads which deserve a word of notice may be mentioned, in the first place, mineral oils. During the war a shortage of kerosene was experienced in India, and in 1918-19 the imports had only been 12¾ million gallons as compared with nearly 69 million in 1913-14. In the course of the period reviewed in last year's report, this deficiency was made good by the importation of over 94 million gallons. During 1920-21, however, the trade contracted again to 57 million gallons, which was lower than the pre-war

figure. Coastwise imports from Burma to India amounted to 98 million gallons as compared with 104 million gallons in 1919-20. Of the foreign supplies, the United States of America contributed over 62 per cent., Borneo 23 per cent., Persia and the Straits 7 and 6 per cent. respectively. Increased demands for fuel oil on account of railways, steamships and industrial enterprise explain an increase in the imports under this head from 34 million gallons in 1919-20 to over 48 millions in 1920-21. In the case of paper and paste board, the average imports of printing paper before the war had been about 16,000 tons annually. Imports during the war averaged only 13,000 tons with the result that stocks had to be replenished. During the year under review, the quantity rose to nearly 28,000 tons, although there was actually a decline in value from Rs. 90 lakhs (£0·9 million) in 1918-19 to Rs. 63 lakhs (£0·63 million) in 1919-20, the fall being due chiefly to high exchange. In silk there was a slight decline from last year's figures. Of the total imports of silk piece-goods, nearly 22½ million yards valued at over Rs. 4 crores (£4 millions), Japan contributed over half, to the value of more than Rs. 2 crores. China and Hongkong contributed Rs. 1·6 crores, and the United Kingdom less than Rs. 11 lakhs.

Paper and Paste Board.

Silk.

Turning now to the export trade of India during the year 1920-21, we notice that the total exports, despite a higher level of prices, were less than those during the last pre-war year, amounting in fact to no more than Rs. 238 crores (£238 millions). The reasons for this are not far to seek. The general cost of living, wages, and the cost of production rose, reducing the margins of profit. The monsoon of 1920 was short, and the official control of food-grains, the export of which constitutes a considerable item in India's foreign trade, had to be retained. Moreover, such foreign countries as were in a position to buy had bought to excess, and countries starved of goods had not sufficient exchange strength to place orders. Stocks in India rose, with the result that the slump was general and acute. A factor of considerable importance to the export trade was the steady decline during the year 1920-21, in the sterling value of the rupee, which has already been mentioned. This naturally served to modify the decline in rupee prices, which did not in general show so violent a fall in India as the corresponding rates, when expressed in foreign currency, in foreign markets. Upon certain sections of trade,

Export Trade: General Considerations.

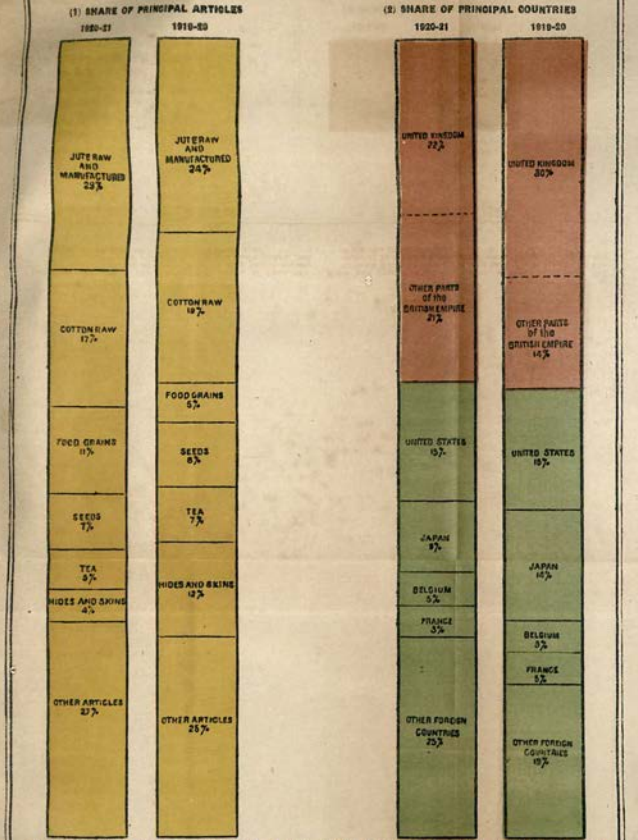
notably that in tea, the effect was disastrous; but in other lines the foreign consumer was encouraged to meet his immediate requirements by placing spot orders in India, and thus avoiding highly-priced stocks which the regular dealers in his own country were left to carry. One interesting feature of the export trade remains to be mentioned. The wide margins of price between superior and inferior qualities of the same classes of goods, characteristic of the war period, were generally maintained. This was due, in the first place, to the closing of several markets for the lower grades of Indian goods—hides and skins, jute, tea and rice —formerly constituted by Central Europe and Russia. The cheaper qualities of goods were, therefore, in poor demand, and their prices fell accordingly. In the second place, during the war, the demands had been largely on munitions account, and for military purposes the better classes of goods commanded a premium. In the third place, as freights rose, they accounted for more and more of the price of landed goods and discouraged the demand for cheap qualities. There are already signs that the margins between some classes of goods are beginning to contract once more—an indication of a return to normal trade conditions. But so long as the freights and costs of production remain high in comparison with pre-war levels, the discrepancy between prices of superior and inferior grades of similar commodities will doubtless continue to be wide.

Jute.

When we examine the composition of the export trade of India during 1920-21, we see that the principal items in order of importance were, first, jute, raw and manufactured; secondly, cotton, raw and manufactured; thirdly, food-grains and flour; fourthly, seeds; fifthly, tea; sixthly, hides and skins, raw and manufactured; seventhly, lac and shellac. Turning to jute, we find that the total value of raw jute exported amounted to Rs. 16·4 crores (£16·4 millions), as against Rs. 24·7 crores (£24·7 millions) in 1919-20. In manufactured jute, the value of exports amounted to Rs. 52·99 crores (£52·99 millions). Shipments to the United Kingdom were considerably reduced on account of the accumulation of stocks, the quantity of bags falling to 48 millions from 57 millions in 1919-20. On the other hand, the United States increased her purchases of bags from 43 to 72 million, Australia from 29 to 91 million, and Chili from 15 to 54 million. There was also an increase in the exports of jute cloth to North America. These increases, it should be noticed, occurred in the early portion of the year under review, and from September 1920, foreign markets were satisfied, and a decline in prices resulted.

SHARE OF THE PRINCIPAL ARTICLES AND COUNTRIES IN THE EXPORT TRADE OF BRITISH INDIA IN 1920-21, AS COMPARED WITH THE YEAR 1919-20.

EXPORTS



Note the increase in the percentage share of jute raw and manufactured and food-grains, and the decrease in the case of raw cotton, seeds, tea, and hides and skins, as compared with the previous year.

Note the increase in the share of Other parts of the British Empire and Belgium and the decrease in the case of the United Kingdom and Japan, as compared with the previous year.

Cotton.

During the year 1920-21, the exports of raw cotton from India declined to 2·07 million from 2·4 million bales. It is interesting to notice that the Continent, chiefly Germany, Belgium, and Italy, nearly doubled its purchases, which increased from 0·48 million to 0·82 million bales; while Japan reduced her purchases by nearly one-half, from 1·6 million bales to 0·94 million bales. Indian mills, it may be stated, continued during 1920-21 the steady increase in the production of yarn they had maintained since the Armistice year; but they failed to reach the output of 1913-14. The figures are 615 million lbs. for 1918-19, 636 for 1919-20, and 660 for 1920-21, as compared with 683 for 1913-14. India chiefly exports yarns to the Far East, and her trade in this commodity was seriously affected by the famine in China. Taken as a whole, the export trade declined to 83 million lbs. in 1920-21 from 152 million lbs. in 1919-20. In cotton piece-goods, the exports also fell off in 1920-21, but it should be noticed that their quantities as well as their value have left far behind the figures recorded before the war. Indian mills are in a much stronger position now than in the year 1913-14. At that period they produced 1,164 million yards. During the period under review, they produced 1,580 million yards, although the abnormal deflation of the year was responsible for a decline from the figure of the previous 12 months, namely, 1,639 million yards. It may be mentioned that despite the decline in prices in the world's markets, the prices of piece-goods were remarkably sustained, owing chiefly to the effect of a falling exchange on the imported goods which dictate local market rates.

Food-grains and Flour.

Under the heading of food-grains and flour, the most important items are rice and wheat. These remained under control throughout the period under review, since when war conditions ceased, famine or semi-famine conditions took their place. During the year under review, out of a total production of cleaned rice in India and Burma of 28 million tons, 1·06 million tons of rice and 35,000 tons of paddy were allowed to leave the country under license. Generally speaking, Indian colonists overseas have now the first claim on any surplus which India can spare. Accordingly, during the period under review, Ceylon took 276,000 tons, the Straits 183,000, Mauritius 36,000, the West Indies 10,000, and East Africa 9,500. The fall in the world prices of rice which occurred in the latter part of 1920 made it possible for the Government of India to modify very considerably the system of control over Burma rice exports in 1921. Between

Rice.

Burma and India free trade was re-established, and all control was removed from trade with foreign countries, except that shipment was only permitted under license up to a limited quantity of the exportable surplus, which was first estimated at 2·1 million tons of white rice, but subsequently reduced to 1·9 million tons. It was announced at the same time that, should Burma prices rise beyond the level of the rate fixed in 1920, the Government of India reserved to themselves power to reimpose a strict control. Wheat next claims attention. We notice that out of a production of 6·7 million tons during 1920-21, exports to the amount of 0·24 million tons were permitted. The 1920 wheat crop was good, being 9 per cent. above the average of the previous five years, with the result that between the months October 1920 and March 1921 the Government of India agreed, under certain restrictions, to release 0·4 million tons of wheat for export. Arrangements were made for the purchase of the quantity forthcoming within certain fixed limits of price and for its shipment and sale to foreign countries through six principal wheat-exporting firms at Karachi. But in February 1921, in view of the heavy fall which occurred in world prices, the Government of India decided to abandon the scheme for the purchase and sale of Indian wheat on Government account. The total quantity purchased for Government up to that date was 0·24 million tons. After that date and up to the 31st March 1921, firms were permitted to make purchases and sales on private account up to the balance of each firm's allotment, subject to the conditions that the total quantity of 0·4 million tons was not to be exceeded, and that the purchases should not be made above a certain price. The result was that the total quantity of wheat bought in India under this scheme, both on Government and private account between October 1920 and March 1921, amounted to only 0·3 million tons. Control over the less important food-grains resulted in a decline in their export from 0·7 million tons in 1918-19 to 0·2 million tons in 1919-20 and 0·093 million tons in 1920-21.

Wheat.

Indian oilseeds fared badly in foreign markets during 1920-21, the total export of seeds declining from 0·83 million tons in 1919-20 to 0·624 million tons in the period under review. In point of fact, India's own consumption of vegetable oils and cake is very great, and in this line of trade she looks on foreign markets as a convenience, not a necessity. Local needs were imperious during 1920-21, and although the crop was better than in the previous year, they were able to outbid a weak foreign demand. The principal

Oilseeds.

purchaser was the United Kingdom, with 41 per cent., followed by Belgium, with 28 per cent., of India's export trade in seeds. In vegetable oils there was a similar decline in the quantity exported.

Tea.

The tea export trade underwent a considerable disaster in 1920-21, the exports by sea to foreign countries falling from 379 million lbs. in 1919-20 to 285 million lbs. in the period under review. This was due to the fact that the United Kingdom, which is India's best customer, had become over-stocked. Heavy shipments at the end of 1919, increasing home stocks, and heavy production of inferior grades early in 1920, led to the collapse of the market in March 1920, although the finer qualities were not hit to nearly the same extent as the inferior grades. The effects of the slump were aggravated by the downward movement of exchange. Calcutta firms, in particular, who account for some nine-tenths of the trade, are accustomed to negotiate their bills at the time of shipment to finance their gardens. Accordingly, during the year under review, they suffered, on the one hand, from high rates of exchange, and, on the other, from declining prices in the London auction sales. Fortunately, the position at the beginning of the 1921 season was more satisfactory from the standpoint of a glutted market, a rough estimate showing that the Indian crop had been reduced by 37 per cent. at the end of June 1921.

Hides and Skins.

In hides and skins, India's export trade suffered no less seriously than tea from the slump in foreign markets. The initial causes were undoubtedly, first, the heavy stocks of raw hides, leather, boots and shoes over-hanging British markets as a result of the trade boom of 1919-20; secondly, the balance of munitions stocks still carried forward; and thirdly, general financial stringency in producing markets, coupled with exchange difficulties in those European countries where stocks were known to be low. In raw hides and skins, accordingly, the trade suffered so seriously that in March 1921, the Legislative Assembly considered the desirability of removing the export duty of 15 per cent. *ad valorem*—including the two-thirds rebate to tanners within the empire. In view of the financial position of Government, however, the duty was allowed to continue. The quantity of raw cow hides exported fell from 39,000 tons in 1919-20 to 14,000 tons in the year under review, while the value declined from Rs. 6·3 crores (£6·3 millions) to Rs. 1·6 crores (£1·6 millions). Raw goat skins, another very important export, declined in quantity from 31,000 tons to 10,000 tons, while their value declined from Rs. 14·4 crores (£14·4 millions) to Rs. 3 crores (£3 millions). The trade in tanned hides

and skins experienced much the same set-back, the exports of tanned hides falling from 24,000 tons in 1919-20 to 4,000 tons in 1920-21, while the exports of tanned skins fell from 4·9 thousand tons to 2·6 thousand tons.

Shellac.

In shellac, of which India has a virtual monopoly, the high figure of 250,000 cases of lac of all kinds, which was the quantity exported in 1919-20, declined to 206,000 cases. The total value, however, increased from Rs. 7·25 crores (£7·25 millions) to more than Rs. 7·5 crores (£7·5 millions). The chief shipments were to America, which took nearly 148,000 cases, as compared with only 38,000 cases to the United Kingdom.

Direction of Trade.

More significant, perhaps, to the general reader than the actual composition of India's foreign trade, is the direction which that trade assumes. In 1920-21, we notice, first a net increase of from 37·7 to 44·1 in the percentage share of the United Kingdom in the trade of India. This may be compared with the pre-war figure of 40·7 per cent. Under imports, the increase was remarkable, Great Britain's percentage rising from 50·5 in 1919-20 to 61 in 1920-21. On the other hand, there was a decrease in the United Kingdom's share of India's exports, from 29·6 to 21·9 per cent. In the import trade, the share of the rest of the British Empire declined from 10 to 5 per cent., but in the export trade their share rose from 14 to 21 per cent. The figures for the whole British Empire now stand at 56 per cent. of the total Indian trade, being 66 per cent. of the imports, and 43 per cent. of the exports; as against 51 per cent. of the total trade, that is, 61 per cent. of the imports, and 44 per cent. of the exports in 1919-20. During the year 1920-21 there was a slight decrease in the total trade with the United States from 13·8 to 12·4 per cent.; her share in the import trade declining from 12·1 to 10·5 per cent., while in exports her position remained practically unchanged, namely nearly 15 per cent. Japan, on the other hand, suffered an all-round decrease in her share of India's trade; under imports, her share declined from 9·2 to 7·9, under exports from 14·3 to 9·5. As a net result, her share of the total trade decreased from 12·3 to 8·6 per cent. Turning to the details of India's trade with the United Kingdom, we see that imports from Great Britain showed an increased value of no less than Rs. 100 crores (£100 millions), standing in the year under review at the figure of Rs. 205 crores (£205 millions). Nearly 40

British Empire.

U. S. A.

Japan.

per cent. of the total imports from the United Kingdom consisted of cotton manufactures, including twists and yarn, which were valued at Rs. 81 crores (£81 millions), as against Rs. 51 crores (£51 millions) in the preceding year. Other important groups, namely metals and manufactures, machinery, railway plant and rolling stock, accounted for 29 per cent., or nearly one-third, of the total imports, as against 23 per cent. in 1919-20. The quantity of cotton piece-goods imported rose by 32 per cent. to 1,292 million yards, but this was still 58 per cent. below the imports in the pre-war year. Turning to exports, the principal articles were tea, over Rs. 10 crores (£10 millions), raw and manufactured jute (nearly the same figure), seeds (Rs. 7 crores : £7 millions), food-grains (Rs. 4½ crores : £4½ millions), and raw and tanned hides and skins (Rs. 3½ crores : £3½ millions). Turning to foreign countries, we notice that there has been a general decrease of their trade with India as compared with 1919-20, certain Continental countries in Europe providing the only exceptions. As compared with the pre-war year 1913-14, the value of the imports from almost all the Continental countries increased, with the exception of Germany and Austria. Under exports, there was a marked decrease in the case of France, Italy, Germany, Austria, Sweden and the Netherlands, accompanied by an increase in the trade with Belgium, Norway, Spain and Switzerland. As in the preceding year, the United States occupied the second place in India's foreign trade. The value of imports of American goods rose to Rs. 35 crores (£35 millions), an increase of Rs. 10 crores (£10 millions) as compared with 1919-20. The principal articles imported into India were motor cars and motor vehicles (Rs. 6½ crores : £6½ millions), mineral oils, iron and steel (Rs. 5 crores £5 millions each), machinery and mill work (Rs. 4 crores : £4 millions) and hardware (Rs. 2¼ crores : £2¼ millions). The bulk of the exports to the United States consisted of raw and manufactured jute (nearly Rs. 24 crores : £24 millions), shellac (Rs. 5 crores : £5 millions), and raw hides and skins (Rs. 2½ crores : £2½ millions). These articles accounted for 91 per cent. of the total value. With Japan, the value of the total trade of India decreased by Rs. 15 crores (£15 millions) to over Rs. 50 crores (£50 millions). As compared with 1919-20, there was a remarkable increase in Indian imports of cotton twist and yarn and grey piece-goods. The total value of all sorts of cotton manufactures amounted to Rs. 15 crores (£15 millions), as against Rs. 6 crores (£6 millions) in the preceding year, representing 56 per cent. of the total import trade with Japan. Over 20

General Analyses.

million lbs. of cotton twist and yarn and 170 million yards of cotton piece-goods were imported from Japan, as against 2 million lbs. and 76 million yards during the year 1919-20. As in the previous year, Japan supplied the bulk of the imports of glassware, matches and silk manufactures. Of exports to Japan, no less than 85 per cent. of the total value consisted of raw cotton. The quantity, however, declined by 43 per cent. to 167,000 tons, and the value by 50 per cent. to Rs. 20½ crores (£20½ millions).

In the preceding paragraphs we have been dealing with India's trade during the financial year 1920-21, which is the latest date for which the minute analyses presented in the annual publication known as the Review of the Trade of India are available. During the last 9 months of the calendar year 1921, the tendencies which have been indicated continued to operate. A summary survey of trade tendencies of the calendar year 1921 shows to what extent the symptoms of trade decline have persisted. The grand total of imports and re-exports of merchandise during the calendar year is found to be Rs. 504 crores (£504 millions), as against Rs. 615 crores (£615 millions) in 1920, which represents a decrease of 18 per cent. The imports of foreign merchandise during the year 1921 amounted to Rs. 278 crores (£278 millions), as against Rs. 323 crores (£323 millions), while the exports amounted to Rs. 212 crores (£212 millions), as against Rs. 273 crores (£273 millions). In other words, in comparing the calendar year 1921 with the calendar year 1920, the imports showed a decrease of Rs. 45 crores, or 14 per cent.; exports, a decrease of Rs. 60 crores, or 22 per cent.; re-exports, of Rs. 6 crores or 32 per cent. During the first four months January to April of the calendar year 1921, there was an increase in the imports, as compared with the corresponding months of 1920. This was due to larger imports of raw cotton, electrical instruments, machinery, railway plant and rolling stock. In all the remaining months of the year there was a decrease, which was mainly due to smaller imports of cotton piece-goods, and also of motor vehicles and mineral oils. Among the chief imports during the calendar year was wheat, which rose to 4·6 crores (£4·6 millions) from an almost infinitesimal sum in 1920. There was also a heavy increase, amounting to no less than Rs. 4·1 crores, in the import of coal; to Rs. 2·8 crores in raw cotton; to Rs. 2·3 crores in electrical instruments; and to Rs. 2·6 crores in sugar. On the other hand, imported piece-goods underwent a spectacular decline. The falling off in the value of grey goods imported was Rs. 3·2 crores (£3·2 millions),

Calendar Year 1921: Imports.

in white Rs. 13·1 crores (£13·1 millions), and in coloured Rs. 22·8 crores (£22·8 millions). Indeed the total decline in the value of yarns and textile fabrics imported into India during the calendar year 1921 showed a decline from 122·6 crores (£122·6 millions)—the figure of the calendar year 1920—to Rs. 69·6 crores (£69·6 millions). On the other hand, values of railway plant and rolling stock imported in the year 1921 attained the figure of 20·6 crores (£20·6 millions), from Rs. 9·5 crores (£9·5 millions) in the preceding calendar year. In the export trade, there was a marked decrease in the months, January to October 1921, mainly due to smaller shipments of raw hides and skins, raw cotton, raw jute, cotton twist and yarn, jute gunny bags and jute cloth; but in the last months of the year, particularly in November and December, there was a slight increase over the figures of the last calendar year on account of larger exports of raw cotton, raw hides and skins, and tea. The only commodities which show an important increase in the export trade of the calendar year 1921 are rice, the value of which increased by Rs. 2·97 crores (£2·97 millions); wheat, which increased by Rs. 3·72 crores (£3·72 millions), and tea, which increased by Rs. 5 crores (£5 millions). On the other hand, there was a marked and sensational decrease in jute gunny bags and jute cloth, to the value of Rs. 10·2 crores (£10·2 millions) and Rs. 16 crores (£16 millions), respectively. There was also smaller decreases in raw cotton (Rs. 9·7 crores: £9·7 millions), raw jute (Rs. 4·45 crores: £4·45 millions), and cotton twist and yarn (Rs. 5·2 crores: £5·2 millions). As a result, the balance of India's trade during the calendar year 1921 is against her to the extent of Rs. 46·7 crores (£46·7 millions). The net imports of merchandise into the country for the calendar year 1921 stand at the figure of Rs. 53 crores (£53 millions), as against Rs. 21 crores (£21 millions) in the calendar year 1920. This figure may profitably be compared with the net export of merchandise standing at the figure of Rs. 127 crores (£127 millions) which characterised the calendar year 1919.

Calendar Year 1921: Exports.

Balance of Trade.

The general dependence of Indian trade upon the prosperity of Indian industries needs no lengthy demonstration. The war-period gave a considerable shock to those who were anxious for the industrial progress of the country, since the notable report of the Indian Industrial Commission showed that India was unable to produce more than a small fraction of the articles essential for the maintenance of ordinary civilized activities.

Industries.

Rich as she is in raw material, India is still very poor in industrial achievements; and in several important branches of industry. She has to buy back manufactured articles towards which she has already contributed raw materials. The difficulty has hitherto been that without active support on the part of the administration, few Indian industries, except those based upon natural monopoly, could hope to make headway against the organised competition of western countries. The English tendency to allow matters to follow their natural economic course accordingly prevailed, until war-experience served to change prevalent notions as to the function of the State in relation to industries. In justice to the Indian administration it must be remarked that some time prior to the war, certain attempts to encourage Indian industries by means of pioneer factories and Government subsidies, were effectually discouraged from Whitehall. Fortunately for India, the history of the war-period has effectively demonstrated the necessity of Government playing an active part in the industrial development of India. As was mentioned in preceding reports, the labours of the Industrial Commission led to the formulation of proposals for the organization of a central Department of Industries. In February 1921 the Secretary of State sanctioned the creation of such a Department as a permanent branch of the Government of India. This Department deals with industries including industrial intelligence; with industrial exhibition; and with central institutions for industrial training. It is also concerned with geology and minerals, including the geological survey of India and the administration of the Indian Mines Act. It further administers the Indian Explosives Act, the Indian Petroleum Act; the Indian Factories Act including labour legislation; Patents and Designs; Copyright; electrical legislation; legislation relating to steam boilers; Stores; Stationery and Printing; inter-provincial migration; and Salt.

State-Aid.

The New Department of Industries.

With the introduction of the new constitution, the development of industries became a provincial transferred subject. Hence the policy to be pursued in the matter of granting assistance to industries, the development of technical and industrial education, and to a large extent the research work necessary to establish the value of raw materials, is now determined by the Minister in each province in charge of the subject. The constitution, however, permits the

Functions of the Central and Provincial Governments.

Central Government to retain control over industrial subjects when it considers such a course to be necessary. For example, the establishment of pioneer industries for the conduct of which, on an adequate scale, the resources of any province will be inadequate; or the establishment in similar circumstances of institutes for carrying on research and training which affect India as a whole, may be made the direct concern of the Central Government. In accordance with these conditions, the Central Government is proceeding to establish a school of mines and geology, and a central chemical research institute. The latter scheme, important as it is, has had to remain for the present in abeyance on account of the financial position. A similar difficulty has led to the abandonment of a scheme for the establishment of an Imperial tanning institute and demonstration boot factory in Calcutta; while the efforts of Government to secure the services of suitable experts for the investigation of the glass industry—which is of great importance to India—have so far been unsuccessful.

Purchase of Stores.

Among the most important of the immediate proposals made by the Industrial Commission was probably that of local purchase of Government and railway stores. The principle that Government stores should be purchased wherever possible in India has long been accepted; but in the absence of any institution for the amalgamation of indents and for technical inspection during manufacture, it has been difficult to go very far. Manufacturing industries could not, of course, be started without a sufficient and continuous market; while orders could not be placed so long as there existed no adequate means of manufacture. In consequence, demands have continued to be made on Great Britain for many articles and materials which might well have been manufactured in India if there had been any machinery for bringing Government buyers into effective touch with local manufacturers. As was mentioned in last year's report, a committee was appointed to scrutinise Government indents with a view to their being executed in an increasing degree in India, to consider methods by which the purchase of stores could be shared by the Central and Local Governments, and to examine the possibility of assisting railway companies and other public bodies to do the same thing. At the beginning of the period under review, the Secretary of State signified his approval, as a preliminary measure, to the appointment of three chief officers of the proposed Indian Stores Department. The Chief Controller of Stores and the Director of Purchases and Intelligence have now been appointed, and they

assumed charge of their duties on the 1st January 1922, from which date the new Department has come into existence.

Surplus Stores.

Considerable progress has also been made during the period under review in the disposal of surplus stores on behalf of His Majesty's Government; the closing of war commitments of the Indian Munitions Board; and the purchase of textiles for the army and civil departments. The work of disposing of textile surpluses, which had hitherto been conducted as a separate organization, was amalgamated in May 1921 with the work of disposal of other classes of stores. The aggregate value of textile surpluses disposed of during the year 1921 amounted to £1·12 millions (Rupees 1·12 crores), as compared with £1·04 millions realized by engineering and miscellaneous stores; £0·08 million by medical stores; and £0·06 million by foodstuffs. The Textile Purchases Branch acquired for the army and for certain civil departments during the period under review goods to the value of £1·58 millions; of which £1·16 millions were purchased from firms in India, £0·32 million was purchased from surplus stores and £0·09 million was purchased through the Director General of Stores, London.

Salt.

A very important sphere of the activities of the new Industries Department is that connected with salt, which plays a prominent part in the domestic economy of India. The shortage in this commodity which proved so serious a trouble through the years of the great war and the subsequent period, compelled the Northern India Salt Revenue Department to adopt certain expedients for the protection of the consumer. The scarcity inevitably arising from the lack both of internal and of over-seas transport, combined with the cessation of supplies from German and Turkish sources, encouraged speculators to exploit the situation. Towards the end of 1920 it was decided that the only possible remedy was to appoint, in every district in Northern India, as well as in certain Indian States, agents to whom an allotment of salt from Northern India sources could be made monthly on the basis of population. The internal distribution of salt within each district is controlled by the District Officer and within each State by the Darbar, the only requirement made by the Northern India Salt Revenue Department being the limitation of commission realized by the agent. The working of this scheme has produced a marked fall in retail prices in two-thirds of the districts of the United Provinces; in one-half of the Punjab districts, and in a certain number of Indian States. One main obstacle to the supply of cheap salt in

adequate quantities arises from the fact that the supply of salt from the Northern India sources is still unequal to the demand. Further, railway transport presents difficulties, and evasions on the part of vendors are not always easy to defeat. Considerable efforts are now being made to raise the output of salt from the Rajputana and the Punjab sources, which is distributed over the Punjab, the United Provinces, Rajputana, the Central India Agency, the nearer parts of Sind, and the Central Provinces and Berar. The output of the Bombay and Sind sources competes with that of Northern India in certain of these regions. In order to render the Northern India area independent of imported supplies, and unaffected by the operations of the speculator, it will be necessary roughly to double the average output of the Rajputana lakes and the Punjab mines. Large schemes for the development of these sources, estimated to cost over half a million sterling, have been launched with the advice of expert engineers. The work of development in the Rajputana lakes is in charge of an expert with special training and experience of the problems involved. The scheme provides for the construction of a dam across the neck of the Sambhar Lake, to enclose a small section which will be used as a brine reservoir; for electrical pumping plant; and for a new system of salt pans. The system of loading and despatching the manufactured salt is simultaneously undergoing revision. The scheme for the development of the Salt Range mines in the Punjab will, it is hoped, be commenced next year. This is of particular importance in view of the fact that the demand for rock salt is increasing in all parts of India, and, if the output from the Salt Range can be doubled before the replacement of shipping and reduction of overseas freight open the field again to the foreign manufacturer, it is probable that a new market of great value will be permanently retained for Khewra salt. A programme of the development of the Salt Range mines spread over five years has been prepared on the advice of the Consulting Engineer.

India's Sources of Salt.

Schemes for Development.

From what has been said as to the importance of the part played by the new popular Ministers in the future direction of industrial activities in the provinces, it is plain that the value of close consultation between the Central Department and the Provincial Departments is very great. During the period under review, two conferences of Directors of Industries were held in April and November respectively. But in view of altered condi-

Industrial Conferences.

tions, it was considered that these conferences should in future take the form of conferences of provincial Ministers in charge of industries, who would be invited to bring with them their Directors of Industries and any other officials whose attendance they might think desirable. The first of these new conferences was held in May 1921 in which all but one of the provincial Ministers in charge of Industries were present. This conference served a very useful purpose. Personal discussion enabled the new relations between the Central and Provincial Governments and methods of co-operation between the Provincial Departments of Industries to be better understood, and the opportunity was taken to determine lines of policy on many questions of great importance for the industrial development of the country. Among the more important questions which were placed before the Conference were the proposals to institute an All India Industrial Service and an All India Chemical Service which had been recommended by the Indian Industrial Commission. As under the new constitution the development of industries, and, therefore, the main work of the proposed Industrial Service, is a transferred subject, the Government of India thought it desirable that before they proceeded further with the questions, the Ministers newly appointed to take charge of the development of industries in the provinces should be given an opportunity of expressing their opinions on the question whether these two Services would be acceptable to the new form of Government. The adoption of the Indian Industrial Commission's proposal would involve the creation of new services with vested interests over which local Governments would exercise only a limited measure of control, while the work which they would have to perform would be entirely a provincial concern. It was decided at the Conference that in the case of both the projected Services a further opportunity should be given to the Provinces to consider the comparative advantages and disadvantages of employing Imperial services in this particular field of work, but at the same time there was a general feeling among the members that the provinces would prefer to engage experts themselves on short term contracts of service.

Provincial Activities.

A notable feature of the industrial progress of the country has been the increasing strength of the provincial organizations under the provincial Ministers and Directors of Industries. Turning to particular provinces we may notice that although industrial development has been greatly hampered by financial stringency, the progress achieved has none the less been consider-

able. In Madras, an Advisory Board of Industries, consisting of 12 members, was constituted at the end of 1920. Throughout the period under review it performed valuable services, and was invariably consulted on all matters of general importance. The Information Bureau was freely resorted to and supplied a large amount of information on industrial subjects. A great deal of practical work was also successfully performed. Experiments were made to investigate the possibilities of manufacturing flour phosphate, dyes, tartaric acid and coir fibre, as well as of cheapening the preliminary processes of weaving. An ink of good quality was produced and put on the market. Plant for boring and pumping was in such demand that the existing machinery proved inadequate to satisfy it. In other directions progress was equally satisfactory. The Government Trades School at Madras has now 217 students; the number of industrial schools supported by Government increased to 40; and the organization of working classes for juvenile hands employed in the various firms was aided and encouraged in every possible way. Seven peripatetic weaving parties toured the districts and instructed the local weavers in improving and cheapening their methods of work.

Madras.

In Bombay, the most important work of the Industries Department was answering enquiries of private individuals and industrial firms. The general public is little aware of the great volume of commercial and industrial information which is regularly collected and published by Government or which can be collected by enquiry through Government agency. The value of the work done by the Bombay Department of Industries in this matter is proved by the steady growth of the volume of enquiries, which increased to over 7,000 in 1921-22 as against under 6,000 in 1919-20. Considerable progress has also been made in the improvement of the hand-loom weaving industry. The object of the Department is to introduce improved appliances and methods among the weaving population so as to raise the standard and increase the amount of their output. The use of improved appliances and improved weaving methods is taught in two ways, namely, by means of weaving schools and by demonstrations. In the weaving schools there is a regular curriculum and instruction is given in the weaving of cotton and mercerised bordered goods of various kinds. Tuition is free and for the first three months pupils receive a stipend of Rs. 3 monthly, thereafter small prizes are given to the most regular attender and to the pupil who produces the best cloth. Demonstrations are on less elaborate lines. A demonstrator

Bombay.

is sent to a weaving centre for about six months with two looms, on one of these he works with appliances and methods which the Department seeks to introduce, and on the other any local weaver can receive instruction and practise for himself. In some villages the results from these demonstrations have been very satisfactory, and they frequently evoke a request that a weaving school should be opened in their village. About 400 improved looms and the same number of dobbies have been introduced during the year as a result of these demonstrations. In the United Provinces the difficulty of obtaining machinery, railway transport and coal continues to hamper industrial progress. Of these various causes, the one which was perhaps the most locally important was the shortage of railway wagons required for the carriage of raw materials and finished products. Several mills and factories had to be closed down, and in respect both of tanneries and glass works there was a considerable fall in the number of operators. On the other hand, technical schools both Government and subsidised continue to do good work; and passed pupils have in most cases readily found employment in commercial firms or been able to start their own business. Special mention may be made of the Allahabad Carpentry School, which, although it was started only two years ago, is now one of the most successful and popular technical institutions in the province. During the year a new leather working school at Cawnpur was opened, and it soon had its full complement of students. At Farrukhabad, a Government fabric printing school was also started. As to the future of weaving schools, both permanent and peripatetic, a committee was appointed by Government to advise, and its report is at present under consideration. During the year the Government also considered the question of expanding the Chemical Research Institute, and in accordance with the advice of a committee of experts, it is now proposed to build a technological institute where students will be taught the elements of engineering and the chemistry of their particular subject, and will at the same time receive training on a factory scale in the subject which they are studying.

United Provinces.

In Bengal, while industrial activities were impeded by causes common to all India, aggravated by the prevalent labour unrest, there was none the less continued development in the industrial awakening of the Presidency. Companies are at work manufacturing machinery for the tea industry, and spare parts, replacements and repairs, for mill and other similar machinery. Several new companies have been promoted to work rice mills, oil mills and lac

Bengal.

factories in the country districts, where raw materials are available at a low price. The results of the experiments for making paper pulp from bamboo have encouraged manufacturers to prepare for the extension of these operations on a commercial scale in places where road communications are good. The cottage industry of match-making, notwithstanding previous failures, has been attended with some success; hand-looms for weavers are finding favour; and several engineering firms started the manufacture of looms and accessories. The work done by the Calcuta Research Tannery continues to be encouraging, despite the fact that many tanneries started with high hopes have been compelled to close down. It has conducted systematic investigations on suitable raw materials and proper tanning methods, special attention being devoted during the period under review to the study of tannery waters and to the manufacture of sole leathers and glace kids. Apprentices were trained and demonstrations of improved processes were given in several exhibitions. In the Punjab, notwithstanding unfavourable economic conditions, the new Department of Industries made a promising start. As a tentative measure, six industrial surveyors have been appointed to travel constantly through the province and to keep the Director in touch with local industries. Instruction in the five weaving schools has at the same time been put on a more scientific basis. The number of factories has increased to 38, and the average number of employees in factories subject to the Factories Act has risen from 39,000 to 42,500.

Punjab.

In connection with the general popularization of Indian industries in other parts of the Empire, mention should be made of the British Industries Fair organized by the Department of Overseas Trade in 1921. The Governments of the United Provinces, the Punjab and Assam participated in the Fair, and the Indian Trade Commissioner, who supervised the arrangements, reports that the Indian stalls met with considerably greater success than was the case in the previous year. The articles exhibited were good, and in the main more generally suited for export and for sale in the United Kingdom than had been the case on the last occasion. Sales were effected and orders booked to a total value of about £4,000. In the next Fair held in London from the 27th February to the 10th March 1922, the Governments of Bombay, the United Provinces, the Punjab and Burma participated. The London Department of Overseas Trade is also organizing an Exhibition, which will most probably take place in 1924, to be known as the British Empire Exhibition.

Exhibitions.

The primary object of this project is to promote the extension of Imperial trade by means of comprehensive exhibits of the industries, inventions, raw materials and products of the Empire. At two successive conferences of the Departments of Industries the verdict in favour of India's participation was unanimous. This was endorsed by the Local Governments, and subsequently by the Legislative Assembly.

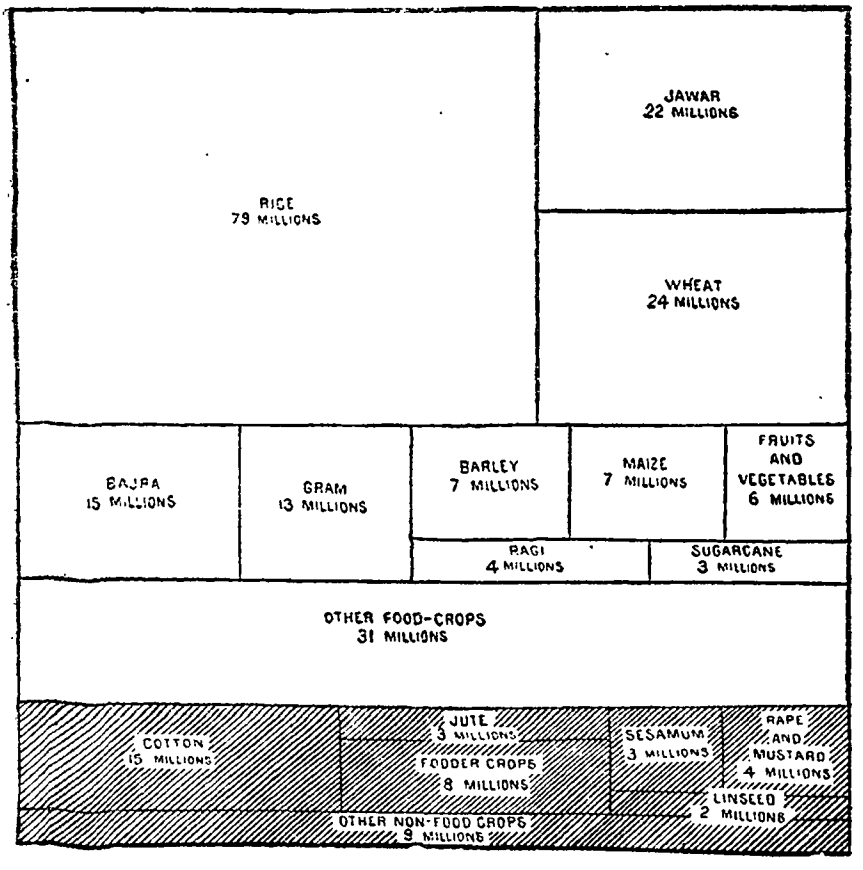
Indian Agriculture.

For many years to come, the prosperity of India seems destined to rest upon agriculture rather than upon industries. Three persons out of every four in India gain their livelihood directly from the soil; hence it is that the improvement of that livelihood constitutes the readiest way of regenerating the economic life of India. The world's progress has affected agriculture equally with other occupations, and unless the Indian agriculturist can be equipped with knowledge as well as capital for developing the resources at his disposal, it is difficult to see how he will in future support his share of the economic burden from which no nation on the road to self-government can escape. During recent years, an extraordinary change has taken place in the position which the Department of Agriculture occupies relative to the agricultural population. In many places the cultivator has already learnt to look on the expert as a friend and a guide, and his old attitude of suspicion towards new methods is beginning to be substantially modified. When the success of new methods can be quickly and plainly demonstrated, they spread with remarkable rapidity. The so-called conservatism of the Indian cultivator is generally merely that of the sound practical farmer, who requires good reasons for departing from well-established practice. The economic influence of high prices, combined with the intensified demand, resulting from the war, for higher production, has stimulated in great degree the adoption of improved practice. On the other hand, the question of initial resources continues to be of importance. To the farmer possessing the necessary capital to supply irrigation water, plenty of manure and efficient tillage implements, the question of the suitability of crops to local conditions becomes a matter of little importance. But to the Indian agriculturist possessing few of these advantages, crop varieties are all-important, and the first and obvious step in the improvement of his agriculture is to provide him with crop varieties suitable to existing conditions. He is already awakening in many places to the fact that he is not extracting from his land all that it is capable of producing. Indeed the willingness of the agriculturist to learn how

Progress and Conservatism.

Total area sown in 1919-20.

Total area sown	255
Area under food crops (unshaded)	211
Area under non-food crops (shaded)	44



NOTE.—"Other food crops" are minor food grains, condiments and spices, and miscellaneous food crops.

"Other non-food crops" are oilseeds other than sesamum, linseed, rape and mustard; fibres other than cotten and jute; dyes; drugs and narcotics; and miscellaneous non-food crops.

to improve the quantity and quality of his crops is being held by those in a position to form a sound judgment of the matter as the dawn of an era of intensive cultivation. The major operations of the Agricultural Department naturally accord with these tendencies. They have been in the direction of the introduction of improved varieties of existing crops. The other side of the question, namely the improvement of soil and other local conditions, will be a matter of slower growth; since increased capital or at least extended credit, will have to be forthcoming for its fulfilment.

The Departments of Agriculture.

If only the Central and Provincial Departments of Agriculture can be expanded proportionately to the magnitude of the task before them, the future prosperity of India may be regarded as assured. Great areas of land, at present either wholly unutilized or insufficiently exploited, lie ready to yield, after the application of labour, manure and water, tons of valuable crops. Hitherto unfortunately, it has not been found possible to expend upon scientific agriculture that amount of money which India's necessities really require. The headquarters of the Imperial Department of Agriculture at Pusa are maintained at a cost of slightly more than £65,000; while the total expenditure of all the Provincial Departments amounted in 1920-21 to the comparatively small sum of £594,000. This works out at a total charge on the country of about one half-penny per acre per annum.

Their Work.

A brief note of the work accomplished by the Agricultural Department in dealing with particular crops will do more than many pages of argument to demonstrate its utility to the country. First in importance of all the grain crops in India is *rice*. Its yield is a vital factor in the country's welfare. Accordingly, to the selection of improved varieties and to the supply of suitable seed, the Agricultural Department devotes much of its attention. The demand for this improved seed now far outruns the supply; and in the four principal rice-growing provinces—Bengal, Burma, the Central Provinces and Madras—the areas under improved varieties are now not less than 46,000, 85,000, 77,000 and 6,000 acres respectively.

Rice.

This is no matter for surprise when it is observed that one of the departmental strains which has been planted in the Madras Presidency yields no less than 3,771 lbs. per acre, representing a net profit to the cultivator of nearly £23 per acre for the crop. Some of the departmental selections of Burma rice yield per acre from eight to ten baskets of 51 pounds each more than

the best local varieties; while the Bengal varieties have been yielding 246 to 492 lbs. more per acre than the varieties they are replacing. If the rice crop can be improved throughout the country in something like this measure, it will enhance the prosperity of a larger proportion of the people of India than can be affected by the improvement of any other single crop, for it occupies a larger area and is used as a staple food by a greater percentage of the population of the country than any other stock. During the period under review, this crop in fact suffered a reduction from (a revised figure of) 79 million acres in 1919-20 to 78 million acres, while the yield of rice declined from 31·9 million tons to 28 million tons.

Next to rice in importance in the list of Indian crops stands *wheat*.

Wheat.

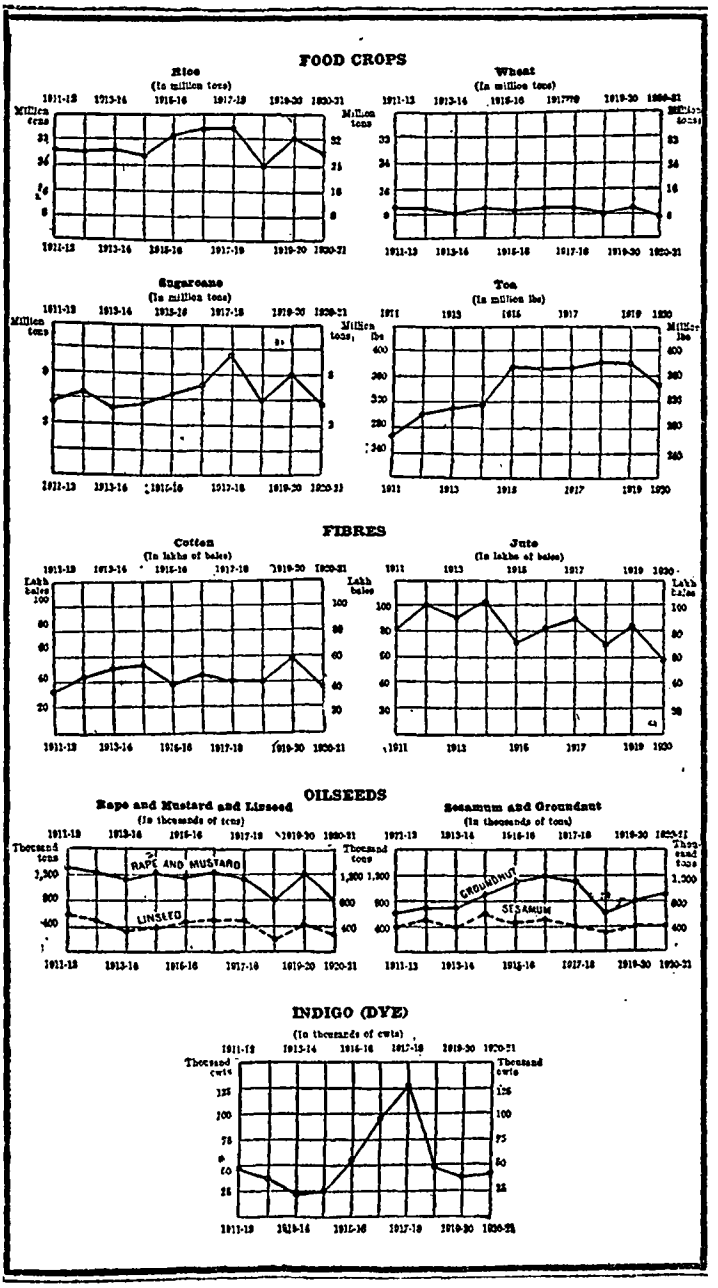
During the year under review, the area under this crop fell from 29·9 million acres (revised figure) in 1919-20 to 25·7 million acres, the estimated total yield also declining from 10·1 million tons to 6·7 million tons. Indian wheat is as a rule of low quality and does not fetch good prices in the world's market. Accordingly, the work of the Agricultural Department upon this crop consists, first, in the evolution and distribution of strains possessing superior yielding power, better quality of grain, improved strength of straw and greater resistance to rust; and secondly in demonstrating the response of the crop to better cultivation. The improved varieties produced at Pusa have now been extended to all the wheat-growing provinces. In the United Provinces, the area under improved varieties, predominantly Pusa 4 and Pusa 12, has now reached a figure at which accurate estimates cannot be made by departmental agency. It cannot however fall far short of 400,000 acres, and each acre so cultivated gives the grower at a modest estimate an increased return of one pound sterling. Similarly in the Punjab, the improved varieties, Punjab 11, Punjab 8 and Pusa 12, occupy over 655,000 acres. In the Central Provinces, about 800,000 acres are now sown with the high-yielding varieties of wheat supplied by the Department.

Among the food crops next in importance, mention must be made of *sugarcane*, upon the improvement of which the Department has expended much labour.

Sugar.

During the period under review, the estimated area of this crop fell from 2·7 million acres in 1919-20 to 2·5 million acres, the estimated yield declining from 3 million tons to 2·5 million tons. As in the case of rice and wheat, the outturn was considerably affected by the poor monsoon. It should be noticed that sugar is the only agricultural product in India

Yield of certain principal crops from 1911-12 to 1920-21.



in which the balance of trade lies decidedly against the country. Imports of foreign sugar amounted to 344,000 tons valued at £18·5 millions (Rupees 18·5 crores), as against 482,000 tons at £22·99 millions (Rupees 22·99 crores) in the preceding year. A noticeable feature was the import of just under 2,000 tons of beet sugar, which is the first consignment of any importance since the war. In view of the importance of the sugar crop to India, and the obvious desirability of the country supplying her own demand, there can be no two opinions as to the necessity of putting the Indian industry on a sound and satisfactory footing. During the year 1921 the report of the Indian Sugar Committee, to which reference was made in "India in 1920," was published. The Committee was concerned to advise whether a definite and co-ordinated line of policy could be laid down for the promotion of further development of the Indian industry. Among the principal recommendations of the Committee, now under the consideration of Government, are the establishment in India of a sugar school for the training of Indians; a sugar research institute; and a large demonstration factory. The report is most opportune in view of the fact that, while India has a larger area under sugar than any other country in the world—in fact nearly half the world's acreage,—none the less her normal output is but one-fourth of the total sugar supply. In order to assist private enterprise a Sugar Bureau has been established at Pusa with the object of furnishing advice to cultivators, manufacturers, and capitalists. The mass of valuable information regarding the industry which has been collected by the Bureau is now much sought after. The Bureau has also undertaken the publication, for the benefit of sugar firms in India, of statistical notes bearing on the production and consumption of sugar in different parts of the world and fluctuations in the world's price of sugar. One of the main features of the sugar work of the Agricultural Department has been the promising results attending the trials of the canes produced at the breeding station of Coimbatore in the Madras Presidency, whence improved varieties of seedling canes are evolved. Of the total sugarcane area in British India over half lies within the borders of the United Provinces. Here intensive cane cultivation has been most successful on land commanded by tube wells and pumping plants. Great possibilities for the improvement of cane cultivation will be afforded by the opening of the proposed Sarda Canal, of which mention will be made in a later page. This canal will irrigate a tract of soil which is especially suitable for cane cultivation. A future also awaits the introduction of power-driven machinery for crushing cane on a relatively small scale for the manufacture of rough

sugar. Some idea of the prospects awaiting the introduction of improved varieties of cane may be gathered from the fact that in the Central Provinces, one particular variety has given over a period of eight years an average outturn of 2,488 lbs. of rough sugar per acre more than the variety it has displaced. There are substantial indications that the older strains are losing favour with the cultivators; though in many places it would seem that the question of improved cultivation is of greater importance than the introduction of new breeds. Crude sugar manufactured on improved lines fetches from 6 shillings to 10 shillings more for every 500 pounds of produce than can be realised from older processes.

Cotton.

Of textile crops cotton is the most important. But while, India stands only second to America in the total world's production, her cotton is shorter in staple, poorer in spinning value and smaller in yield per acre. The work of the Agricultural Department therefore tends mainly to increasing the yield per acre and improving the quality of the produce. The scope which exists for this work may be gauged from the fact that during the year 1920-21 the acreage under cotton amounted to no less than 21 millions, although this was in point of fact a falling off of over 2 million acres from last year's figure. Both the restriction in the acreage and the fall in yield per acre of from 99 lbs. to 68 lbs. were due to the unfavourable nature of the season. In the case of cotton, considerations regarding the quality of the final product naturally operate in an overmastering degree, and the success of a selected variety often turns upon the possibility of obtaining a sufficient premium for the improved quality. In the most important cotton-growing province in India, which is Bombay Presidency, the increased value of cotton crops grown from the seed selected on the Surat farm is estimated at Rs. 5 lakhs (£50,000) during the year under review. The area under improved strains is now about 21,000 acres. Some idea of the general extent of the operations of the Agricultural Department in supplying seed may be gathered from the fact that in the Central Provinces, the second in the list of India's cotton growing areas, 10,000 tons of cotton seed were distributed during the period under review. There the area under improved varieties rose from 0·3 million acres in 1919-20 to 0·36 million acres in 1920-21. In the Punjab, nearly half the total acreage of cotton is now of the American type introduced by the Agricultural Department. Improved varieties account for 0·52 million acres and ordinary country varieties for 0·64 million acres. The selected type known as '4 F'

is worth to the cultivator at least £1 per acre more than the local kinds; and the increase in his profits represented by the rapid spread of this selection amounts in the aggregate to well over half a million sterling. In spite of the enormous area now occupied by American cotton in the Punjab, its introduction is a comparatively recent event; and it is only to be expected that the present type will in time be replaced by something better. Indeed, a new variety, 285 F, is giving more satisfactory results in certain localities. From what has already been stated as to the importance of the Indian cotton crop, it will readily be realised that there is ample opportunity for close co-operation between those who trade in this commodity and the Department of Agriculture. As was mentioned last year, the Indian Cotton Committee recommended the formation of a Central Cotton Committee to act as a connecting link between the Agricultural Department and the cotton trade, and to serve as an advisory body to Government on questions affecting cotton. This organisation has now come into existence, and it is hoped that in addition to discharging the activities suggested for it, it may be provided with funds to establish and conduct a technological laboratory in Bombay, and to subsidise research on cotton problems.

Jute.

The world's supply of jute fibre is obtained almost entirely from North Eastern India. So long as plentiful supplies of raw material exist at moderate prices, India enjoys a monopoly of production. During the period under review, glutted markets, combined with the high prices realised by food grains caused the area under jute to fall to 1·5 million acres from 2·5 million acres in 1920. The value of the export trade for these periods was £74 millions and £69 millions respectively. The work of the Agricultural Department in connection with jute consists mainly in the isolation of superior yielding strains from the common mixtures found in the field. One of the chief difficulties lies in seed production, which is usually not profitable in Bengal since the cultivators find that it pays better to cut the crop for fibre. A new field for seed growing seems to be opening in Madras, and in Western Bengal on lands too high for paddy. The Agricultural Department has also undertaken investigations into the manure requirements of jute, and has demonstrated that the presence of sufficient potash and lime in the soil is of vital importance, although these elements are of no practical value except when used in combination. During the year the demand for seed of the new and improved varieties recommended by the Department was greater than ever, and indeed could not be satisfied. For example in the Dacca division 410,000

lbs. of a given variety, sufficient for 40,000 acres was requested, but only just over 65,000 lbs. were available.

Indigo.

The area under indigo rose from 0·235 million acres in 1919-20 to 0·238 million acres in 1920-21. The yield of dye rose from 38,000 cwts. to 40,000 cwts.; but exports fell to rather less than one-third of the previous year's figures. The work of the Agricultural Department in this crop has been directed towards increasing the quantity of indican contained in the plant and towards reducing the present losses in the manufacturing process. Very important investigations on the use of pure cultures of bacteria for the improvement of indigo manufacture are in progress; and the use of the new sterilising agent made in the Pusa laboratory has brought the possibility of using pure bacterial cultures within the region of practice. The present position of the indigo industry nevertheless remains uncertain, since the German dye has again come upon the market in considerable quantities. In order that the natural product should be in a position to meet competition from synthetic indigo, it is necessary not only that the yield per acre should be increased, but that the present loss in the manufacturing process should be reduced to a minimum.

Tobacco.

In striking contrast with the somewhat doubtful prospects of the indigo industry are those which seem to await the tobacco industry of India. With the recently imposed heavy duties on imported tobacco, the prospects for growing successfully the finer grades have improved considerably. That the field is a large one is apparent from the fact that during the period under review, cigarettes, etc., to the value of about £2·9 millions were imported into India. The demand for Pusa type 28, which combines yield and quality, and is suitable both for cigarette making and general cultivation, has increased more than four fold during the year. Seeds sufficient for about 50,000 acres were supplied to cultivators. The area under certain acclimatised varieties of Sumatra tobacco has also increased considerably.

Vegetable Oils, etc.

India's consumption of vegetable oils and oil cake constitutes a very large proportion of her total production. The quantity normally absorbed by foreign markets constitutes a useful surplus, which is drawn upon in bad years. During 1919-20, foreign prices were tempting, and exports were in consequence heavy. But during the year under review, the foreign demand decreased, and was entirely over-shadowed by imperative local needs.

The Agricultural Department endeavours to select the best varieties of seeds, and to introduce them in the districts for which they are found most suitable. In Bihar and Orissa, the selected varieties of ground nuts have been introduced on sandy land in the Gaya district, where the average yield of the acre treated with ashes has amounted to 1,804 lbs. as against exactly half that yield from untreated areas. In Madras, where the cocoanut crop is of great importance, extensive study has been made of the cocoanut palm. This is expected to throw light on the cause of the great variations between yields of different trees grown under apparently identical conditions. As typical of the direct practical advantages of intensive study of this kind, the fact may be mentioned that the local practice of planting cocoanuts in deep pits sunk well below ground level has been proved quite unnecessary. In Burma also the question of cocoanut planting has aroused considerable interest, and the local Department of Agriculture has taken up the subject.

Rubber, Coffee and Tea.

During the period under review, valuable work has been done in rubber, coffee and tea. A number of experiments directed to the study of manurial systems are being conducted on South Indian estates, as well as investigations into the diseases of the plants. A great advance has been made recently in the general use of green dressings on the rubber plantations. In coffee, good work has been done in Coorg with hybrids produced by the Agricultural Department, the seeds of which are now on the market and in great demand. One of these, " Jacksons hybrid," has proved its quality in the London market, a consignment securing top prices of Coorg coffee. Not only does it yield heavily, but it produces a bean of very high quality. In tea, as has elsewhere been mentioned, the prospects of the industry are for the moment gloomy owing to the glut of the home market. Until the disorganization caused by the war has been remedied, it seems doubtful whether the position will improve considerably. During the period under review the total area of tea was returned at 0·7 million acres as against 0·69 million acres in the preceding year, but the total estimated yield was lower, being 345 million lbs. as against 377 million lbs. in 1919-20. Lately, the Indian Tea Association has decided to restrict production in considerable degree. Work upon the crops by the Department of Agriculture continues. In Southern India there is a special Deputy Director of Agriculture for planting districts, who gives particular attention to tea. Demonstrations on the value of green manures, as a means of preventing wash and of increasing organic matter in the soil, from an important part of the work in progress.

Fruit.

As mentioned in last year's report, the fruit growing industry of India has a great field before it. Those who have hitherto devoted their attention to the improvement of Indian fruit have been too few and too scattered to permit of any considerable advance. But considering that the fruit industry, even under present conditions, yields a profit to those engaged in it, there is little doubt that a prosperous future awaits it. It has one considerable advantage in a country like India. A certain number of the educated classes, who do not take kindly to other species of farming, are quite willing to take up fruit growing as a profession. Efforts are constantly being directed towards the improvement of Indian fruit through careful selection of trees and proper tillage of the soil. In Bombay, an officer has been appointed to work solely on horticulture; in Madras, a pomological station has been founded at Coonoor. In the Punjab, efforts are being made to improve the date palms, about 6,000 suckers having been imported during the year from Mesopotamia, of which more than half were distributed to date growers. Endeavours are being made in many places to popularise the better varieties of fruit and to introduce improved methods both of cultivation and of packing. But a more thorough investigation of the economics of fruit growing must be undertaken before satisfactory advance is possible. The possibility of establishing a system of co-operative marketing such as that employed by the fruit growers in California has yet to be tested.

Fodder.

Crops grown purely for fodder form a very small proportion of the cattle food of the country, and mainly for this reason have not been subjected by the Agricultural Department to the same systematic treatment as staple crops. In this connection it should be remembered that an improvement in the yield of grain crops as a rule involves an increase in the straw as well as the grain, and thus indirectly increases the amount of available fodder. Problems connected with fodder raising and storing continue to receive attention, and work of great value has been performed in demonstrating the possibilities of new sources of supply. In Bombay, a distinct advance has been made on the methods previously followed in the preparation of prickly pear as emergency fodder. In the United Provinces, also, it has been definitely proved that the troublesome weed known as Baisurai, which seriously affects the yield of unirrigated crop on account of its deep roots, can be advantageously utilised as fodder. It is estimated that through the employment of this weed, a saving of 0·22 million tons of other fodder can be effected in the United Provinces

—a quantity considerably exceeding the total amount imported during the severest fodder famines of recent years.

Soil Surveys.

Turning to the chemical work of the Agricultural Department, mention must be made of the continued study of soils in various parts of India. In Bihar and Orissa, in the Punjab, in the Central Provinces, in Bombay and in Madras, considerable progress has been made in this important branch of work. These surveys afford useful guides as to the type of manure which will give the best results. In the Central Provinces, moreover much attention has been paid to methods which will enable the soil to recover from the calls that high-yielding varieties of crop impose upon it; while in Bombay work of a fundamental character on the method of maintaining a higher amount of water in the soil of dry areas, is now being undertaken.

Crop Pests.

As was mentioned in last year's report, the study of pests, both vegetable and animal, is a matter of great importance to India. Diseases caused by parasites are numerous and destructive; the damage done annually to rice, sugarcane and cotton, in particular, by insect pests being very serious. Continuous attention has been devoted by the Agricultural Department to remedying this state of affairs; but shortage of staff, as in other branches of its activities, continues to retard progress. One great difficulty with which the Department is faced is the patient apathy of the cultivator, who believes in the majority of instances that pests and blights are manifestations of heaven's wrath. Energetic propaganda has to be undertaken before people can be persuaded of the possibility of controlling such visitations. Attention has also been devoted to the question of storing grain in such a manner as to protect it from damage and from the depredations of insects and rats. These latter constitute no inconsiderable burden upon India's food supplies. Experiments seem to show that the average rat consumes about 6 lbs. of grain in a year; and as the total rat population of India is estimated at about 800 millions, the loss caused to the country by these animals must be something near £15 millions per annum.

Agricultural Engineering.

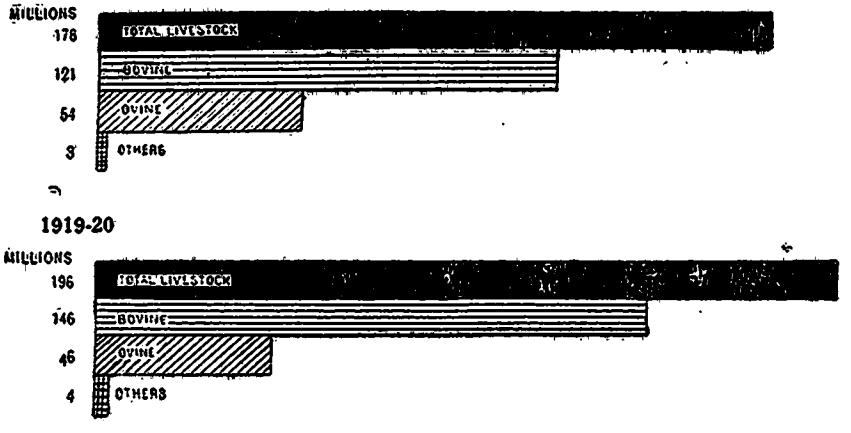
A very important branch of the operations of the Agricultural Department lies in the sphere of Engineering, mainly connected with improvement of the water supply in existing irrigation wells through connecting them with

sub-artesian supplies by means of pipes and bores. Work of this nature is of the greatest practical importance, and its successful development has in many provinces added not a little to the prestige of the local Agricultural Departments. During the year under review, work has been handicapped by the high prices of materials; but good progress has on the whole been made. For example in the Punjab the number of bores sunk in wells amounted to 392, of which no fewer than 326 were successful in increasing the supply of water, while 5 tube wells were in the course of construction during the year. In Bombay, 194 shallow borings were made, of which 131 were successful; Manfield's water finder having proved very serviceable in locating supplies in the area. In the United Provinces, unfortunately, the progress made in the construction of tube wells was disappointing, mainly owing to the fact that engineering material has risen enormously in price. None the less, the number of wells bored was 746, of which 513 are reported successful; while 131 sites for new wells were bored of which 64 per cent. produced the desired result. In Madras, the work relating to pumping and well boring was transferred to the Department of Industries during the year, and the main work of the Agricultural Engineer in this province will henceforth lie in the adapting of modern agricultural machinery and implements to local conditions, and the improvement of indigenous machines. In Burma, the work of the Agricultural Engineer has up to now been practically devoted to buildings rather than to agricultural engineering proper. Several important problems, such as tests of sugarcane crushers and furnaces, cost and efficiency of pumping installations, and improvements in indigenous farming implements, are awaiting solution. In several of the Indian States, also, agricultural engineering is making considerable progress. In Gwalior the Agricultural Department has been successful in conducting several important lines of work. In Mysore, alterations have been made in the new model plough to meet the needs of cultivators; while an American drill has been modified to adapt it to local requirements. In Baroda, there was a considerable demand for well borings; and out of 105 bores sunk, 76 were successful. Useful work was also done in the installation of engines and pumps, for which the State advanced nearly £10,000 to 19 applicants.

Cattle.

Among the most important conditions of the success of Indian agriculture may be mentioned the improvement in the cattle population. The bullock is still the principal motive power for cultivation; indeed the total number of live

Total livestock, divided between bovine, ovine, and others in 1919-20, as compared with the year 1910-11.



NOTE.—"Bovine" includes bulls and bullocks, cows, buffaloes, calves, and buffalo calves.
"Ovine" includes sheep and goats.
"Others" include horses and ponies, mules, donkeys, and camels.

stock of the Bovine class in India is no less than 146 millions. According to the 1919-20 cattle census, the number of cattle per 100 acres of sown area ranges from 101 in Bengal to 30 in Bombay ; while the number per 100 of population varies from 86 in the Manpur Pargana to 33 in Delhi. The average for British India as a whole, is 66 cattle per 100 acres of sown area and 61 cattle per 100 of the population. Very considerable numbers of these cattle are maintained at a loss, owing to their unfitness either for labour or for supplying milk. But the problem cannot be tackled upon the same lines as would be possible in Western countries, for the reason that veneration for the cow is universal throughout the larger proportion of the population in India. It is thus impossible to treat the question as one of pure economics ; if only because popular sentiment will not agree to the elimination of the unfit and wasteful members of the cattle population. The amelioration of the position depends first upon improving the breed of cattle, and secondly upon its preservation both from disease and from famine. Increased breeding in the arable areas is now an imperative necessity, owing to the rise in the price of working cattle. There is however a great lack in many places of stock bulls ; while the drain of the best milk cattle into the towns and their consequent loss for breeding purposes has ruined the milk breeds of the country districts. At Pusa, cattle breeding has been directed mainly along two lines ; the grading up of a country milk breed ; and experiments in cross breeding with imported cattle of high milking pedigree, the primary object of the latter being to obtain reliable information regarding the inheritance of the observable characters of both breeds. In the various provincial agricultural departments, also, considerable work is being done in the provision of stock bulls, and in the general maintenance and improvement of the chief local breeds. Progress continues however to be slow, largely on account of the magnitude of the terms in which the problem is stated. Simultaneously with the work in improvement of the breed, comes the preservation of cattle from famine and epidemics. Plainly, it is just as important to keep the existing cattle alive through periods of famine as it is to maintain and improve the breeds. Mention has already been made of the steps taken by the Agricultural Department to increase the fodder supply, and to make it readily available for the strain placed upon it by outbreaks of sudden scarcity. There can be little doubt that a considerable proportion of India's cattle population is under-fed, and that one way of increasing the percentage of useful individuals is

to popularise those forms of fodder which at the present moment are neglected because unknown. The preservation of Indian cattle from contagious diseases presents certain difficulties peculiar to the country. It is necessary not merely to fight against the natural sources of infection, which are numerous, but also against ignorance, old-established custom, and prejudices on the part of the people themselves. Cattle owners, when disease is prevalent in a village, often remove their cattle to another locality; and it is a long time before they can be made to realise that such movements of cattle are the means of spreading disease. Until the cattle owners themselves understand the importance of early information and segregation in the suppression of these periodical outbreaks, disease must remain a source of loss to them and a danger to agricultural interests in general. During 1920-21, there were 574 veterinary hospitals and dispensaries at work in India and the cases treated and operations performed at these institutions number over 1 million. The Imperial Bacteriological Laboratory at Muktesar, which supplies the munitions of the campaign against contagious cattle diseases, issued more than 2·5 million doses of different sera to the provincial Veterinary Departments. Among inoculated cattle the percentage of deaths was only 0·4 per cent. The maximum output of Muktesar, even when the full effects of the recent reorganisation have been realised, will not long be sufficient to cope with the growing popularity of its products; and the question of starting a similar laboratory in South India is under consideration.

The need for supplementing the cattle-power of the country has been felt for some time back, and has begun to strike those cultivators who have grasped the significance of improved tillage in the scheme of general agricultural improvement. Such crops as sugarcane depend on a more extensive tillage just as much as on increased supplies of manure and water. Accordingly, as a result of advertisements by several firms and demonstrations held in several places, much interest has of late been evinced in agricultural motor tractors. Several large landowners have bought tractors and are trying them on their estates, while the various Agricultural Departments are also engaged in experimenting with different types. But in India the scope of tractor cultivation appears to be limited, since the most valuable of irrigated lands are not quite suitable for tractor cultivation, and the sizes of the fields are rather too small for the purpose. Nevertheless tractor ploughing is likely to prove advantageous in areas where large stretches of land have gone out of cultivation.

Propaganda.

It is obvious that to a very large extent the utility of the work of the Agricultural Department depends upon the effective diffusion of a knowledge of improved materials and improved processes among the population of India. Since the large majority of Indian cultivators are illiterate, the methods of conveying information which are in vogue throughout more advanced countries, such as leaflets, circulars and lectures, cannot be relied upon to produce the desired effect. Wherever possible, ocular demonstrations are given ; and for this purpose, Government seed and demonstration farms, implement depôts, and the like are employed. But the most convenient means of assuring agriculturists that suggested improvements can be carried out by themselves, is the employment of small plots in their own fields for demonstration purposes. The whole question of demonstration therefore really resolves itself into the provision of an adequate and properly trained staff organised on lines dictated by experience. In Bombay, for example, agricultural associations—of which there are 68 in the presidency—and a large number of co-operative unions have been found particularly useful. A big success was secured in the extension of the area under improved cotton in Surat district, where the premium on the crop grown in the few thousand acres under the supervision of the department was about £15,000. In Madras also, the agency of co-operative societies was found generally useful in effecting improvements in the lands of the cultivator. In Bengal, public interest in agricultural matters shows a considerable increase ; district boards are now supplementing the staff of the Agricultural Department by officers of their own, and they are also offering grants for the establishment of farms. In this connection it is interesting to notice that three prominent landholders have opened seed and demonstration farms on their own estates. Considerable progress has also been made in the formation of village agricultural associations, which are serving as useful links between the departmental officers and the cultivators. In Bihar and Orissa, also, co-operative societies have been proved most valuable for propaganda purposes. In the United Provinces, the success achieved by propaganda work is demonstrated by the fact that the total amount of seed distributed during the year amounted to 2,000 tons, the largest figure on record. The number of private seed farms is rapidly increasing. These fulfil very useful functions, and assist the Agricultural Department in many ways, notably in demonstration work and in the production of seed. In the Punjab, demonstration work has been supplemented by the opening of demon-

stration farms both by the Co-operative department and by private individuals. The supply of seed of improved varieties is already a self-supporting organisation, 700 tons of wheat and 1,800 tons of cotton seed having been purchased and sold during the year. In the Central Provinces, the Agricultural Department distributed 430 tons of wheat seed, 10,000 tons of cotton seed, 110 tons of paddy and more than 1·5 million sets of sugarcane. Improved implements to the value of £6,000 were sold to cultivators during the year. In Assam, the demand for seeds of superior varieties of sugarcane was so great that the department was unable to meet it in full. The State departments of Agriculture in the various Indian States continued their commendable activities. In particular, the well organised work of the Gwalior and Mysore Agricultural Departments in the introduction of improved implements, seeds and manures, produced excellent results. In Baroda, the State department distributed a very large quantity of improved cotton seed in co-operation with the Bombay. Department of Agriculture. In Travancore, seed unions did excellent work during the year, while the more economical transplantation of rice has now become common practice. In Hyderabad State, the main feature of work was the distribution of pure seed of long staple cotton; while in Kashmir, demonstrations with chain harrows on cultivators' fields produced good results.

In connection with the steps taken to improve Indian agriculture, an important place must be assigned to the irrigation system. Of these a brief outline will be given in the succeeding paragraphs.

Irrigation.

In the tropics cultivation can be, and in many cases is, effected by natural rainfall only, but there are many parts in which the artificial watering of some portion at least of the crops is essential. Every season the rainfall in some parts of India is insufficient to mature the crops; while in other parts of India the rainfall, which in a normal year may be sufficient, is liable to uneven distribution throughout the season, or to such serious deficiency as to render the tract concerned famine-striken in the absence of artificial protection. The Indian Irrigation Commission, which sat from 1901 to 1903, recorded that between the area in which the annual rainfall is invariably sufficient, and that in which it is so scanty that no agriculture at all is possible without an irrigation system, there lies a tract of nearly a million square miles which, in the absence of irrigation, cannot be deemed secure against the uncertainty of the seasons and the scourge of famine.

Methods.

There are various methods by which irrigation is accomplished in India. A very large area is irrigated by the cultivators themselves without assistance from Government, by the use of such means as wells, tanks, and temporary obstructions to divert water from streams on to the fields. Almost every known system of raising water from wells is found in India, ranging from the primitive plan of hand-lifting to the modern device of power pumping, which thanks to the efforts of Government Agricultural Engineers, is gradually growing more common. Government irrigation works comprise both tanks and canals, the former being mainly small works which derive their importance from their vast numbers. For example, in Madras alone there are nearly 50,000 such tanks, irrigating between 2½ and 3 million acres. Turning now to canals, we may notice that they are divided into two classes; those drawing their supplies from perennial rivers and those which depend upon water stored in artificial reservoirs. The former are mainly found in connection with rivers which rise in the Himalayas, the snow upon which acts as an inexhaustible reservoir during the dry months of the year; the latter are naturally associated with rivers rising in the peninsula proper, where no such natural storage is available. These storage works are situated mainly in the Deccan, the Central Provinces and in Bundelkhand, ranging in size from earthen embankments to enormous dams such as those now under construction in the Deccan, capable of impounding over 20,000 million cubic feet of water. Canals which draw their supplies from perennial rivers may again be sub-divided into perennial and inundation canals. The former are provided with headworks which enable water to be drawn from the river irrespective of its natural level; some obstruction being placed in the bed of the river that the water may reach the height required to secure admission to the canal. Within this class fall the great perennial systems of the Punjab and the United Provinces. Inundation canals have no such means of control, and water can only be admitted to them when the natural level of the river reaches the necessary height. The most important inundation canals in India are those of Sind; indeed the whole of the irrigation of that province is of this nature. They also exist in the Punjab, drawing their supplies from the Indus and its tributaries.

Classification of Works.

Prior to the 1st April 1921 the Government irrigation works were classified under three heads for the purpose of allotment of funds; namely, productive, pro-

tective, and minor works. Of these only productive works could, under the rules in force up to that date, be financed from loan funds. Before a work can be classed as productive it has to satisfy the condition that it should, within ten years of the completion of construction, produce sufficient revenue to cover its working expenses and the interest charges on its capital cost. Protective works are those which are constructed primarily with a view to the protection of precarious tracts and to guard against the necessity for periodical expenditure on the relief of the population in times of famine: they were financed from the current revenues of India, generally from the annual grant for famine relief and insurance, and are usually not directly remunerative. Minor works comprised those which were not classed as productive or protective. They included a few small works built by the British Government, but the majority were indigenous works which Government had taken over, improved and maintained. They included many of the great inundation canals which draw their supplies from the Indus and its tributaries in the Punjab and Sind, a number of old irrigation works and flood protection embankments in Burma, many small tanks, storage reservoirs and canals or groups of canals scattered throughout the country, and lastly and collectively the most important, some 47,000 minor tanks and petty irrigation works in the Madras Presidency.

With the introduction of the Reforms the classification of irrigation works has been altered; as it will, in future, be possible to finance any work of public utility from loan funds. The classes of protective and minor works have been abolished; all works being classified as either productive or unproductive without reference to the source whence the funds for their construction are provided. In the case of old works constructed before the establishment of British rule, it has been decided that the amount expended upon them by the British Government shall be regarded as the capital charge. Another important change has been effected, in that irrigation is now a provincial reserved subject. Enhanced financial powers were therefore delegated to the local Governments in order to give them a much freer hand than they had previously possessed in respect of all but the most important projects. Only those estimated to cost over Rs. 50 lakhs now come before the Government of India for submission to the Secretary of State with their recommendations.

Irrigation under the Reforms.

Irrigation in 1920-21.

During the year 1920-21, the total area irrigated by all classes of works in India excluding the Indian States, amounted to just over 27 million acres which is 13·7 per cent. of the entire cropped area of 197½ million acres. Although larger than the area irrigated in any other previous year, the figure is a million less than the record area of 28 million acres irrigated during the year 1919-20. The decrease is mainly due to the unfavourable nature of the monsoon of 1920. The total length of main and branch canals and distributaries from which this irrigation was effected amounted to 66,754 miles. The estimated value of the crops irrigated by Government works amounted to £156·4 millions or double the total capital expenditure on the works.

Towards the total area irrigated, the productive works contributed 18¼ million acres, the protective works 798,000 acres and the minor works nearly 8 million acres. The area irrigated by productive works was greatest in the Punjab. The average in this province during the triennium 1915-18 was nearly 7¾ million acres and during 1920-21 it was over 8¾ million acres. Next came the Madras Presidency with an area of 3½ million acres, followed by the United Provinces with 3 million acres, and Sind, where the area so irrigated amounted to over 1 million acres. The total capital outlay to the end of the year 1920-21 on productive irrigation works, including works under construction, amounted to £58·9 millions, the gross revenue to £8·1 millions and the working expenses to £2·8 millions. The net return on capital outlay was therefore 9 per cent. The total capital outlay on protective works amounted to £11·7 millions, but of this a large proportion has been incurred on works under construction, which have not yet commenced to earn revenue.

In the course of the report for 1920, three great projects were briefly described, namely, the Sarda Kichha and Sarda Canal; the Sukkur Barrage and Canals in Sind; and the Sutlej Valley Canals in the Punjab. In view of their importance to the prosperity of large tracts of country, the development of these schemes during the year now under survey must be outlined.

Sarda Kichha and Sarda Canals.

Certain alterations have been made in the Sarda Kichha Feeder project. The circumstances in which this project was prepared rendered it not only probable but certain that very considerable changes in the projected alignment would be necessary before the work of construction could be taken in hand. The original proposal for

utilizing the water of the Sarda contemplated the diversion of the Sarda water into the Ganges river above Narora at the headworks of the Lower Ganges Canal, thereby giving a large additional supply to the Ganges and Agra Canal systems. That project provided also for a separate feeder from the Ganges Canal to supplement the supplies of the Eastern and Western Jumna Canals. The principal item was a great feeder canal from the Sarda to the Ganges, which would have traversed at right angles the whole of the drainage of the submontane tract between the two rivers. This scheme, which was known as the Sarda Ganges Jumna Feeder project, was abandoned in favour of a canal which would provide irrigation for the north-western districts of Oudh, with only a comparatively small branch running westwards across the Tarai for the irrigation of Rohilkhand, which would be known as the Sarda Kichha Feeder. It was considered advisable, in order to avoid delay in the commencement of work, to prepare a project for this branch in advance of that for the whole Oudh scheme. The Sarda Kichha Feeder project received the sanction of the Secretary of State in December 1919. It was designed to take up the irrigation which was, under the earlier proposals, to have been effected by the first forty miles of the Sarda Ganges Feeder. No further surveys were therefore executed, the alignment decided upon for the Sarda Ganges Feeder being accepted as suitable for the Sarda Kichha Feeder also; but it was definitely foreseen at the time that it would probably be possible to find a more economical line. This has proved to be the case; it is now proposed, by utilizing certain of the natural drainage channels in the tract for the transportation of the supplies, to carry the whole volume of water further to the south, thus avoiding the malaria-ridden portion of the Tarai through which the original alignment ran. Great economy has been effected thereby and it is now believed that it will be possible to complete the work within the amount estimated when the project was framed in 1914, in spite of the great increase in rates which has taken place since that time. The saving is expected further to cover the cost of substituting a barrage for a solid weir at the head of the canal. These modifications of the original scheme were, on the advice of the Inspector General of Irrigation, formally approved by the Government of India in January 1922.

The Sarda Oudh Canal takes off at the seventh mile of the Sarda Kichha Feeder and runs in a south-easterly direction. The Sarda canal project consists of a main canal with a length of 17½ miles, after which it divides into three branches. From these branches a network

of distributaries covers the watershed as far as the eastern boundaries of the Rae Bareli and Bara Banki districts. The project comprises 478 miles of main canal and branches, 3,370 miles of distributaries and 100 miles of escapes or 3,948 miles of channels in all. The canal will irrigate 1,368,000 acres and produce a return of 7¼ per cent. on the capital cost which is estimated at £7½ million. The sanction of the Secretary of State to this project was accorded in February 1921.

Sukkur Barrage and Canals Project.

The Sukkur Barrage project in Sind, which is the greatest irrigation scheme under consideration at the present time, was approved by the Secretary of State in June 1921 in so far as its administrative and technical aspects are concerned, and the commencement of construction awaits only the making of adequate arrangements for financing the project. The object of the scheme is to give an assured supply to and extend, the irrigation now effected by the numerous inundation canals in Sind which draw their water from the Indus. This will be achieved by the construction of a barrage across the Indus, nearly a mile long between abutments—by far the biggest work of its kind yet built. From above the barrage seven canals will take off, irrigating over 5 million acres, of which 2 million comprise existing inundation irrigation to which an assured supply will be given, while the remainder is at present almost entirely uncultivated. The cost of the scheme will be about £18 millions.

Sutlej Valley Canals.

There are, on either bank of the Sutlej, in British territory on the north and in Bahawalpur on the south, long series of inundation canals, which draw their supply from the river whenever the water level is high enough to permit of it. These canals are liable to all the drawbacks which invariably attend inundation irrigation. There are no weirs at their heads and, in many cases, there is no means of controlling the volumes entering them; consequently, while a supply is assured in a normal year during the monsoon months, it is liable to serious fluctuations according to the seasonal conditions. In a year of inferior rainfall little water enters the canals; in a year of high supplies they are liable to grave damage by floods.

The Sutlej Valley Project will effect three objects. Firstly, it will afford the existing canals an assured and controlled supply from April to October. Secondly, it will enable their scope to be extended so as to embrace the whole low-lying area in the river valley. Thirdly, it will afford perennial irrigation to the uplands on both banks which are at present entirely unirrigated and, owing to the low rainfall, waste.

The project consists of four weirs, three on the Sutlej and one on the combined Sutlej and Chenab, with twelve canals taking off from above them. This multiplicity of canals and weirs may seem, at first sight, a peculiar feature of the scheme, until it is realized that the project really consists of four interconnected systems, each of the first magnitude. The canals are designed to utilize 48,500 cubic feet of water a second during the monsoon and 7,000 cubic feet a second during the cold weather. Over 5 million acres will be irrigated of which 2 million acres will be in the Punjab, 2,800,000 acres in Bahawalpur and 350,000 acres in Bikaner. As a result, 3¾ million acres of desert waste will become available for colonization.

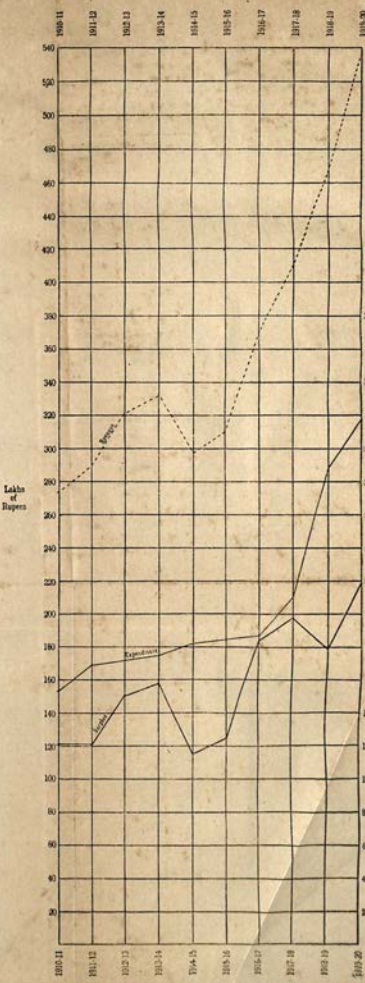
The project was submitted to the Secretary of State in March 1921, but before according his sanction to it he requested that the estimates of returns should be revised on the basis of the higher borrowing rate now prevailing and that the Punjab Government should be asked to present the scheme to the local Legislative Council for its approval. He further called for assurances as to the ability of the Punjab Government and of the Bahawalpur and Bikaner States to provide funds for the execution of their respective portions of the project. In November 1921, the Local Government reported that the Punjab Legislative Council had unanimously approved of the project and had agreed to the provision by loan of funds as required for the construction of the British portion of the scheme. The Bikaner and Bahawalpur Durbars had also been able to satisfy the Punjab Government that they could finance their portions of the scheme from funds at their disposal and from the proceeds of the sales of land. The Government of India accepted these assurances and asked for the sanction of the Secretary of State to the immediate commencement of work upon the project, which was accorded on the 9th December 1921.

Future Programme.

The Cauvery reservoir project in Madras and three great irrigation schemes in the Punjab, which were referred to in report for last year have not progressed beyond the stage of examination. Every province has several schemes under investigation which are not yet ripe for sanction, but, taking into consideration only those schemes which are likely to be constructed within a reasonable time, an addition of over 6 million acres to the area irrigated is anticipated from them.

The record area irrigated by Government irrigation works w a attained in 1919-20 when 28½ million acres were irrigated. By the tim

DIAGRAM SHOWING
ANNUAL FOREST REVENUE, EXPENDITURE & SURPLUS
FOR THE 10 YEARS 1910-11 TO, 1919-20



the projects now under construction are in full working order, and assuming that the Sukkur Barrage is also built, a total of 40 million acres is confidently anticipated. Allowing for the most promising projects now under consideration and for the natural expansion of existing schemes an ultimate area of 50 million acres is by no means improbable.

It will be apparent from the preceding paragraphs that the Indian irrigation system is very highly developed. Unfortunately, the same cannot be said of certain other activities designed for the development of natural resources. Among those forms of latent wealth which would unquestionably yield excellent results to intensified exploitation, Forests and Fisheries may be specially selected.

Forests.

Already, despite shortage of staff and hampered development due to financial restrictions, Indian forests yield a considerable revenue to the State. In the year 1919-20 the surplus of revenue over expenditure of the Indian forests amounted to £2·2 millions. Of the total forest area in India, which covers more than a quarter of a million square miles, only 60,670 square miles has been brought under regular scientific management prescribed by working plans.

The increased demand for timber and other forest products brought about by war conditions has undoubtedly greatly stimulated forest development in the Indian Empire. Local Governments may now be considered to have completed in the main the re-organization of staff necessary for developments in the immediate future. The sanctioned strength of the Imperial branch of the Forest Service has been raised to 398; of which number 352 are henceforth to be directly recruited, and the balance obtained by promotion from the Provincial Service. During the year 1921, 22 probationers, out of a total of 56, were Indians. But at the end of the year the shortage of directly recruited officers amounted to 119, while 86 probationers were under training in England. Circles and divisional charges have of course to be sub-divided, if forest development is to proceed upon an orderly plan; but it is also necessary to provide special posts for utilization and for research work, as well as to augment largely the staff of the Central Research Institute. A very important advance in the former sphere of development is marked by the arrival in India, during the present year, of the recruits for the Engineering Branch of the Forest Service, who have now concluded their training in America and in Europe. Two Consulting Forest Engineers, employed on a temporary

Cadre of Forest Service.

Forest Engineering.

basis, have continued to investigate projects and to draw up schemes. Much valuable work has been accomplished, but it is to be feared that financial straits and the lack of any system for providing funds for considerable capital expenditure, howsoever heavy the returns may be, will entail delay in the execution of these plans. How much remains to be done from the point of view of exploitation is indicated by the fact that the outturn of timber and firewood from all sources amounted in 1919-20 to just under 340 million cubic feet, which represents only about 2 cubic feet per acre from all classes of forests. This yield is far less than the forests of the country are capable of providing under more intensive systems of development and by the aid of more up-to-date methods of extraction than exist at present.

Certain progress has none the less been made in establishing and consolidating definite relations with the commercial world. The possibilities of utilising bamboos for paper pulp are now fairly established, and the number of firms to whom grants of concessions have been made for this purpose has increased. A considerable part of the extensive forest areas of bamboo and Savannah grass could no doubt be utilized for the manufacture of paper and paste board now imported. In the same way, large private concerns are now undertaking the extraction of timber, the manufacture of ply wood and the like, on long-term leases. But India, with her quarter million square miles of forests, still imports wood and articles made of wood. Much is however hoped from the introduction to new markets of Indian timbers hitherto little known. This cannot fail to be of advantage to the consumer in other parts of the world, and for the development of the forest industry. And in this connection it may be noticed that the London agency for the sale of Indian and Burma timbers, which has recently been started effected sales to the extent of £73,000 during the year, on account of the Government of India and local Governments.

Minor Industries.

Minor forest industries are also of growing importance. In the United Provinces, the output of resin was considerably reduced during the year under review by an unparalleled outbreak of incendiarism which has caused vast damage to the Kumaon forests. Fortunately, there are heavy stocks of crude resin still in hand, and the year's outturn of the manufactured product will probably show little decrease. Mention was made in last year's report of the satisfactory progress of this industry and of the possibility of its extension to a point at which it will be in a position

to meet not merely the whole of the country's requirements, but, in addition, those of other Eastern countries. It may be noticed that the policy of the United Provinces Government regarding the utilization circle, includes the maintenance of model institutions employing the most up-to-date machinery and imparting instruction in the latest methods of work, with a view to facilitating and developing both the resin industry already mentioned as well as wood working in general. The investigation of numerous forest products and by-products presents a wide field for future development. For the United Provinces, the revised forest budget of 1921-22 shows a surplus of nearly £300,000 (Rs. 30 lakhs). The afforestation of denuded ravine lands, mentioned in last year's report, is steadily proceeding; and in the period under review, some 2,000 acres of new plantation was laid down. The cost of afforestation is borne by Government and is recouped from the revenue receipts, the profits being afterwards paid to the owners of the soil. The results achieved are very successful. Erosion is arrested, good crops of grass obtained, and tree growth is established. In Madras the prospects before successful development are very great. The Consulting Forest Engineer to the Government of India who was deputed to enquire into the exploitation of the Madras Forests, reports that they represent a vast accumulation of wealth, the development of which can be made self-supporting.

Difficulties.

Unfortunately, the national aspect of forestry is hardly, or not at all, realized in India. Much work still remains to be done in educating the public to an appreciation of the value of India's forests as a commercial asset. At present the lessons taught by the war in other countries are still not appreciated by Indians generally; and there is some reason to apprehend that the Forest Department may soon find itself in conflict with politics, the protection of the interests of future generations being subordinated to the expediency of satisfying immediate popular clamour. If this should unfortunately prove to be the case, the position built up by India as the pioneer of forestry among the Dominions and the Colonies is likely to be lost. In order to obtain some notion of the special difficulties which beset the working of India's forests, mention may be made of the conditions which obtain on the Madras Presidency. Here the village ryot finds it difficult to understand the value of postponing immediate advantage to future benefit, and the forest restrictions therefore appear to him unnecessarily irksome. The sense of grievance has been exploited by agitators for their own purposes, and the attention of

Government has in consequence been specially devoted to endeavours to differentiate between real and fictitious grounds of complaint. Consideration has in particular been given to the re-organisation of forest committees, which under effective supervision should prove a valuable agency for the control of grazing areas and reserves utilized primarily to meet other village requirements. It is hoped by this means to eliminate some at least of the existing friction between the ryot and the Forest Department.

Side by side with commercial exploitation and the improvement of forest conditions, must go research into forest economics and the investigation of the problems of reproduction and protection of forest crops. The Indian Industrial Commission, to which reference has already several times been made in the course of this report, laid stress upon the necessity for expert investigation into these and cognate problems on a more extensive scale than has hitherto been possible. The Commission considered that the Forest Research Institute of Dehra Dun did not possess equipment sufficient to meet the calls upon it, accordingly a general scheme for the enlargement of the Research Institute and of the scope of its activities was sanctioned. During the period under review, progress has been made in the development of the Institute, but little or no advance has been possible in the construction of new buildings. The activities of research continue to expand, and for this purpose additional officers have been appointed, including specialists in wood technology, timber seasoning and testing, wood working, pulp and paper making, tan stuffs and destructive entomology. Up-to-date machinery and plant is moreover being obtained from America and Great Britain. But, unfortunately, the lack of money is already making itself felt, and as a consequence progress in the investigations which will lead to the fuller and better utilization of the raw products produced by Indian forests is retarded.

Research.

In her fisheries also India possesses considerable national wealth to which attention has only recently been directed. The report of the Indian Industrial Commission gave striking evidence of the future which awaits more active development of this sphere. In many parts of India the quantity of fish consumed in cities and in towns, within reasonable distance of the coast, is considerable. Particularly in Bengal, where fish forms the staple food of a large proportion of the population, the importance of the trade is very great. During the year 1920-21, more than 13,000

Fisheries.

tons of fish were imported into Calcutta alone from places of catchment. To meet a steadily increasing demand, continuous and ruthless fishing is carried on throughout the year, while even spawn and fry are not spared. In consequence of this the fisheries are getting very seriously depleted. There is every reason to believe that unless some sort of legislation is introduced for the enforcement of a close season and the prohibition of the sale of fry, the local fisheries of Bengal will very soon be reduced to a most parlous condition. The first necessity of the situation is the spread of sound ideas among the fishermen, who are at present of low caste, ignorant and uneducated. They have a meagre standard of comfort and are mercilessly exploited by middlemen whose exactions lessen the supply of fish and add greatly to its cost. The Bengal Department of Fisheries, which is now separate from that of Bihar and Orissa, is being placed upon a permanent footing, and useful work is being done not only in the sphere of propaganda, but also in the awakening of popular interest to the importance of the whole subject. Very useful work was done by District Fishery officers. Besides making a detailed survey of the fisheries in their respective jurisdictions, they spent a good deal of their time among the fishing population of their district, in order to familiarize themselves with local conditions. The most effective way of improving the condition of the fishermen has been found to lie in introducing education among them and organizing co-operative societies. Special schools have been established for teaching the children of fishermen, and fishermen's co-operative societies are increasing in numbers. In Madras, where the Department of Fisheries has been long established, considerable success has been attained in several useful lines of activity. The superior staff include a Director with three Assistant Directors, one in charge of the marine section concerned with sea fishes; another in charge of the inland section, dealing with fresh water fish, including the breeding and distribution of the larvicidal fish used in anti-malarial operations; and the third in charge of the coast section, dealing with fish after it has been landed. There is also a marine biologist who is concerned with the identification of marine fauna and the supply of marine zoological specimens to educational institutions and museums. During the year under review, the industrial section suffered from exceptionally unfavourable conditions. The catches of sardines on the west coast were a failure; the scarcity was so great that out of 646 private sardine and guano factories, more than

Bengal.

Madras.

300 did no work whatever. To add to the difficulties, the price of tinplate rose to extravagant heights, which proved a serious handicap, as it involved an increase in the rates charged for canned goods. In curing operations, the year proved far worse than its predecessor, and had it not been for mackerel, the operations would have been trivial. But as it was, nearly one hundred thousand pounds of fish were purchased for curing, and the improved cures found a wide market. On the other hand, the year's operations in oyster supply were most satisfactory, the number sold totalling 167,000, as against 133,000 in 1919-20. Much useful work has been done in improving the standard of education and the methods of livelihood of the fishing community. Eleven new co-operative societies for maritime fishermen have been established during the period under review, and taking into consideration the inexperience and illiteracy of the great majority of the members, the movement has spread in a most satisfactory manner. Research work has been successful in providing a "fish meal" poultry food, and a cheap sardine oil equal in medical value to codliver oil. Inland pisciculture is progressing favourably and a large number of fresh tanks have been taken over by the Department. Interesting developments in deep sea fishing may be expected from the recently introduced Danish Seine net, which is both cheap and efficient, and particularly adapted to the condition of these coasts. In Bombay also, some progress has been made in the development of the local fishing industry, which at present cannot supply fish in adequate quantities. A British trawler has been brought out from England, equipped with a refrigerating plant. This vessel made 28 trips before the close of the year, and although the experiment cannot yet be pronounced a commercial success the financial results are already encouraging. Despite the difficulties to which a single trawler operating alone is exposed in a port not organised to meet the requirements of a vessel of her class, the earnings per hour's fishing have risen from Rs. 8 to Rs. 27, and the earnings per hour's absence from port from Rs. 4 to Rs. 23. The experiments in the production of fish oil and guano were brought to a standstill by the failure of the sardine season; but when conditions recover from their temporary set-back, there is every reason to believe that developments of considerable importance will occur. In the Punjab, the main problem confronting those responsible for the conservation of the fisheries includes the imposition of necessary restrictions and adequate propaganda to avoid the ill-informed hostility of local fishermen. A

Punjab.

system of lectures and propaganda among the classes most interested has now been introduced ; but great caution has to be exercised in the extension of the regulations to new districts. The system now being introduced involves considerable benefit to the fishermen, if only through the removal of the monopolist contractor. And when those engaged in the industry can be made to understand what the aims of the administration are, there are always good prospects of securing their co-operation.

In the preceding pages we have briefly reviewed the course of India's economic life during the year 1921-22, and the progress which has been accomplished in the development of her natural resources. It now remains to describe the condition of what is perhaps the most indispensable of all requisites to her prosperity—her system of communications.

Communications.

Quite apart from the vast distances which have to be traversed, and the natural obstacles which must be overcome, in passing from one region of the Indian subcontinent to another, the internal communications, even of a restricted area, frequently break down altogether in the rainy season. Throughout the whole of India's history, the difficulties of communication have exercised a preponderating influence upon her political as well as her industrial development. These difficulties, despite railways, telegraphs, motor-transport, and other expedients undreamt of in older days, still persist as a formidable obstacle to the progress of modern industry. Unceasing effort and expenditure upon a scale hitherto impossible will be necessary if the communications of India, whether by road or by rail, are to be adequate to the requirements of the country. During the period now under review, the utilisation of mechanical transport for military and other purposes has continued to develop. But the use of mechanical transport depends upon increasing improvements in road communication.

Roads.

The necessity for extending India's roads is becoming every year more apparent. At present the economic loss caused by the inaccessibility of many agricultural districts in the rainy season is considerable ; and this cannot be remedied until the system of trunk roads is developed. The progress which is being made year by year, while by no means negligible, is inadequate for the necessities of the country. The total mileage of metalled and unmetalled roads maintained by public authority is still only about 200,000. The matter has for long been receiving the attention of the authorities, but before any adequate steps can be taken, public interest must be aroused in the question. There is all too much

reason to believe that Indian roads are deteriorating rather than improving, and, unless the reformed provincial Governments devote to this important topic the attention which it deserves, there is little prospect of development in the near future. Such a step as that taken by the Government of the United Provinces, which constituted a Provincial Board of Communications, must be pronounced extremely useful. If once the non-official representatives of the general public can be brought into contact with official experts, and can be aroused to the serious implications of a defective road system, a great impetus will certainly be lent to the improvement of communications.

Railways.

But of all means of communication in India, the most important is the railway system. In preceding reports mention was made of the difficulties against which the Indian railways have been struggling since the outbreak of war. Their capacity was seriously over-taxed to carry munitions and stores essential for the prosecution of hostilities, and, in addition, their ability to handle the growing traffic of India was increasingly impaired. Hence great difficulty has been experienced, even subsequent to the Armistice, in obtaining material essential for the upkeep of existing services. Moreover, the task of handling a constantly increasing volume of traffic has been complicated by depletion of the supervising staff.

The total length of Indian railways open for traffic at the end of the year 1920-21 was a little over 37,000 miles. This represents the result of 68 years of construction from the first modest opening, in 1853, of a little suburban line 21 miles in length from Bombay to Thana. Of recent years, the construction of new lines has, both for financial reasons and on account of shortage in the supply of materials, been seriously retarded. Of the 298 miles opened up in 1920-21, more than half is represented by a military railway, and the balance is made up of a few short branches financed mostly by Indian States and branch line companies. Capital expenditure on railways has risen steadily from £2·9 millions—the low water mark—in 1916-17, to £24 millions in the course of 1920-21. But, unfortunately, even this scale of outlay has not sufficed to make good in any appreciable degree the leeway lost during the war. The figures by themselves are indeed misleading, unless allowance is made for the very important fact of a rise of prices which has reduced the effective value of money in some cases to less than half.

Some indication of the importance of the part which is played by Indian railways in the life of the country may be afforded by an examination of the figures of goods and passenger traffic. Between 1901

and 1920-21, the tonnage of goods traffic increased from 43 millions to 87·5 millions; while the earnings increased from £21 millions to £48 millions. This increase, considerable as it may seem, is entirely overshadowed by the phenomenal growth of passenger traffic during the same period. In the year 1901, nearly 195 million passengers were transported, a process from which the railways earned £11 millions. But by 1920-21 the figure of transportations had risen to just under 560 millions, producing to the railways an earning of £40·9 millions. The passenger traffic is thus increasing much faster than the goods—a fact of very great importance as a guide to railway policy. Analysis of the passenger traffic shows that the number of persons travelling in the third class amounted to 490 millions, as against 1 million in the first class, 7 millions in the second class and 11 millions in the intermediate. The immense volume of third class passenger traffic affords a ready explanation of the recurrent complaints regarding over-crowding. The number of purely third class carriages in 1913-14, in terms of four-wheelers, was 15,712. By 1920-21 it had only increased to 17,808. Moreover, owing to renewals being in arrears, an unduly large proportion of the stock is ineffective. The obvious remedy can be applied only as time and money permit; but in the meantime all that is possible is being done in the way of providing a more extensive service of trains. Indeed, the daily passenger train mileage in March 1921 was 9,000 miles in excess of the figure at the same period of the previous year. Despite the remarkable growth of recent years in the volume of the passenger traffic, the transport of goods is still the main item of railway revenue. An analysis of the goods traffic shows that out of the total quantity, 87 million tons, transported during 1920-21, 46 million tons was made up by general merchandise, 21 million tons by coal and coke, 18 million tons by revenue stores and 1 million tons by military stores. Of general merchandise, the most important item from the point of view of tonnage was grain and pulse, which amounted to between 12 and 13 million tons. But the transportation figures of all the other principal articles of export declined in comparison with the quantities carried during the previous four years. Miscellaneous commodities rose to the figure of 16 million tons, a fact which was due mainly to the striking increase of imports to which reference has been made earlier in this chapter.

Importance of Railways.

Passenger Traffic.

Goods Traffic.

Public Criticism.

Of recent years, there has been considerable public criticism of railway shortcomings, directed principally to the shortage of stock. This, to those unacquainted with the details of practical railway working, appears to constitute the principal, if not the only, difficulty in the matter. It is assumed that, given an unlimited supply of rolling-stock, the troubles of the public in respect of transport would immediately disappear. Unfortunately, the solution of the question depends on other factors which are not so simply disposed of. To provide unlimited stock before adequate facilities such as yards, sidings, double lines, and extended repair shops are available, would produce merely confusion and a superfluity of idle stock. The work of bringing railways up to the necessary standard in this respect is a question of time and the expenditure of large sums of money. Until lines have been equipped to move a greater volume of additional stock, it is futile to agitate, as has been frequently done in India of late, for the purchase of wagons and coaches. Even with the existing numbers, economic handling is a very difficult matter. At the close of the year 1919-20 Indian railways had actually 8,990 engines, 24,743 coaching vehicles and 194,701 goods vehicles. The additions placed on the line in 1920-21 amounted to 375 engines, 208 coaching vehicles, and 6,493 wagons. An analysis of available figures shows that, despite the difficulties of the war years, the total stock under all three heads has considerably increased between 1914-15 and 1920-21. The number of engines has risen from 8,393 to 9,365 ; of coaching stock from 22,971 to 24,951 ; and of wagons from 184,076 to 201,194.

Difficulties.

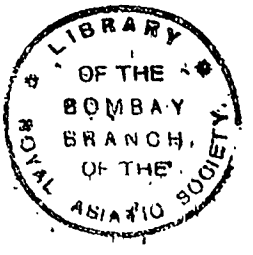
Rolling Stock.

Coal.

The difficulty of arranging for the adequate transport of coal was referred to in last year's report. This difficulty continued throughout 1921, but was not felt to so severe an extent in the latter half of the year. The system under which the distribution of coal wagons was regulated by the Coal Transportation Officer was continued, the only modification in its working arising from the fact that in 1921 this officer was assisted by the advice of a Committee.

Financial Results.

Turning to the financial aspect of Indian railways, we see that the gross receipts from State-owned lines rose from £79 millions in 1919-20 to just under £81 millions in 1920-21. On the other hand, working expenses rose from £45 millions to £54 millions, with the result that the net receipts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RAILWAY EARNINGS & EXPENDITURE ON STATE OWNED LINES IN INDIA. 1920-21.

CHART OF RECEIPTS.

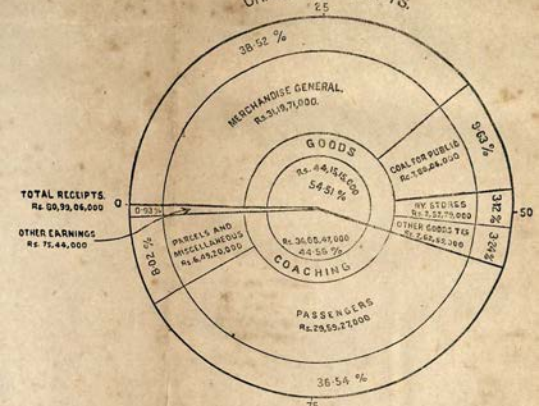

CHART OF EXPENDITURE.

declined from £33 millions to £26 millions. This increase in the working expenses is a most serious factor in the financial position. In the last year before the war, the working expenses of State-owned railways in India amounted only to £29 millions. Gross receipts were then £56 millions, and net receipts £27 millions. The increase in working expenditure during the last 7 years has thus neutralised the whole increase in gross receipts and has brought the net receipts almost to the figure at which they stood in 1913-14. In the meantime, the liability of Government in respect of interest on capital has risen. In this connection it may be pointed out that India alone among all the nations of the world has escaped so far a general and extensive rise in railway rates. If railways are to continue on sound business lines, there must soon be an increase in the rates commensurate with the increased cost of maintenance. So far as passengers are concerned, the service given in India is the cheapest in the world. Even in 1918, since when railway rates in other countries have sensibly increased, the average receipts per passenger mile by Indian railways stood, when calculated in American cents, at 0·5. This may be compared instructively with the figure for the United States of America which stood at 2·45 cents, with Holland's 2·27 cents., with Canada's 2·1 cents., and with Japan's 0·67 cents.

During the period under review a number of serious railway strikes have inflicted considerable inconvenience upon the general public. Now when the public suffers, it frequently relieves itself by criticism which is not always well-founded. For example, of late the railways have been accused of failure to consider the interests of their employees. This is a mistake. During the last ten years the total number of railway employees has increased from 0·56 million to 0.75 million; while between 1913-14 and 1920-21, the wages bill has increased from £14 millions to £26 millions. Many concessions have also been made to the staff, which have involved the railways in heavy additional recurring expenditure. Grain shops have been opened; the progress of co-operation has been encouraged; provident funds and gratuity benefits have been very substantially improved; Railway colonies, equipped with good water supply and in many cases with electricity, have been started at large centres; while institutes or other forms of recreation are provided or assisted from railway funds. The question of increasing facilities for the education of children is receiving attention. All these benefits have been designed principally for the subordinate staff

Railway Employees.

of the railways; in the case of the better paid officers, measures to improve salaries have been carried out in all services.

The Railway Committee.

In last year's report, reference was made to the institution of an enquiry as to the desirability of modifying the present management of Indian State-owned railways. A committee was appointed to advise as to the policy to be adopted when existing contracts with the several railway companies are terminated; to examine the function, status and constitution of the Railway Board, and the system of control exercised by Government over railway administration. It was also to consider arrangements for the financing of railways in India, and in particular the feasibility of utilising to a greater extent private enterprise and capital in the construction of new lines. The committee was also to report whether the present system of control by Government over rates and fares and the machinery for deciding disputes between railways and traders are satisfactory. The committee was presided over by Sir William Acworth. Among its members were included representatives of railway, financial and commercial interests both in England and in India. After a short preliminary session in England, the committee commenced its enquiries in Calcutta in December 1920. Proceeding to Bombay, Madras and other centres, it returned to England in 1921 to complete its investigations. The interest excited by its public sessions was very great; for Indians have long desired to obtain a greater share in the management of a matter so vitally connected with the prosperity of their country as is the railway system. They have also been able to put forward certain grievances such as the accusation that preference is given in the supply of wagons to European-owned industries, which could only be disproved by a full and frank investigation of the causes of complaint.

Railway Committee's Report.

The report of the Railway Committee proved to be a comprehensive document dealing with every phase of railway management and finance in India. So important and far-reaching were many of the changes recommended that considerable deliberation was necessary before action could be taken to give effect to them. In respect of a great many of the less vital suggestions, such as over-crowding, the accommodation of third-class passengers, and the evil of bribery, action could speedily be taken. But in respect of the main proposals a decision has been deferred pending examination. Dealing with the railway administration, the Committee recom-

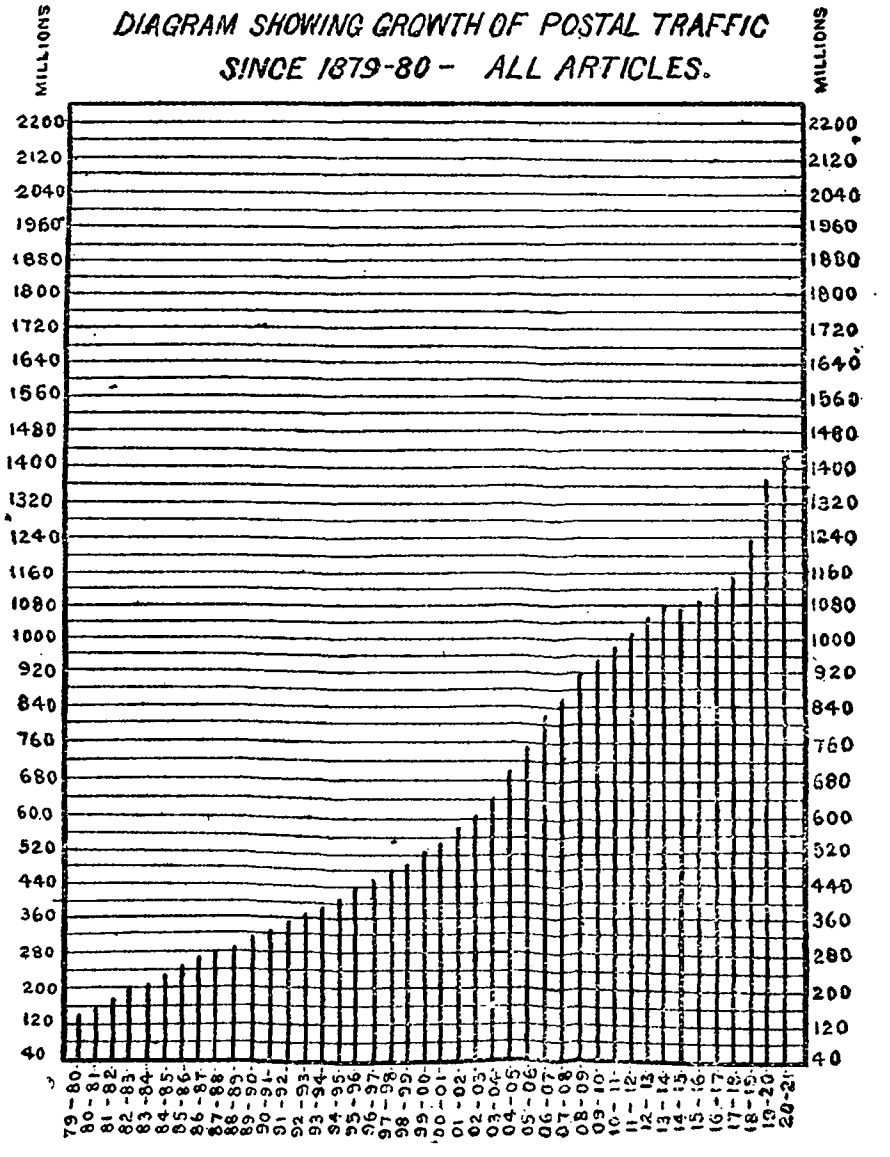
DIAGRAM SHOWING GROWTH OF POSTAL TRAFFIC
SINCE 1879-80 - ALL ARTICLES.
MILLIONS
MILLIONS
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2120
2040
1960
1880
1800
1720
1640
1560
1480
1400
1320
1240
1160
1080
1000
920
840
760
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600
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440
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mended that railways should be entrusted to a special Member of Council, who would also control posts and telegraphs, road transport, ports, and the like, which together should constitute a new Department of Communications. They recommended further that the Railway Board should be re-constituted and enlarged in the form of a Railway Commission, consisting of a Chief Commissioner and 4 Commissioners, of whom one would be in charge of finance, and the remaining three would be allocated to specific territorial divisions of the railway system. The Commissioners would be assisted by 6 Directors, who would be technical specialists in various branches of work. On these two proposals no action has so far been taken, as they are still under examination. Regarding railway finances, the Committee recommended that the railways should have a separate budget of their own, distinct from the general finance of India. A Committee drawn from both Houses of the Legislature considered this proposal in December last, but rejected it as impracticable. The Legislative Assembly, none the less, did not accept this recommendation, and advised further consideration of the question. They endorsed, however, the proposal of the Committee that, in order to secure continuity of railway policy, Government should agree to a 5-year railway programme of £150 millions (Rs. 150 crores). The Railway Committee further recommended the establishment of a Rates Tribunal and of a Central Advisory Council representative of various interests in the country. The latter proposal is already in train; but the project of a Rates Tribunal is still under examination. Further, on the question of company *versus* State administration, the Railway Committee was divided. One-half, including Sir William Acworth, favoured State management, the other half preferring management through the medium of Indian companies. No decision on this important matter has yet been arrived at, and the subject is one of the first items to be considered by the Advisory Council.

Growth of the Post Office.

There can be no doubt that popular interest is growing in the question of Indian communications. Conjoined with this interest naturally goes the steady demand for improvement. Of this an index is afforded by the unchecked progress of the traffic handled by Posts and Telegraphs Department. When in 1854, the postal service of India was formed into a separate department with a Director General, it started with 700 offices. At the close of the year 1920-21, there were 19,496 post offices, 102,885 postal officers and 157,301 miles of mail line. During the year 1389·3 million

articles were handled, including 612 million letters, 630 million post cards and 70 million registered newspapers. Indeed more than 4·5 million articles were carried on each working day. Mails in India are transported by such various means as runners, railways, horses, river craft, mail carts, camels and tongas; but where practicable the slower means of conveyance are gradually being replaced by motor-transport. The continuous expansion of the railway system of the country and the increasing use of mechanical transport have caused a steady diminution in the total length of runners' lines, which was 95,983 miles in 1910-11 as compared with 90,538 miles in 1920-21. There are however vast tracts of country where railway or motor transport cannot be used, and every year sees some addition to runners' lines as a necessary adjunct to the numerous small village post offices opened in the interior of districts. The runner therefore still holds, and will continue to hold for many years to come, a prominent place in the organisation as an agency for the conveyance of mails. The annals of the Department furnish numerous instances of runners having been carried away by tigers, drowned in flooded rivers, bitten by venomous snakes, buried in avalanches or murdered by robbers. Even during the period under review, mails were plundered by highway robbers no fewer than 36 times. In 7 cases the mail carriers were killed, and in 4 instances wounded. In the face of all these dangers, the mail runners seldom shrink from performing their duty. They regard the mail bag as a sacred trust which must be carried to its destination at all hazards. Very often they brave death in attempting to save it. No praise can be too high for the honesty, courage and devotion which they display in the performance of their duty.

How Mails are Carried.

The public utilities of the Indian post office are not confined to the collection, conveyance and delivery of correspondence. In addition, it acts as a banker and agent of the public, it enables them to do their shopping from all distances, it sells quinine, it insures the lives of Government employees, it collects customs duty, it receives salt revenue, and it pays the pension of retired soldiers of the Indian Army.

Public Utilities.

During the year under review, the salaries of postal employees were raised to meet the increase in the cost of living and the postal department worked at a net deficit of £ 0·46 millions (Rs. 0·46 crores). Receipts were £5·36 mil-

Financial Results.

lions (Rs. 5·30 crores) and payments £5·82 millions (Rs. 5·82 crores). This net deficit may be compared with the figures of the previous year, which showed a net surplus of receipts over expenditure amounting to £0·74 million. As in the case of railways, it is clear that the post office cannot continue to supply an up-to-date service at rates which no longer cover the costs incurred. With the present rate of wages and cost of conveyance it is impossible for the post office to carry any postal article for one-quarter of an anna except at a loss. While it would be difficult to overrate the advantages of cheap postages to a country such as India, it is none the less highly desirable that a public utility service, such as the post office, should be kept thoroughly efficient. This efficiency can only be maintained so long as the Post Office pays its way without having to starve its various branches Unlike the postal department, the telegraph department showed a profit, its total receipts being £3·5 millions (Rs. 3·5 crores) against working charges amounting to £2·69 millions. In the telegraph branch, the total number of inland and foreign telegrams disposed of during the year—19·9 millions—fell by 2 per cent. as compared with the figures of the preceding year. This decrease was due principally to the general depression of trade. The total line and wire mileages continue to grow steadily, and now consist of approximately 90,000 miles of line and cable, carrying 387,000 miles of wire. The telegraph staff of India now consists of over 13,000 officials who work in more than 10,000 offices, of which nearly 9,000 are open to the public. As was mentioned in last year's report, recommendations made by a Committee of enquiry have resulted in a considerable improvement of the pay and working conditions of telegraph officials. Increases of pay and over-time rates have been sanctioned; and house-rent allowances to members of the staff not provided with free quarters have also been granted. As a testimony of the efficiency of the staff, it may be said that statistics maintained by 60 of the principal offices showed that 29 per cent. of the telegrams were transmitted within 10 minutes of receipt and 49 per cent. within 20 minutes. Of the telegrams received for delivery 61 per cent. were sent out to the addressees within 10 minutes of receipt. None the less the growing congestion of the telegraph wires of India and the delays which occasionally arise owing to the extent or the interruption of traffic lend particular importance to the progress of wireless telegraphy. A special wireless branch of the telegraph department exists under the charge of experts brought

Wireless.

out from England. During the period under review the experimental work in connection with atmospheric disturbances, especially troublesome from April to October in India, was steadily pursued with considerable success. The number of Radio telegrams exchanged with ships at sea increased from over 12,000 in 1919-20 to more than 19,000 in 1920-21. The amount of inland traffic also increased, but statistics are not available prior to June 1920. Although the wireless system cannot at present compete with the ordinary telegraph wires for commercial traffic, it is hoped that under the new scheme, regular wireless routes for ordinary traffic passed at high speed will be established within the next two years. A commercial wireless route between Madras and Rangoon has been already sanctioned and the work put in hand. Such routes provide extra outlets in the cases of interruption upon the lines, or on occasions when there is a rush of work. Eventually they should save much expenditure on long overland wires which are costly to work and are steadily becoming yet more costly to maintain.

Telephones.

Another means by which it is hoped before long to remedy the congestion of the telegraph system is the increased employment of telephones. The demand during the year continued to grow, but owing to the difficulty of obtaining instruments, underground cables and switchboards it could not be met in full. At the close of the year under review there were over 1,600 applications on the waiting lists of the various Government systems. During the year 753 miles of new trunk circuits having 1,500 miles of wire were erected, bringing the total up to 5,600 miles of wire as against 4,100 miles in the previous year. There is no doubt that, when material is available, the telephone system will expand rapidly. There are still only 255 Government exchanges with 10,703 connections; while licensed telephone companies own 11 exchanges with 20,335 connections. During the 5 years ending the 31st of March 1921, the number of exchanges supplied and maintained by the Government Telephone Department increased from 226 to 255, the number of connections from 8,115 to 10,703, and the total telephone revenue from £0·09 million to £0·17 million. Progress has been greatly retarded by the war, and it is anticipated that during the next few years, if funds are made available, the development of the telephone in India will proceed more rapidly.

Aviation.

Among other means of communications which in the future will probably play a great part in the development of India, mention must be made of aviation. Surveys of the primary air routes between Bombay and Calcutta, Calcutta and Rangoon, Calcutta and Delhi, Delhi and Karachi, have been completed, and aerodromes have been provided at some of the terminal stations of these routes together with landing grounds at certain intermediate points. Unfortunately the general financial situation in India has prevented much being done in the way of preparing the Calcutta-Rangoon section of the Bombay-Rangoon air route—which is the first item on the civil aviation programme in India. The necessary land has been acquired in some cases but the preparation of the ground has had to be postponed in nearly every instance. The Bombay-Rangoon air route exists therefore only on paper, and no commercial or mail service is possible until funds are forthcoming for the preparation of the complete route. The Handley-Page Indo-Burmese Transport Company, which was formed with the view to compete for the mail service, went into liquidation and the aeroplanes have been bought by a Calcutta firm. Two carefully prepared schemes for the carriage of mails in India by air have been received by Government, but unfortunately shortage of funds necessary for the preparation of aerodromes prevented their acceptance. Aviation is merely in its infancy in India, as is apparent from the fact that up to December 1921 only 13 certificates of registration were given, 13 licenses granted to ground engineers, and 10 licenses to pilots. The hundred aeroplanes presented by His Majesty's Government to India have been allocated to various local Governments and Administrations, to Indian States and to private individuals: except six which have been retained by the Air Board for purposes of experiment and investigation when funds are available. The remainder are being kept for purposes of demonstration and instruction. But from what has been said it will be obvious that little can be accomplished in the way of progress until the existing financial stringency is eased. As soon as this occurs, there will be nothing to prevent the development of civil aviation. In preparation for this some valuable meteorological work has already been carried out in India.

Meteorology.

Upper air investigations were undertaken by the Indian Meteorological Department first in the year 1902. At that time the work was carried out from headquarters without the help of properly equipped stations in the plains.

In 1910 the whole system was re-organised and eight stations were equipped for upper air work. Up to then the work had been carried out by kites, but, under the new system, more up-to-date methods and balloons were used. Daily reports are received from Akyab, Calcutta, Agra, Simla, Lahore, Peshawar and Quetta. Bangalore and Colombo are also equipped for upper air work, and reports are received from these stations when of sufficient interest.

CHAPTER VI.

The People and their Problems.

Monsoon Failure.

As was mentioned in last year's Report, the monsoon of 1920, after making a good start, proved in the end disappointing. While its average quantity was only 12 per cent. below the normal, the distribution, which is probably of more practical importance than the total precipitation, was extremely defective. The comparative failure of the rains in September not only seriously affected the standing monsoon crops, but was responsible also for a large decrease in area in the succeeding winter crops. Until about the middle of November 1920, leaving aside some distress in parts of Bihar and also of Burma and Hyderabad, there was no scarcity or famine. But the early cessation of the monsoon and the lack of winter rains then caused the agricultural situation in other parts of the country to deteriorate. Famine was declared in one district of the Bombay Presidency, scarcity in another district, as well as in seven districts of the Central Provinces. Famine conditions in Hyderabad also became more pronounced; and distress prevailed in certain districts of the Madras Presidency. In consequence, by the end of the year 1920, the famine machinery of India was set in motion for the benefit of some 80,000 persons. Grants of money were sanctioned for the affected areas, relief works and gratuitous relief provided. Revenue was remitted on a generous scale, and preparations made to meet future developments. During the early months of the year 1921, these conditions unfortunately persisted with some aggravation. In three districts of the Central Provinces, Jubbulpore, Mandla and Seoni, famine was declared. The same declaration was made in the Bellary, Anantpur and Kurnool districts of the Madras Presidency, in the Bijapur district of the Bombay Presidency, and in parts of Baluchistan. Scarcity was also declared in 8 districts of the Central Provinces, 5 districts in Bombay and 3 districts in the United Provinces. Local distress prevailed in one district of the Bengal Presidency, in one district of the Punjab, and in the Rewa State of Central India.

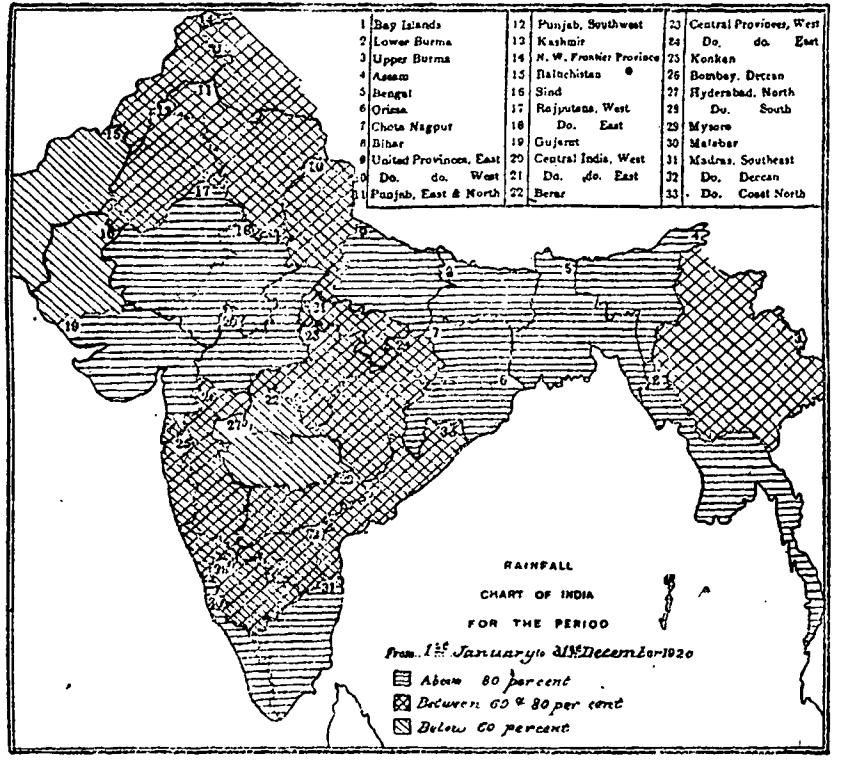
Famine and Scarcity.

As will readily be understood, the year 1920-21 was a time of considerable hardship. Fortunately the excellent monsoon of 1921 brought eventual relief. But through the larger portion of the calendar year, prices ruled very high, and supplies of certain foodgrains were short. Despite the seriousness of these conditions, the agricultural population weathered the storm in a remarkable manner. The largest number of persons on relief of all kinds was 0·45 million, a figure only attained during the week ending June 18th, 1921. Distressing as its magnitude may seem, we should note that it is considerably less than 3 per cent. of the total population of the area affected by the monsoon failure.

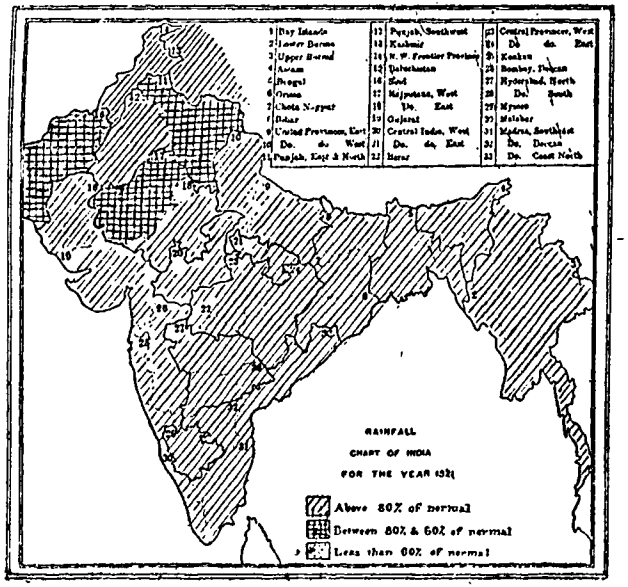
The smallness of the proportion of persons accepting relief is of itself remarkable, in view of the disastrous character of the season. But the truth is that the agricultural masses have gradually improved their position and that economic pressure upon them is now growing less acute. Of late years, the main trouble throughout the Indian countryside has been the general failure of wages to overtake prices. As to the exact effect of such a state of affairs it is difficult to speak with certainty: but the investigations of Dr. Harold Mann into certain Deccan villages have yielded results which serve to explain the distress and hardship suffered in many quarters since the war. It seems that where prices rise without an increase of wages, the gulf between the solvent and the insolvent classes of villagers tends to widen, most of the people who were previously solvent becoming more solvent, while the position of the insolvents deteriorates. It would further appear that a 50 per cent. rise in prices without a corresponding increase in wages, makes for the advantage of those people who have sufficient land which they work with their own labour to maintain them in a sound position; but the man who benefits most is the non-cultivating proprietor. Where, as is so frequently the case, there is a combined dependence upon land worked by a family and upon income derived from that family's labour, the position depends solely upon the proportion between the income derived from the land and the income derived from the labour. But the general effect on the village population of a rise in prices, without a corresponding rise in wages, seems disastrous; and the annual deficit of expenses over earnings of the families belonging to a given village increases enormously. During the post-war years, matters have of course been slowly improving with the progressive adjustment of agricultural wages to prevailing prices—an adjustment assisted by the

Prices and Wages: Disparity.

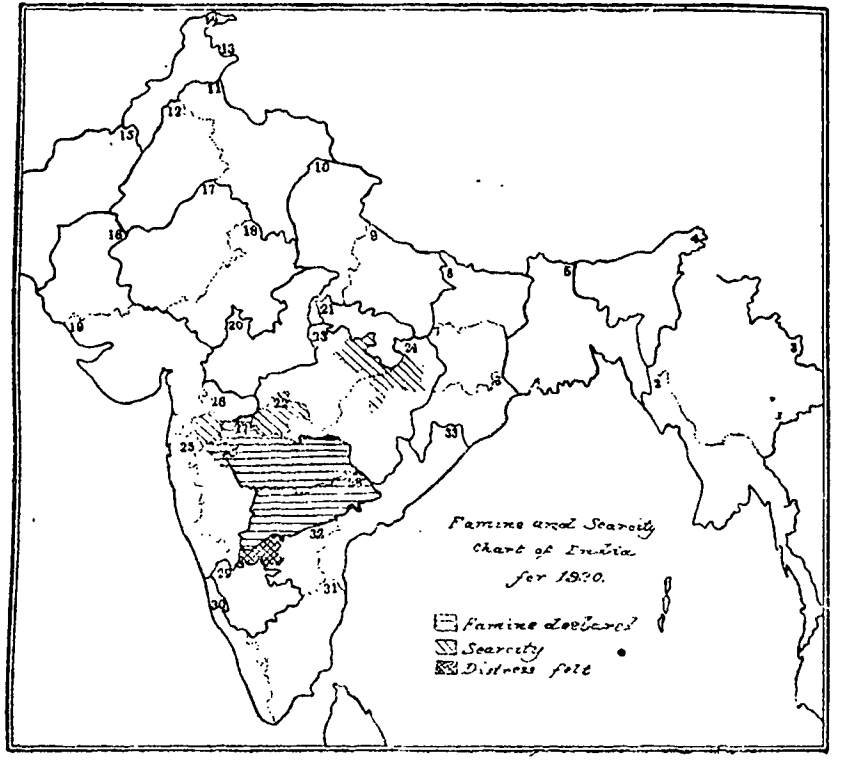
RAINFALL CHART OF INDIA 1920.



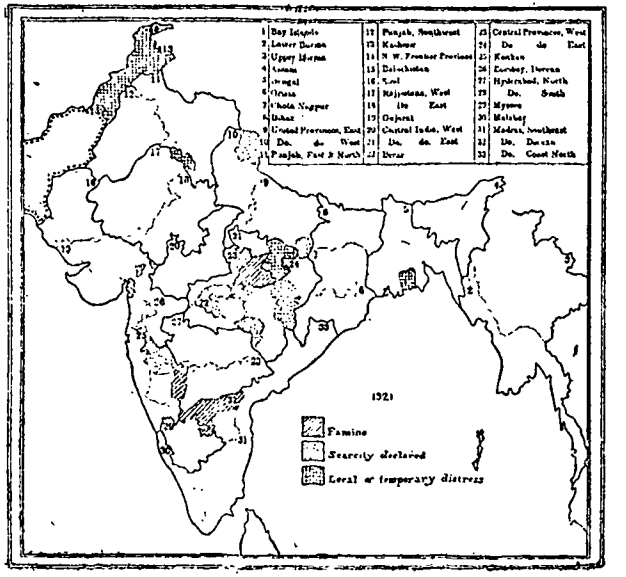
RAINFALL CHART OF INDIA 1921.



SCARCITY CHART OF INDIA 1920.



SCARCITY CHART OF INDIA 1921.



growing demand for labour. This process has been a marked characteristic of rural life in India during 1921, and its effect has been to mitigate in large degree the distress that would otherwise have been caused by a monsoon failure so formidable as that of 1920. Throughout the period under review, unskilled agricultural labour commanded such high wages that in certain parts of India, cultivators found casual labour a more certain and a more profitable means of livelihood than agricultural work. In the North West Frontier Province, for example, a casual labourer was able to earn easily between 12 annas and one rupee per day, and in many cases considerably more. Even in the famine-stricken districts themselves, such as Bijapur, unskilled labour commanded as much as 6 annas a day. Hence, despite the monsoon failure, during the year under review, the agricultural population has fared unexpectedly well. The following report, referring to the Bijapur district, is typical of many others :—

Prices and Wages: Adjustment.

> "If any satisfaction can be derived from such a misfortune as a failure of crops, it was in the manner in which the people withstood the scarcity. There was no emaciation or physical deterioration and none of the old famine diseases; the average mortality in both the affected districts being below normal. The people readily took advantage of the local demand for labour, and the high prices obtainable for such labour maintained them in good condition. The cattle also came through the scarcity remarkably well. The villagers in each affected area sold their superfluous cattle, but this in many cases must have given much needed relief to the overcrowded grazing areas."

The manner in which the agricultural population of India has survived the scarcity and famine of 1920-21 lends some additional weight to the point of view tentatively put forward in last year's Report as to the condition of the rural masses. It was therein pointed out that, without an extremely elaborate and costly survey, such as there is little chance of organizing in India for some time to come, it is difficult to strike a balance such as would indicate the average economic position of the Indian peasant. Until this is done, no one can settle with exactness the problem, which is constantly propounded in the public press, whether

The Position of the Agricultural Population.

the masses of India are becoming poorer or richer under British rule. It is plain to the careful observer that there is considerable indirect evidence as to a growing prosperity rather than to an increasing poverty. The remarkable popularity of railway travel, as witnessed by the phenomenal multiplication of third class passengers during the last two decades, of which mention has been made in an earlier chapter, would seem to indicate that more money is available over and above the bare necessaries of life than was previously the case. The recently increased absorption of rupees, which two years ago threatened the whole currency system of India with inconvertibility, combined with the growing employment of silver for purposes of adornment by classes of the population previously, and within living memory, accustomed to brass, would seem to point in the same direction. Further, the steady substitution of a monetary for a national system of economy, with its accompaniments of a preference for imported cloth, for imported mineral oil, and for imported domestic utensils would seem to show that those who advance India's claim to increasing prosperity have something more than personal prejudice upon which to base their contention.

[Progress or Retrogression.

During the year under review, a certain amount of direct evidence has become available pointing in the same direction. The Statistical Branch of the Department of Agriculture of the Madras Presidency has published an extremely careful estimate of the agricultural income—that is to say, the income which is earned by agriculture in the form of agricultural products—throughout Madras. This seems to show that the total contribution of agriculture to the income of the population of Madras Presidency amounts to £309·7 millions (Rs. 309·7 crores). The agricultural population is just $\frac{5}{7}$ths of the total population of the Presidency; so that if we may assume the contribution of the agricultural and non-agricultural populations to be in proportion to strength, the non-agricultural income should be $\frac{2}{5}$ths or 40 per cent. of the agricultural income. A simple calculation based upon this assumption would seem to show that the total income of the Presidency is somewhere near £434 millions (Rs. 434 crores). The population of Madras being 42·3 millions by the census of 1921, the average income per head works out, on the above calculation, at a little over £10 (Rs. 100). The statement has so often been repeated that the average income per head for all India is only £3 (Rs. 30) that some people are likely to be astonished at a figure so large as that apparently prevailing in the Madras Presidency. But it must be remembered that the

estimate of Rs. 30 was made at the close of the last century ; and further that it was a minimum, not a maximum, estimate of the average income. Since it was arrived at, the alteration of prices has been so great that the purchasing power of Rs. 100 in 1920 is only 40 per cent. greater than that of Rs. 30 in 1899. Even if it can be assumed that the income of Rs. 100 per head per annum of the Madras Presidency is true for the rest of India, this increase over the 1899 figure does not really amount to very much. For at present, an average Madras rustic family, enjoying such an income must spend nearly half its earnings on staple food, if that food be rice, in order to get enough food. Only half its income is available for all the other necessities of civilised life—milk, curds, clarified butter, condiments, clothing, fuel, light, housing, education, amusement, travel, recreation, and the like. In short, this Madras survey seems to show that the symptoms of increasing prosperity, such as has been described, ought not to disguise from the observer the poverty which besets the masses of the Indian population—poverty of a kind which finds no parallel in the more exigent, because less tropical, climate of Europe. But that encouraging symptoms are not wholly lacking, we have already seen : and it must be admitted that these symptoms have successfully surmounted very severe tests. No one can deny that the manner in which the bad seasons of 1919-20 and 1920-21 have been weathered, speaks eloquently for an increase of resisting powers in the poorer classes. The process of improvement must necessarily be slow. As time goes on, it may be hoped that the increased development of India's resources will gradually create a *per capita* figure of wealth sufficient for her needs as a nation. But the industrial regeneration of 270 millions of people, which is the population of British India, the majority of whom are poor and helpless beyond Western conception, is not a matter which can be accomplished in a few years. It is little indeed that any administration can do to mitigate the gigantic problem of Indian poverty, although, as was amply apparent in recent years, Government action may, in times of crisis, avert disaster.

Food Conservation and Control.

As in 1920, the problem of the food supply continued all through the period under review to exercise the Administration. The policy of the Government of India with regard to the export of food-grains has been to get rid of the measures of control adopted in consequence of post-war economic conditions as soon as circumstances justify this course. In March 1921, the Council of State adopted a Resolution recommending the removal of restrictions on the export of all food-grains from

India forthwith, but no immediate effect was given to this Resolution by Government, since it was decided to defer action until the ultimate character of the monsoon of 1921-22 was definitely ascertained. Events proved the wisdom of this course. During the summer of 1921 and the early part of the rainy season of that year, prices of all food-grains showed a considerable and fairly steady rise. This was scarcely a matter for surprise, since the premature cessation of the 1920 monsoon had caused, as we have seen, a widespread failure of the autumn harvest in northern, western and central India, with the consequence that sowings of spring crops had been greatly restricted. As has already been pointed out elsewhere, Government had previously abandoned the scheme put in force in October 1920, under which a maximum quantity of 0·4 million tons of wheat was to be exported, subject to a definite limit of price. But the suddenness of the rise in prices, especially of wheat, which occurred towards the end of August 1921 came as a surprise to the people and the Government alike. Various extraordinary rumours were afloat, and it was popularly believed that Government were allowing the export of large quantities of wheat to Europe. These rumours were sedulously encouraged by political malcontents, especially in the Punjab. The Government of India, and the Local Governments affected, did their best to remove all misapprehension by the issue of communiqués pointing out the true facts. But in the meantime an acute economic position had been created owing to the prevalence of high prices of wheat. This was especially the case in the Punjab, where wheat rose to a level far above the maximum ever attained in the year 1919, when agricultural conditions had been very similar. The Punjab Government, therefore, pressed upon the Government of India the importance of an early announcement, to the effect that no further exports of wheat and flour from India would be allowed at least until the end of March 1922. Although it could be clearly demonstrated that, with the prices ruling in Europe and India at the time, the export of wheat from India to Europe was a sheer economic impossibility, it was considered advisable to accede to this request. An announcement to the desired effect was accordingly made in September 1921. It was also stated that, in order to prevent any depletion of stocks or enhancement of prices owing to military requirements, it had been decided to obtain all supplies of wheat and flour required for the army in India, or based on India, by the purchases of wheat abroad, so far as this was possible. The import of foreign wheat was therefore encouraged, and the total amount actually

Crisis in the autumn.

arriving in India up to the 31st December 1921, was 0·23 million tons, out of which 0·029 million tons were on military account. Special enquiries in the Punjab and the United Provinces indicated that the rise in wheat prices was due to a genuine shortage of stocks, and not to speculation or cornering. Strength was lent to this contention by the fact that the outturn of wheat in the Punjab was estimated at not much above 2 million tons, a figure which compares very unfavourably with the yield of nearly 3½ million tons mentioned in last year's Report. In regard to rice also, special measures were taken to conserve stocks for Indian consumption. During 1921 the exports of rice from India were limited to an allotment of 100,000 tons from the port of Karachi for export to the Persian Gulf ports and Aden, and 55,000 tons of boiled rice from certain ports of the Madras Presidency to Ceylon. In addition, the Government of India sanctioned the export from Calcutta to Cuba, the Bermudas and other West Indian islands of 15,000 tons of a special quality of rice ("old hard table") which is not consumed in India and is manufactured principally for export to the Cuban market. Under the modified scheme of rice control brought into force in Burma with effect from the 1st of January 1921, 1·1 million tons were reserved for India out of the exportable surplus of 1·9 million tons. The balance of 0·8 million tons was allowed to be exported to foreign countries under license. This scheme had the effect of bringing down the price of rice in Burma in the early part of the year, but in June it was reported that out of the sanctioned allotment of 0·84 million tons, approximately 65,000 tons only remained for export to foreign countries during the year. Since the Government of India were anxious to conserve the remaining supplies for those countries within the Empire which have large Indian populations, such as Ceylon, the Straits Settlements and the Mauritius, they stopped the general issue of further licenses to foreign countries with effect from the 1st of July 1921. The small balance remaining available for export was distributed among certain countries to meet their minimum requirements during the remainder of the year. In view, however, of the favourable reports received towards the close of the period under review regarding the rice crops both in India and in Burma, all restrictions on the export of rice from Burma were removed on the 13th December 1921.

Purchase of Wheat Abroad.

Rice.

As was mentioned in last year's volume, there is a widespread popular belief in India that the export of food-grains from the country is

responsible for the prevailing high prices. This conclusion rests on most insufficient grounds. Even prior to the introduction of the system of control, the average net export of grain and pulse from India in the 10 years ending 1918 averaged less than 1·5 million tons per annum, as against a total production of food-grains estimated at somewhere near 80 million tons. This small exportable surplus, which has latterly been kept in the country by the restrictive policy previously outlined, has undoubtedly assisted India to pull through the crises caused by the monsoon failures of 1918-19 and 1920-21. Its smallness seems to show that the country is accustomed to rely rather upon her food stocks than upon the quantity which she normally sets aside for export. The general justification for the restrictions on export in force during the period under review lies rather in the political than in the economic effect of such restrictions; although, unquestionably, a certain steadying in price, largely due to increased public confidence, has from time to time resulted therefrom. It would however be a mistake to maintain, as is done in certain sections of the Indian press, that a complete and permanent restriction on the export of food-grains would conduce to the benefit of India. Already there are signs that the Indian cultivator, who is as alive to obvious economic facts as his prototype in other countries, is beginning to turn his attention from food-grains to crops which fetch a better price in a wider market. In certain parts of India, for example in Bengal, the shrinkage of the provincial area under food-grains caused by the growth of the area under certain other crops is exciting a certain alarm.

The "Food-Drain."

As we have noticed, the economic condition of the Indian countryside during the year 1921 has been one of considerable strength. Despite the rise in prices of food, the increased wages of the agricultural labourer have enabled him to sustain a period of monsoon failure with greater ease than might have been expected. It may be taken as contributory proof of his improving position that the period under review has also been conspicuous for a tendency towards joint action. Such action, it may be pointed out, does not in practice occur among persons who are in a weak and resourceless condition. It is generally characteristic rather of classes of the population who, having already made considerable economic advances, take advantage of the strength they have gained in order to consolidate their position and to improve it by combination. In various parts of India during the year 1921, the movement for tenants' unions or Kisan

The Countryside.

Sabhas has become increasingly prominent. In many cases, these unions have confined themselves to collective bargaining with local landholders and overlords, and to securing improved conditions of tenure and labour for their members. They have also commenced to ventilate their grievances to the general public. As a result, the year has been marked in many parts of India by the rustic labourer's increased appreciation of his own value to society. Bond serfdom, which not infrequently governed the relations between creditor and debtor, is tending to disappear rapidly. Nor has the State been slow to assist in the uplift of the rural population. The time-honoured practice of impressed labour has been forbidden in many provinces by legislative enactment: and the Reformed Local Governments are devoting considerable attention to such matters as tenant right. During the period under review a very important measure was successfully engineered for the province of Oudh, where hitherto tenure at will has been the practice. The substantial merits of the Oudh Tenancy Act were unfortunately obscured from the public eye by warm disputes over details: but dispassionate examination shows that the benefits derived therefrom by the peasantry are likely to be considerable. In other provinces also, attention is being devoted to similar questions; and Government generally speaking has shown itself only too willing to demonstrate its friendliness towards the Kisan Sabhas. But unfortunately in some instances these organisations have been manipulated for political purposes by wire-pullers, either local or imported. Mention has already been made in preceding pages of the occurrence of riots and disorders due to such perversion, more particularly in the United Provinces. These events have unfortunately necessitated drastic action on the part of the administration. Care has, however, in all cases been taken to demonstrate that the action of Government is directed to the repression of disorder and not to the repression of peaceful and lawful combination among agricultural labourers. In this connection there can be little doubt that one effect of the non-co-operation movement has been to divert the activities of certain of the tenants' unions into dangerous paths. They have begun to concern themselves with matters political, regarding which their information is necessarily one-sided and incomplete. There has thus been a tendency, at least in certain parts of India, towards action of a semi-Bolshevik character. This has been considerably stimulated by the policy of hostility to Government preached by the non-co-operation party, as well

Tenants' Unions.

State Action.

as by their open incitements to passive resistance and the withholding of taxes. The net result of these activities has been a considerable increase in the class-consciousness of the rustic. A situation is thus growing up which needs extremely careful handling. For, as the outbreaks during the period under review have clearly shown, the Indian villager is very susceptible to misguidance, and when under the influence of grievances, real or fancied, is prone to sudden outbursts of unreasoning violence. The matter will probably right itself as education gradually spreads. But until the Indian rustic attains a greater sense of responsibility and a sounder knowledge of political affairs, the stimulus which has been afforded to his class-consciousness contains potentialities of serious disorder.

The Town-Dwellers.

Having thus indicated in brief the general conditions during the year 1921, of the Indian countryside, in which dwell some 90 per cent. of the Indian population, it remains to turn to the town population. It should be remembered that the position of the town-dweller in a time of rising prices is often considerably inferior to his brother in the country. The monetary income of the average villager, small though it may be, does not represent his total budget. His dwelling as a rule costs him little or nothing; while his food is mainly produced by his own labour and by that of his family. In the towns, on the other hand, the monetary income of the individual represents by far the largest proportion of his assets; and when the interval between prices and wages is at all considerable, great economic suffering results. This is particularly noticeable in the case of the middle classes. Small shopkeepers, clerks, the lower grades of State and commercial employees, have for the last four years been exposed to the pinch of necessity. Prices have been rising to a considerable degree; and the economics of the town generally prevent members of this class from profiting by any temporary reduction in the price of ordinary commodities. In their small fixed incomes, their large families and their steadily increasing expenditure, they have found cause for deep and widespread discontent. Their position is complicated by the fact that social status compels them to "keep up appearances" effectively preventing them from entering upon new employment of a more lucrative kind than their own pursuit if it should happen to conflict with long-established custom and social prejudice. In fact, like England, India has her new poor, especially in the middle-class of town-dwellers. The readjustment

Sufferings of the Middle Classes.

between prices and wages must in their case necessarily be slow; since the labour market in which the middle and lower middle classes compete is habitually overstocked. So far as Government employees are concerned, something has already been done to mitigate the rigour of their position: but they account, it must be remembered, for but a small fraction of the class to which they belong. Their less fortunate brethren, conscious of increasing hardship and misery, fall a ready prey to the latest gust of political agitation; constituting, it would seem, by far the most bitter and enthusiastic elements in any anti-Government campaign. The town labourer, on the other hand, has many advantages from which the middle-class man is in India rigidly debarred by the traditional limitations of his position. The market in which the town labourer competes, whether he be skilled or unskilled, is normally large. He can form himself into combines for extorting better terms from his employers. He can change, as opportunity offers, from one kind of labour to another if he be unskilled; and even if he be skilled, he has probably several strings to his bow. Moreover, though at present insufficiently organised, he is gradually acquiring a power, unknown to the middle-class man, to bring his grievances urgently before the notice of the public by strikes which interfere with public utilities. Considering the importance of the part played in the history of the year 1921 by all the self-assertive activities, legitimate or otherwise, of the town labourer, some endeavour must be made to examine the position which he occupies in the economic structure of India.

The Labourer.

It has frequently been pointed out that Indian labour has not been up to the present as economical as its cheapness would imply. It has long been an axiom with Indian employers that the Indian labourer prefers long hours, with lax discipline, to shorter hours, with strict discipline. But, as pointed out in last year's Report, there was a tendency during 1920 to give the latter plan a trial. The shorter hours upon which workmen have successfully insisted in Ahmedabad, Bombay and elsewhere have rendered this inevitable: and a further step has been taken by the introduction of legislation for a sixty-hour week in factories. But the efficiency of the Indian workman must be raised considerably before he can turn out as good work as his rival overseas. The first step towards raising his efficiency is to raise his standard of living, and before this can be effected, the wages, housing and general conditions of labour in India will have to be improved

Characteristics of Indian Labour.

considerably. Already serious efforts are being made to tackle all these problems. In the larger industrial cities, the wages of the labouring classes are rapidly overtaking the inflated prices hitherto responsible for so much hardship. Efforts are being made to relieve the congestion which threatens to make the housing conditions of labour intolerable. The Improvement Trusts in great cities, such as Bombay and Calcutta, are devoting funds to this object, and many employers are undertaking housing schemes for their labour. Attention is also being directed more and more prominently in the great industrial centres to what is known in the West as welfare work. During the period under review, a careful enquiry was made into the conditions of employment of women and children in different provinces, in industry, in agriculture, and in coal-mining, while some firms started maternity benefit schemes for their women employees. Firms were also recommended to employ medical women to look after the health of such employees, and in certain instances this advice has already been taken. Local Governments have been asked to consider the necessity of establishing health services in connection with the inspection of factories, while the utility of employing female officials to study health questions, in so far as they affect women industrial workers, has also been pointed out. But beyond question the most important step taken during the year 1921 towards the amelioration of the conditions of Indian labour was the introduction of a Bill to amend the Indian Factories Act. The principal features of the amending Act include the provision of further protection for children working in factories by raising the maximum and minimum ages, by reducing their hours of labour in non-textile factories, by providing for intervals of rest, and by inserting additional safeguards in respect to certification. Further, the hours for adults in all classes of factories have been limited, with lengthened intervals for rest and more stringent provisions for week-day holidays. Moreover, there has been a considerable extension in the definition of the word "factory" and definite principles have been enunciated to regulate the grant of exemption from the provisions of the Act. During the year, proposals for legislation for the provision of workmen's compensation were formulated by the Government of India and published for general criticism. These beneficent efforts in the direction of improving the conditions of labour have by no means been confined to the State. Certain private

Welfare Work.

Factory Conditions Improved.

institutions, as well as some large Indian firms, are beginning to take an active interest in the matter. The Social Service League in Bombay is carrying on welfare work among the operatives employed in two groups of mills under the agency of Messrs. Currimbhoy Ibrahim and Messrs. Tatas. In the Tata industrial city at Jamshedpur, welfare work on an extensive scale is also being conducted. Co-operative credit societies are being steadily introduced among mill-hands, who as a class are thriftless and liable to fall into the clutches of extortionate shop-keepers and money-lenders. But before very much progress can be made in ameliorating the lot of the Indian labourer, some systematic attempts must be made to give him sufficient education to enable him to perceive his own interest more clearly than is the case at present. Some of the more enlightened mill-owners in Bombay and elsewhere maintain schools for the education of the children of their employees ; but little has been so far accomplished in the direction of providing free or compulsory education for the children of the labouring classes in urban areas.

Private Philanthropy.

During the year 1921, as we have already noticed, the economic restlessness characteristic of the year 1920 continued and expressed itself most plainly in combined action on the part of workmen. Labour unions have come prominently before the notice of the general public on account of the magnitude and frequency of the strikes which have taken place. Hitherto the generality of these unions have been conducted in a fashion which makes comparison with corresponding institutions in the West very misleading. But from the remarkable growth in the number of these bodies during the year 1921 there seems little doubt that the movement has come to India to stay. In the larger towns, on the railways, and in some public utility services, such as the Post Office, the employees have succeeded in building up organizations which are likely to be the nuclei of properly constituted trades unions. The remainder of the unions have still very little cohesion and many are virtually strike committees. This is partly to be explained by the fact that in many of the important industrial centres the labour population is floating—that is to say, the average labourer is domiciled in a locality remote from that in which he works, and he expects to return once more to his village after a period spent in a mill or factory. Partly also it is due to the fact that many labourers dislike the idea of regular contributions and union discipline, so that a given union rarely embraces more than a small per-

Labour Unions.

Their Weakness.

centage of the men employed in any establishment. In consequence, the authority which can be exercised by the smaller unions over the men as a whole is at present very restricted, although fortunately it shows a tendency to increase. The need for increased efficiency in organisation among Indian trades unions has again made itself amply apparent during the period under review. There were no fewer than 400 strikes during 1921. Of these, the majority were due to economic causes, but in some cases political issues were confused with economic grievances. This was the case in two of the most stubborn strikes that India has known—the Assam tea garden strike, with the resultant strike on the Assam-Bengal Railway and the Indian inland river steamers; and the Buckingham and Carnatic mill strikes. The Assam-Bengal Railway strike lasted for about 2½ months. At its height, some 11,000 employees were out of work, and in the end some 4,500 lost their posts altogether. In the Buckingham and Carnatic mill strikes, about 10,000 workmen were concerned. Throughout the year, as we have already seen, the gap between wages and cost of living diminished, and in many cases disappeared; and the effect of this on the course of strikes became increasingly apparent. The successful strikes that had marked the year 1920 became fewer and fewer as 1921 proceeded; indeed, by the end of the year they had become rare. But if India is to profit by the example of other countries, and avoid the loss and dislocation caused by recurrent strikes, the labour problem must be tackled systematically. She has, indeed, her own special reasons for regarding it as urgent. Quite apart from the inconvenience caused to the general public by economic unrest, there are other and even more serious aspects to be considered. If India is to make any real advance towards responsible government, there must be a substantial and continuous increase in her resources. For this, industrial advance is necessary; and nothing will do more to check it than continuous conflict between employers and employed.

Strikes.

In dealing with this urgent problem, the first requisites are trained investigators and adequate information. Accordingly, the State has taken the lead in the organization of separate Labour Departments or Bureaux. The Labour Bureau of the Central Government was started in May 1920, and special officers dealing with labour have been employed in Madras, Bengal, Bombay and the United Provinces. Already the activities of these Departments have begun to attract the attention of the public to the importance of labour

State Action.

Labour Bureaux.

questions. During the year the Government of India endeavoured to stimulate enquiry into the cost of living of the labouring classes with a view to the construction of cost of living index numbers. The scheme was taken up with energy in Bombay and in the United Provinces. If provincial index numbers which command general support can be produced, they will provide extremely valuable data for the solution of industrial problems.

Protection of Trades Unions.

In last year's Report we saw that near the end of 1920 a decision of the Madras High Court had revealed the necessity of legislation for the protection of Indian trades unions. As the law then stood, it was possible to obtain an injunction restraining a trades union official or organizer from influencing labourers to break their contract with their employers by striking to obtain an increase of wages. The precipitation of an issue so grave before the main lines of union development had had time to settle themselves, is certainly regrettable. Government, however, felt compelled to move in the matter, and during the year 1921 proposals were published for a trade union bill, with a view to its early introduction in the legislature. The question of machinery for the settlement of strikes has engaged the attention of the Indian administration for some time; and while no comprehensive scheme has yet been devised, useful experiments have been made. In Madras, Courts of Enquiry proved of some value in diminishing discord in 1920, and several successful efforts at conciliation have been made in other provinces. Acting on the recommendations of a committee which investigated the subject, the Government of Bengal created an organization for the settlement of disputes in public utility services. The first Board of conciliation and arbitration appointed in that Presidency dealt successfully with a strike on the light railways around Calcutta. In Bombay also a Committee was asked to explore the causes of industrial unrest and to suggest remedies. It is not possible to estimate exactly the utility of conciliation or arbitration boards in India; but there seems little doubt that they are likely to meet a need which is much felt. Among employers also efforts have been made to obviate possible causes of labour unrest by the institution of works committees or shop committees on the lines recommended by the Whitley Committee in England. Similar committees have also been established in certain industrial establishments controlled by the State.

Conciliation.

The movement is still in its infancy, and it is difficult to say how it will develop in relation to the growing trades union movement.

International Aspects of Labour.

Under modern conditions, labour can no longer be considered a purely domestic problem. As a member of the League of Nations, India has recently been called upon to consider and take action regarding the proposals adopted by the International Labour Conference held at Washington at the close of 1919. Six draft Conventions and six recommendations were adopted by this Conference, the most important of which contained provisions regarding limitation of the hours of work; unemployment; the employment of women before and after child-birth and during the night; the minimum age for admission of children to industrial employment; the night work of young persons employed in industry; the prevention of anthrax; the use of white phosphorous in the manufacture of matches; and the establishment of a Government health service. All these matters came up for consideration during the period under review, and, as already pointed out, important action has been taken in several directions by the Legislature notably in the amendment of the Factories Act. India was not required to satisfy the convention regarding the employment of women before and after child-birth; but Government was asked to make an enquiry into prevailing conditions with a view to sending a report to the meeting of the International Labour Conference in 1921. The enquiry was accordingly instituted and a report submitted; but the time did not seem ripe to introduce legislation enforcing the convention. In view of the importance of the subject, however, it was decided that efforts should be made to induce employers and owners to start voluntary benefit schemes and to give them such help and advice as they might need. Arrangements were made for

Women's Welfare.

medical women to collect information relating to the needs of women employees and the provision made for them at the time of child-birth. The Council of the Countess of Dufferin's Fund lent the services of two of their staff belonging to the Women's Medical Service for the purpose of preliminary enquiries in Bengal and Bombay. In the Punjab, the Assistant to the Inspector General, Civil Hospitals, has undertaken similar duties in conjunction with her other work. A like arrangement for the United Provinces unfortunately failed to materialize. The Central Government at the same time set a good example by introducing liberal rules regulating the grant of maternity leave to women in its employ. It has been suggested to Local Governments that similar rules should be framed

for their employees, and that efforts should be made to induce local authorities to do the same. Certain of the other conventions were ratified by the Bill amending the Indian Factories Act, to which reference has already been made.

Appreciation of Government's Efforts.

That the efforts of the Government of India in carrying out their obligations under the peace treaty have been appreciated, may be seen from the following remarks addressed to the Secretary of State by the Director of the International Labour Office :—

> "I should be much obliged if you would convey to the Government of India the gratitude of the International Labour Office for the assistance that was given to the work of the International Labour Organization, and its great appreciation of the manner in which the Government of India is fulfilling its obligations and of the conspicuous example of social and labour progress which it is thus showing to the world."

The Director's report further recognizes the efforts of India in the following paragraph :—

> "The action taken by the Government of India with regard to the ratification of the Washington decisions may be regarded as the first tangible results in the East of the ideals inspiring Part XIII of the Treaty of Peace; and the information furnished in the above mentioned extract from the letter of the Government of India, Department of Industries, and in the above report is evidence of the active interest of the Government of India in securing the improvement of the conditions of industrial life and labour in its country. Immediately after the passing of the Washington decisions, an intensely hopeful atmosphere was created in this country. One is justified in stating that these hopes have not been deceived. A vast social revolution has been realized which will have a far-reaching effect in the production of the world-wide equilibrium of social conditions for which the movement strives."

The action which India had taken on proposals prepared by previous sessions of the International Labour Conference, secured her a prominent part at the third session which was held at Geneva in October and November 1921. There was a growing realization of her industrial importance, combined with a much greater readiness than had been displayed at Genoa to make allowance for her special circumstances.

Co-operation.

From all that has been said it will be apparent that throughout India there is a great need for a systematic effort towards the economic uplift both of the masses and of the middle classes. Probably the most powerful single agency for improving the conditions of Indian labour, both rural and urban is to be found in the co-operative movement. During the last decade, as has been pointed out in previous reports, co-operation has made rapid strides in India. Agricultural societies are flourishing; they deal with the joint sale of agricultural produce, with the joint production and sale of implements and manures, and with such other useful purposes as irrigation and consolidation of holdings. Their work has spread into many channels which bring practical benefits not only to their members but also to the surrounding locality, through the opening of dispensaries and schools, the introduction of improved methods of cultivation, the improvement of communications and the like. Public confidence in the movement shows obvious signs of growing. This confidence is likely to increase under the new system of Government; for co-operation is now a transferred subject in charge of the Ministerial section of the reformed provincial administrations. Its direction is thus entirely in Indian hands, which command alike its widespread organisation and its enormous potentialities for national uplift. That the position occupied by the co-operative movement is strong and well-grounded, is obvious from the history of the year 1921. During the period under review, the whole political atmosphere of the country was in large degree antagonistic to the purposes and ideals that underlie co-operation. Contempt for authority and disregard for law, increasing capriciousness combined with the teaching that material prosperity is useless and progress is a delusion, have produced in certain quarters a state of mind which is in every particular opposed to the principles and objects of economic co-operation. But the continued progress of the movement, despite these unfavourable conditions, reveals clearly the extent to which it has taken root in the country. Almost everywhere in India there has been a considerable growth in the number of co-operative societies. In Bombay, the number of agricultural credit societies has grown from 1,993 to 2,264, while the working capital has increased from £1·08 millions (Rupees 108 lakhs) to £1·33 millions (Rupees 133 lakhs). The owned capital of these societies now amounts to over Rs. 40 lakhs, of which Rs. 30·7 lakhs consists of members'

Progress during 1921-22.

Bombay.

deposits. The growth of non-credit agricultural societies has been less rapid, the total number standing at 118 as against 98 in the preceding year. But there has been a remarkable extension of the activities of the Co-operative Central Institute, which may be termed the nucleus of progress in co-operation throughout the Bombay Presidency. The training classes of the Institute attracted large numbers of college students and the general public. The instruction given herein is particularly valuable since it improves the work of the secretaries of co-operative societies. Public interest in co-operation is proved by the fact that in addition to a Provincial Co-operative Conference which was held in Bombay in September 1920, eight District Conferences were held during the year 1920-21. Night schools, opened for adult members of co-operative societies through the generosity of Sir Vithaldas Thackersey have already produced promising results. At the close of the year under review, 29 such schools were working, and funds have been promised for 11 more. Perhaps the most interesting feature of the recent progress of the movement in Bombay has been the introduction of cheques and discount business among co-operative banks. The aim recently set before the movement has been to provide those banking facilities which are necessary to every civilized country and which so far hardly exist in India outside of the Presidency towns. If the co-operative movement is able to erect, in every considerable town and in every district, banks which will help the artisan, the small professional man and the small trader, and which will at the same time, by popularizing credit and the instruments of credit, abolish the present difficulties of conveying money from place to place, an enormous boon will have been conferred on the country. There will also be the additional advantage of preserving the profits of the banking business to the general public instead of handing them to the capitalist and the financier. In Madras during the period under review there was a net increase of 1,051 in the number of agricultural credit societies, raising the total to 5,207. The total working capital increased from £1·57 millions to £1·84 millions. Principally on account of the bad season, the net profit earned by the societies showed a decline from £0·21 million to £0·19 million. The number of agricultural non-credit societies rose slightly during the year, and several of them did good work and earned fair profits. As illustration of the way in which the co-operative movement is working in Madras for the benefit of particular classes, mention may be made of the fact that during the period under review there

Madras.

were 32 weavers' societies, 16 building societies, 2 printing societies, 2 labour societies, 1 society for managing a hostel for students, 1 for the supply of stationery and other articles to students, and lastly 1 motor bus society. Steady progress continued to be made in the formation of societies for the depressed and backward classes, such 253 societies having been registered during the year. In Bengal, the total number of societies of all kinds increased from 5,408 at the beginning of the year to 6,366 at its close. Despite the persistent demand for new societies, a considerable degree of caution had to be exercised on account of the difficulties of the year. The recorded progress indeed seems to have been the maximum consistent with financial security and the maintenance of adequate supervision, the total working capital of the societies having risen from £2·8 millions to £3·3 millions. Of this sum the societies and their members provided for 46 per cent. Agricultural societies rose from 4,920 to 5,787, and their membership from 147,923 to 162,287. As in the other provinces, the development of agricultural non-credit societies was slower, although excellent work was done. One such society erected a godown to store 1,400 tons of paddy which members had hitherto been forced to sell at a sacrifice for want of accommodation. The number of irrigation societies in Western Bengal has increased to 7, while several others are in process of organization. The Naogaon Ganja Cultivators' Society, to which reference is made in last year's report, continues to be in a very strong position. It made larger grants for education and sanitation, and an allotment of Rs. 60,000 for a demonstration farm. Unfortunately, in Bengal, as elsewhere, a certain amount of internal dissension grew up even among the most prosperous societies through the efforts of the emissaries of non-co-operation. Before the end of the year, however, the majority of the resulting differences were composed, and the co-operative movement in Bengal continues to advance in practically every part of the province. Public interest, and in particular, the interest of the landholders, has shown a marked increase, and many important landlords have rendered valuable assistance both financially and by a display of practical interest. The Bengal Co-operative Organization Society which is doing useful work as a bureau of information and advice on co-operative matters, devoted particular attention to the solution of problems peculiar to Calcutta. As a result of the activities of its housing committee, the organization of a co-operative housing society has now become a matter of practical politics.

Bengal.

In the Punjab, notwithstanding the unfavourable

conditions of the year, there was every sign of an increasing interest in co-operative work on the part of the people.

Punjab.

The number of agricultural societies increased from 6,831 to 8,014, with a total membership of 214,411. The working capital also rose from £1·8 millions to £2·2 millions, although, as in many other places, there was a decrease in the recovery of outstanding debts due primarily to the bad agricultural year. The organization of credit societies had to be restricted on account of the overwhelming demand, but this side of the movement was undoubtedly of great service in affording financial assistance to members. The formation of 4 new central banks and of 13 new banking unions marks the progress of co-operative institutions. Among the most interesting items in the progress of the movement in the Punjab is the Jhang mortgage bank. This institution is now in its second year of existence and has already secured a considerable measure of success. It has hitherto advanced Rs. 73,000, and has helped in the redemption of 820 acres of land together with a large number of trees. As mentioned in last year's report, the Punjab can boast the organization of special societies for the consolidation of those scattered holdings which cause so much loss to Indian agriculture. There are at present 60 such societies with over 1,600 members, while 31 new societies have been formed but are not yet registered. Re-partition has been completed in 44 villages, with the result that 1,500 members have agreed to consolidate more than 6,000 acres. The number of fields has been reduced from over 10,000 to just over 2,000, while the average size of holdings has been increased from three-fourths of an acre to four acres. In addition to these interesting lines of activity, nearly 100 arbitration societies have been formed with the object of preventing unnecessary litigation. Night schools have also been opened to teach the elements of education to adult members of co-operative societies, and mutual assistance has been organized in such matters as silt clearance in inundation canals, land reclamation and the like. In the United Provinces, the Co-operative department steadily adhered to the policy of making no advance without being fully assured that the ground in front was firm. No primary societies were registered until their organization had been carefully decided on the spot by one of the officers of the department. Notwithstanding this cautious policy and an unsatisfactory agricultural season, the year witnessed the formation of no fewer than 883 societies, the largest number hitherto registered in a year. Of these, 827 were agricultural credit societies, a figure which brought the total

United Provinces.

number of units of this character up to 4,223. Their working capital increased from £0·48 million to £0·57 million. Non-agricultural co-operation also showed an extensive development during the year, and a fairly large number of non-credit societies were formed. Steady attempts are being made to arrange for the better marketing of the products of co-operative societies; and in order to exhibit such manufactures as can to greater advantage be turned out by co-operative methods, an industrial and agricultural exhibition was held at Lucknow in January 1921 with great success. In the Central Provinces, the effects of unfavourable agricultural conditions were felt so severely that it was necessary for Government to step in to the help of the movement. During the year 1920, the number of credit societies had greatly increased, and the average loan required by each member had been much larger owing to the high level of prices and other causes. Accordingly, just before the beginning of 1921, the provincial bank had exhausted its fluid resources and was unable to finance the central banks. A crisis arose owing to severe crop failure and subsequent famine. In order to restore public confidence, Government arranged a cash credit to provide the banks with fluid resources, and also provided a sum of Rs. 19 lakhs to be utilized in giving loans to members of societies. The dislocation of co-operative business caused by the failure of the provincial bank to supply capital has therefore been definitely tided over, while a strong Committee has been appointed to consider the whole organisation of the co-operative credit movement and to make recommendations for its improvement. Despite the trials through which it has passed, the movement even during the period under review has shown considerable progress. The membership of societies has increased from 145,750 to 156,787 while the total working capital has risen from £2·5 millions to £2·99 millions. There were 34 registered agricultural societies for purposes other than credit, including six for the purchase and sale of agricultural implements, 25 for production and distribution of pure seed, 2 for cattle breeding, and one for ginning cotton. An interesting development in Berar takes the form of societies for the protection of crops. Wild pigs are the most common depredators, and pig-killing clubs have been organised to deal with them. One such club accounted for 155 pigs in the course of two years. Agricultural Associations and Seed Unions are also prominent in the Central Provinces. A very large quantity of improved seed has been distributed by co-operative societies acting in conjunction with the Agricultural Department. In Burma, the number

Central Provinces.

Burma.

of agricultural credit societies has risen from 3,319 to 3,704, and individual membership from 72,816 to 81,903. Among societies for production and sale, the Mahlaing co-operative ginning factory is reported to have done good work. It ginned the cotton and through a rise in price sold the lint for the cultivators, obtaining nearly double the price prevailing at the time when the cotton was first brought for ginning. A co-operative paddy mill has been registered, and another is being organized. In Bihar and Orissa the total membership of societies of all kinds has now reached 107,514, an increase of 11,422 over the figures of the previous year. The working capital of all societies has shown an even more rapid increase, now standing at £1·07 millions as against £0·82 million in the previous period. Agricultural credit societies working during the year numbered 3,247 as against 2,774. With their superior organization of guarantee unions and central banks, they are making steady progress in areas where the movement has for sometime been established and simultaneously are developing rapidly in new areas. Agricultural sale societies as distinct from credit societies are growing in importance every year, but there is still an inclination to expect large profits on the turn of the market rather than moderate profits from sound business methods. Of non-agricultural societies, those started for the benefit of ministerial officers and managed by them have again shown sound management. The development of peoples' banks, contractors' societies and co-operative stores of various kinds show the wide scope that there is for the activities of the Department in benefiting all classes of the community. Among the most interesting of these may be mentioned the weavers' co-operative societies and the fishermen's societies on the Orissa coast. The condition of the Orissa fishermen was notoriously miserable until the introduction among them of the co-operative movement. They had not even boats and nets of their own, they could obtain no advances, and were accordingly unable in any way to better their condition. But since the introduction of the co-operative movement, they have earned a name for punctuality in repayment of their loans and have been able to provide themselves with their own boats and nets. They readily sell their large catches to Calcutta merchants who flock to the spot with ice boxes and pay good prices. Unfortunately, considerable local resentment has been aroused by the consequent rise in the price of fish, and by the subtraction of the best of the catch for Calcutta consumption. The fishermen have been harrassed by many forms of social boycott, from which it is

Bihar and Orissa.

necessary to protect them. But the change in their economic condition within the short space of two years represents a striking testimony to the power of the co-operative movement. In Assam the number of Agricultural Credit Societies rose from 412 to 494 during the period under review, with a membership of 21,638. The working capital rose from £0·05 million to £0·06 million. There are no societies for agricultural production or for the sale of produce.

Assam.

Among lines of progress to which organised effort such as that embodied in the co-operation movement will in the near future undoubtedly contribute in increasing degree, is one most necessary to the well-being of the Indian people, *viz.*, Sanitation.

In successive reports mention has been made of the difficulties attending the task of sanitary reform in India. The meagre resources of the administration have hitherto been able to accomplish but little in the face of widespread popular apathy among 270 million persons. What is required is the growth of a humanitarian and altruistic spirit, which alone can secure the enlistment of the enthusiasm rather than passive acquiescence of the educated classes in the task of uplifting the sanitary condition of the masses. The problem is in many respects educational, and its solution must necessarily be slow. For it will be almost impossible to safeguard India from a heavy death-rate punctuated by disastrous epidemics until a change can be introduced into the prevailing ideas regarding hygiene. It is not merely the widespread poverty of the Indian masses which lends sanitation in India its peculiar difficulties. Far more serious is the tenacious adherence even of the educated classes to social customs and observances often diametrically opposed to the dictates of hygiene. It is indeed difficult to imagine how the public health of India can be satisfactory until the fundamental conditions which govern it have been improved. Only with the amelioration of the social and economic status of the masses, in conjunction with an increase in the receptivity of the classes to new ideas, will the lamentable backwardness in hygiene be radically remedied. So revolutionary a process cannot be accomplished in a day; although the recent improvement in the economic position of the lower classes, if too modest to satisfy the reformer or convert the pessimist may fairly be regarded as a foundation for better things. Through town and

Sanitation.

Difficulties of the Problem.

country alike there is urgent need of implanting the seeds of elementary sanitary knowledge. The value of fresh air, pure water and wholesome food, as well as the elements of domestic and personal hygiene have to be brought into the every day life of the population. The masses unfortunately still attribute diseases to the visitation of various Goddesses, and when sickness occurs, take steps to appease offended Deities rather than to disinfect their water-supply and to prevent the contamination of their articles of food. It is in the Indian home, and particularly among Indian women, that a better knowledge and a keener appreciation of sanitary principles are most urgently required. And here it is that the old conservative forces exercise their strongest opposition to the introduction of new and more healthful practice. For work of this kind to be accomplished successfully, two things are essential. In the first place the administrative agency must enjoy the confidence of the people, and must work along lines in conformity with their mental processes. In the next place, it must operate in an atmosphere of genuine humanity and altruism, such as alone can supply the driving force necessary to overcome the dead weight of century-old inertia.

Sanitation and the Reforms.

There is unfortunately little reason to suppose that the transfer of Sanitation to popular control will usher in the millennium at an early date. When all allowances are made for financial stringency, it cannot be said that the Reformed Provincial Governments have thrown themselves enthusiastically into the struggle with disease. The daily press, however, shows that popular interest in the problems of sanitation is slowly increasing, which of itself is a good thing. One of the encouraging features of the period under review has been the increasing number of local associations who are taking part in sanitary work. Voluntary agencies have multiplied, and private generosity both in money and service increases.

While educated Indian opinion is showing itself gradually more responsive to the pressing requirements of public health, the steady fight against the diseases which afflict the country continues without intermission. The extermination of bubonic plague is now regarded as a matter of persistent and organised effort: but unfortunately, there has been retrenchment of expenditure on plague measures as a result of the introduction of ministerial control. This is probably due to diminished fear of a plague epidemic. Both in 1919 and 1920, there was a low mortality from this cause; and the period under review has witnessed a con-

Fighting Disease.

siderable amelioration of the disease. The total mortality for the year shows a very great reduction; and during the 4 or 5 months of the hot weather, Northern India was free from cases of human plague. Unfortunately, the disease is carried over such gaps as this by the continuance of the infection among rats; and the last two months of the year showed that the infection still remains. In the meantime the localised nature of the outbreaks facilitates the task of the administration in dealing with this scourge.

Plague.

In those parts of India which are afflicted by Malaria special projects have of late been undertaken, and in Bengal in particular there has been a reduction of the death-rate in certain districts. So far as deaths from Malaria were concerned, the year on the whole was favourable. Although the usual amount of morbidity and mortality occurred in endemic centres, the dryer parts of India escaped. Unfortunately the great rise in the price of quinine which has taken place since the war has set back the very promising campaigns which have been carried for some years for placing quinine within the reach of the poor. In order to offset so far as possible the effect of the rise of prices, Government has opened up an area in Burma for a Chinchona plantation. Meanwhile, renewed efforts are being made to stamp out this pest. The Ministry of Public Health in Bengal has been struggling hard against the difficulties imposed by financial stringency. Conferences have been held by district boards throughout the affected districts to formulate anti-malarial measures and schemes of water-supply, and to draw up schemes of finance. A malarial observatory to consider and correlate the various data has been established at Sonarpur in Bengal, and an additional malarial research officer has been sanctioned. Further, important anti-malarial sanitary schemes have been undertaken, and only await a more favourable financial situation to come to fruition.

Malaria.

Towards the amelioration of leprosy, from which India like many Eastern countries, suffers, recent research has done much. The success of the treatment by injection with hydrocarpus and other oils has enabled the relief of leprosy to be placed upon a highly effective basis. Recent research indicates that leper asylums may be transformed into hospitals for treatment instead of being institutions for the isolation of sufferers. The noble work accomplished by the Mission to Lepers thus acquires an added significance, and if only public support be forthcoming in sufficient degree, many patients may be restored to their homes and to society.

Leprosy.

Concerning cholera, the prospects are less hopeful; the year was a bad one. Outbreaks of exceptional severity occurred. As usual, the influence exerted by large concentrations of pilgrims at all the most holy places was very marked. The control of the disease should in theory be easy; and where elaborate arrangements can be made, such as those carried out by the Bombay Government for the help of the pilgrim visiting the centres associated with the Sinhast fair, excellent results are achieved.

Cholera.

Small-pox continues rife throughout the country, but except in the case of a virulent epidemic it is very difficult to persuade people to have their children vaccinated and almost impossible to get them to submit to re-vaccination. Further, the Non-co-operation movement has not left even these beneficial activities of Government unharmed, and in certain parts the anti-vaccination banner which some members of the educated classes have taken up from time to time, is now raised higher than ever, with the result that the number of inoculations during the year under review has shown a tendency for decrease. In India, research is not neglected. During the year under review, a School of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene, which has for some time been projected, was opened in Calcutta. A School of Tropical Medicine in connection with the Parel bacteriological laboratory has been under consideration in Bombay. The project for an Imperial Medical Research Institute to investigate the mass of problems which still await attention has been sanctioned. The Indian Research Fund Association is conducting important enquiries dealing with diseases such as hookworm, influenza, kala azar, and other endemics which oppress India. Prevention also continues to claim much thought. The proposals of the Committee recently appointed to deal with yellow fever have received the approval of Government and measures against the importation of this disease will be carried out as circumstances permit. In order to safeguard the introduction of dangerous diseases into India by sea, arrangements have been made for introduction of early notifications of outbreaks in countries possessing ports in maritime relations with India.

Small-pox.

Research.

Among the most pressing problems of India's health is that presented by the appalling infant mortality. It has been calculated that every year no fewer than 2 million Indian babies die, while many others survive only to grow weak and feeble from unhygienic surroundings during infancy. A note-

Infant Mortality.

worthy feature of the period under review has been the further progress of the infant welfare movement, which owes much to the All-India Maternity and Child Welfare League initiated by Lady Chelmsford. In all the great centres of population, work is now being done for the training of midwives, for the instruction of mothers and for the care of babies. Training centres for Indian and Anglo-Indian women have been opened in order to spread the elements of infantile hygiene to other parts of India. Most hopeful sign of all, Indian ladies are beginning to interest themselves in this work in larger numbers. But such is the magnitude of the field, that consistent and widespread effort on a scale hitherto impossible must be undertaken, if any appreciable reduction is to be made in the appalling mortality of young children. The admirable work done year by year by the National Association for supplying Female Medical Aid to the Women of India, has been facilitated during the period now under review by the decision of the Legislative Assembly to grant an increased Government subsidy to the figure of £0·3 million.

Closely connected with the problems of sanitation, many of which, as we have seen, depend upon the domestic customs of the people, is the question of social reform. Probably in few spheres of human activity have democratic ideals encouraged by the war proved more beneficial than in the impetus afforded to social reform in India. The more characteristic problems of the country may be said to centre round the institution of caste, which, intimately bound up as it is with the structure of Hindu society, presents an obstacle almost insuperable to the penetration of modern ideas. Originally concerned with the preservation of ceremonial purity in social relations, the caste system has in course of ages developed into an institution which assigns inexorably to each individual his position and his duties in the structure of orthodox Hinduism. Not merely individuals, but whole classes of humanity, are thus subjected, through no fault of their own, to degrading and hereditary disabilities. Among the most difficult aspects of this problem is the elevation of the depressed classes or so called "untouchables" who form more than one-fifth of the total population. At present they are made to reside outside the city and the village. They are forbidden to draw water from public wells; they are not permitted to enter the houses of people belonging to the touchable classes; in some provinces they may not even move in public streets. They are denied the use of public temples and inns: their children are not generally admitted into the ordinary schools, and when admitted, are made to sit

Social Reform.

The "Untouchables."

apart from others. These disabilities extend to the minutest operations of daily life, so that a labourer or agriculturist belonging to the depressed classes is continually a loser in buying or selling through his inability to enter a shop or even to pass through the streets where shopkeepers dwell. Social ostracism so degrading has through centuries constituted a serious obstacle not only to self-help, but even to mere honest livelihood. Among the depressed classes are certain communities whose hereditary occupation is crime of one kind or another—theft, burglary, highway robbery or even assassination, combined in many instances with prostitution.

Welfare Work.

Towards the uplift of these unfortunate beings, whether belonging to the criminal tribes, or to the more respectable communities comprising other members of the depressed classes, the efforts of public and private organisations have been for some time directed. As related in the Reports for the past two years, local Governments have long laboured to improve their economic and educational status. Criminal tribes are concentrated into settlements, managed either by Government, or by some such organisation as the Salvation Army, whose work in this direction is beyond praise. Here they are reclaimed, subjected to kind but firm supervision, and assisted to gain a decent livelihood. Among the Panchamas and other depressed communities, official and voluntary agencies vie with one another in providing special educational facilities. In the United Provinces special district supervisors have been appointed for work among this section of the population; while substantial grants are given for the opening of new schools and the award of scholarships. Bombay has also appointed experimentally an inspecting officer in one division, and has sanctioned collegiate scholarships for these classes. The numbers under instruction are rising. Madras has adjusted fee rules to their needs, and now refuses to allow school buildings to be erected out of public funds unless the edifice is open to all sections of the community. In the last quarter of a century the number of Panchama pupils in public institutions of Madras has risen from 30,000 to well over 150,000; an increase of 400 per cent. It is moreover encouraging to notice that whereas in 1892 there were only eleven primary schools for girls of the depressed classes in the Madras Presidency, there are now 100. The work of the various Christian Missionary Societies in giving education to the Panchamas is beyond praise. They have over 3,500 schools with nearly 100,000 pupils. The pioneer work of the missions has not been confined to the

education of the depressed classes in their own schools. By resolutely insisting that members of the depressed classes should be admitted to higher educational institutions under mission control, they have gradually created a body of public opinion in favour of treating these classes as fellow human beings. Excellent work is now being carried on by a number of societies other than Christian. In Madras city, schools are maintained by the Theosophical Society, by the Depressed Classes Mission, by the Brahmo Samaj, by the Social Service League and by other religious and philanthropic societies. Concurrently with this educational progress, slow though it is, among the depressed classes of the Madras Presidency, the co-operative movement, which teaches the Panchama the virtues of thrift and self-respect and gives him an ambition in life, has made considerable advance. There are now over 14,600 Panchama members of co-operative societies, nearly three times the number that existed five years ago.

Obstacles.

Unfortunately, what stands in the way of the depressed classes more than anything else, is age-long social tradition, observed by the great majoriy of the caste community. The Administration can legislate to its heart's content; but until the social sense of the Indian people advances to a level which entails the disappearance of these heritages from a more primitive age, many of the most galling disabilities under which the outcastes labour must necessarily persist. Reform will come most speedily, not from the efforts of philanthropists, but from organised self-assertion on the part of the depressed classes themselves. During the period under review, there have been hopeful signs of advance in this direction. The improving economic position of labour has benefited the depressed as well as the other classes : has stimulated them to initiative : has inspired them with resentment. Of late, there has been a notable tendency to combination amongst them. In 1921, and again at the beginning of 1922, conferences have been held by representative members of the depressed classes gathered from all over India. The proceedings of these meetings reveal very clearly the progress towards self-expression which is being made by the leaders of the community. A fixed determination is enunciated towards political, social, economic and moral uplift; combined with a steady resolve to resent the invasion of those social and natural rights to which as human beings they consider themselves entitled. One remarkable feature of these gatherings has been a strong expression of gratitude towards the British administration for its impartial treatment of all classes, combined with

Self-Help.

criticism against the attitude of social intolerance assumed by certain members of the extreme nationalist party.

Changing Conditions.

Indeed a great change seems coming over all the lower castes, as well as the depressed classes. Their traditional meekness is disappearing: they are beginning to recognise and to avenge social tyranny. As we noticed in a previous chapter, there has been a tendency on their part to boycott the upper castes, and, in particular, the Brahmins, in certain parts of the country. And among all the events political as well as social, of the period under review, there is probably none of greater importance, actual and potential, than the capture of the Reformed Legislative Council of Madras by the Non-Brahmin party. For the first time in the history of India the lower castes of Madras have asserted themselves against the intellectual oligarchy of the upper, and have seized political power in their own hands. The significance of a revolution so momentous can scarcely be guessed; but its influence upon the progress of India towards democratic institutions must inevitably be profound. It seems scarcely too much to say that the first bulwark of caste-dominance in political matters has been stormed as a result of the recent constitutional changes. The example of Madras cannot fail to exert an increasing influence upon the efforts of the lower castes and depressed classes elsewhere in India.

Future Prospects.

The upward path will be slow and difficult, for the inertia of centuries has to be overcome. In many even of the reformed legislatures, a solid band of conservative opinion is always ready to oppose progressive measures with the cry of "religion in danger." During the period under review, there has none the less been a healthy awakening of the public conscience in the matter of untouchability; although how far precept will be translated into practice remains, unfortunately, somewhat doubtful. The removal of this curse has been placed in the forefront of the non-co-operation programme; and Mr. Gandhi has caused consternation in the orthodox camps by his slashing denunciations of the inhuman treatment meted out to the depressed classes. While he himself remains a stalwart supporter of the caste system, some of his followers, notably Mr. V. J. Patel, go much farther, and would sweep away, if they could, the whole structure. If Fate should decree the diversion, into the channels of social reform, of even a proportion of the energy so lavishly expended upon other items of the non-co-operation movement, the advance of

more liberal ideas cannot but be expedited, provided always that the forces of reaction are not stimulated to corresponding strength by the headlong tactics which have thwarted the progress of reform in such sphere as temperance.

Other Problems of Social Life.

The social problems of India are by no means confined to the lower or depressed classes. Among the middle and upper classes the existing social life contains many features which are repugnant to the reformer. Denunciations, for example, of the seclusion of women behind the *purdah* have made their appearance in the public press even more frequently in 1921 than in 1920. And it cannot be denied that the last few years have witnessed an increasing emancipation of Indian women from the restrictions under which they have for centuries laboured. The progress is very slow; for the *purdah* system is considered fashionable; and no sooner does a class of society which has not hitherto observed this custom, rise in the economic scale, than the seclusion of women is gradually introduced as being something which is a hall-mark of respectability. But the growing interest displayed by upper and middle class Indian ladies in political and social questions, their increasing prominence on the platform and in the press: their zeal in the cause of temperance, infant welfare and philanthropic activities, must be taken as the dawn of a new era: and the fact that the number of women who take part in public life is still very small affords no reason for questioning its significance. Unfortunately, there is still to be found in many quarters, and those not such as can be termed ultra-conservative, an opinion unfavourable both to the emancipation of women from the *purdah* and to their education. But the tide of opinion seems moving steadily if slowly, in the direction favourable to progress. Both Hindu and Moslem ladies in increasing numbers are contenting themselves with wearing a long veil in public, while in political and social gatherings the proportion of seats reserved for women is increasing.

Emancipation of Women.

During the year 1921, there have been encouraging symptoms, as already pointed out, of growing popular interest in social reform. Much prominence has been given in the Indian press to pronouncements upon questions connected with this topic; and an increasing amount of propaganda has been carried on both from the platform and in the newspapers. The solid and beneficent activities of such societies as the Ser-

vants of India, and the Bengal Social Service League continue to increase; while the number of such organisations augments year by year.

Voluntary Work.

These societies carry on welfare work both in the towns and in the rural areas; and relief work in times of public calamity. They impart sanitary education by leaflets and lectures, and they open schools. Among the most valuable work performed by voluntary agency of this type is certainly that of the various societies which exist for work among women. Mention was made last year of the Bhagini Samaj, which has been in existence for some five years and has already 50 centres in Gujarat, all occupied with female education and the elevation of the status of women. Considerable stimulus has been given to these voluntary agencies by the popular interest in social reform to which reference has already been made. It is very greatly to be hoped that the leaders of the extreme wing of the nationalist party will not confine themselves merely to the passing of pious resolutions, but will direct the energies of those who accept their guidance towards unobtrusive and business-like activities such as characterise the many beneficent voluntary associations of India.

In the preceding paragraphs, a brief outline has been given of some of the more outstanding and more characteristic tasks which await the Indian social reformer.

There remain to be considered two social problems of a character unfortunately not confined to India—the problem of drink and the problem of drugs.

Drink and Drugs.

The drink problem, as Westerners visualise it, is almost unknown in India save in those few places where heavy concentrations of industrial workers occur in congested conditions. Throughout the country side and in the smaller towns, while there is too much drinking to please the social reformer, the figures of average consumption are extremely moderate as compared with those of any other country in the world. The per capita excise revenue, which includes the State's profits from drink and drugs combined, varies, at the 2*s.* equivalent of the rupee, in different parts of India from 7½*d.* (5 annas) in Bihar to 4*s.* 3*d.* (Rs. 2-2-0) in Bombay. Between these two extremes come 9*d.* (6 annas) in Bengal and the United Provinces; 1*s.* 1½*d.* (9 annas) in the Punjab; 1*s.* 10½*d.* (15 annas) in Burma; 2*s.* (One rupee) in the Central Provinces and Assam; and 2*s.* 6*d.* (Re. 1-4-0) in Madras. The

policy of Government in the matter of drink and drugs is to bring the traffic under strict control and to derive the maximum revenue from the minimum consumption. Temptation to those who do not drink is minimised, and excess is discouraged among those who do. To the furtherance of this policy, all considerations of revenue are absolutely subordinate. Government heavily penalizes illicit manufacture and consumption, and endeavours to restrict the habitual consumer to liquor shops instead of allowing him to employ illicit sources. The control which Government thus obtains over the drink traffic enables hours to be shortened, houses to be reduced in number, liquor to be reduced in strength, and temperance propaganda to be carried on effectively. The Indian liquor shop bears not the least resemblance to the inn or saloon of Western countries. It is situated as a rule on the outskirts of the town; it is extremely unattractive both in inward and outward appearance; and is calculated to serve the needs merely of those who are habitual consumers. Moreover, Indian liquor shops are comparatively few and far between. In the case of the Central Provinces, for example, which stands roughly midway between the extremes of excise revenue per head of the population, there is only one liquor shop for every 3,415 persons and for every 24 square miles. In the same region the consumption of pure alcohol or its equivalent per hundred of the population is only 4½ gallons per annum. A study of the excise figures of the different provinces shows plainly the honesty of Government in its professions to reduce the consumption, and the success of the policy which it is at present pursuing. In the United Provinces, while the increase in excise revenue from alcoholic liquor during the decennium ending 1920-21 was 52 per cent., the consumption decreased during the period by no less than 26 per cent. In Madras, while the total excise revenue has risen during the last ten years by 81 per cent. the consumption per hundred of population has been almost stationary. There are however peculiar difficulties in the temperance problem in India, arising from the fact that the sources of illicit supply are far more accessible than in any European country. In South India, and for the matter of that, in many districts of Northern India, liquor can be had from almost any palm-tree with no more skill than is required to cut an incision and with no more apparatus than a knife and a toddy pot. In a country where so large a proportion of the lower or labouring classes are accustomed to the use of

Government Policy.

Its Success.

Difficulties.

liquor, and where every man can, so to speak, have his beer tap in his own back garden, the mere closure of shops can have little appreciable effect in stopping recourse to alcohol. In the large concentrations of industrial labour, the situation is somewhat different. In Bombay city, for example, where in the last official year, 4½ million people consumed about 1¾ times as much country spirit as the 11½ million people in the rest of the Presidency, Government is in a position to take comparatively drastic steps to meet the evil. From early in 1922, the Ministry of Excise proposes arbitrarily to reduce consumption by limiting the amount of liquor which will be issued. As compared with the year 1920-21, supplies will be shortened by 5 per cent. It is also proposed to reduce the strength of the liquor issued. Hours are to be limited; and shops are to be forbidden to sell except for consumption on the premises. But the circumstances in which Government can intervene effectually in manner so radical are, as will be gathered from the preceding paragraphs, confined to the larger towns. There is therefore much room throughout India for volunteer effort in the direction of temperance. Excellent work has for years been done by Christian Missionary Societies, the Y.M.C.A., and indigenous philanthropic bodies. These adopt the only course of action calculated to result in a permanent improvement of the situation, namely the removal, not of the source of licit supply but of the desire for alcohol. Unfortunately, during the year under review, a considerable set-back has been given to genuine progress by the violent conduct of those who professed to carry out the orders of Mr. Gandhi. Throughout India, the non-co-operators and other rash adherents of the temperance movement managed to interfere seriously with the business of the liquor sellers. Pickets were placed around shops and drinkers subjected to various forms of insult and degradation. They were excommunicated from their caste, deprived of the services of barbers and washermen, beaten, garlanded with shoes, tied to poles, or driven through the streets on the backs of donkeys with their faces to the tails. The tangible effect of this misguided energy was to excite popular reprobation not against the habit of drinking, but against the habit of buying drink from Government shops. In certain cases, incredible as it may seem, ignorant persons were informed that, after the ruin of British power had been accomplished, they would be in a position to brew their own drink without hindrance. Hence, during the period under review, while Government excise revenue fell off seriously in certain parts of India, there is little

Voluntary Temperance Effort.

reason to believe that the total consumption of liquor by the population diminished to any considerable extent. From certain provinces, indeed, it is reported that illicit drinking has grown to a height unknown of recent years.

Drugs.

While the drink problem has excited considerable attention in India during the period under review, the problem of drugs and particularly the use of opium, has come in for considerable attention from critics outside the country. The consumption of opium and hemp derivatives excites little reprobation in India, provided that the use of these drugs is not carried to immoderate lengths. Indeed, the whole position of opium in particular is so different in India and in Western countries that a word of explanation is required. The appreciation of the peculiar characteristics of the opium question in India is unfortunately hindered by the great and increasing literature emanating from well-meaning and philanthropic people in other countries. Much of this literature is partisan and unbalanced, being written by those who have no first-hand experience of the Indian position. And the fact that the Government of India is directly connected, for administrative convenience, with the opium trade, has led to wild accusations being brought against it. Indeed, that Government has been accused in some quarters of corrupting souls and ruining bodies for its own selfish purposes both in India, China and elsewhere. The broad facts of the opium question are in outline these. The soil of most parts of India will produce the opium poppy. The population of India had habituated itself for many centuries before the arrival of the British to the consumption of opium in small quantities. The vast majority of the people connect this drug, and undoubtedly to some extent justifiably, with certain medical properties. They have used it for many years on ceremonial occasions; they cannot and will not be broken of the habit suddenly. The total consumption per head is very small indeed; for opium is rarely smoked in India but is employed as a household remedy and as a refreshment on ceremonial occasions. As in the case of drink, the policy of Government is to control the trade in such a way as to ensure its most effective regulation, and to prevent it from passing into the hands of the type of persons with which it would readily if uncontrolled, become associated. For over a century, Government has been engaged in the gradual acquisition of control over the production, transit and sale of the drug throughout the continent. This has

Opium.

Opium in India.

been done by the practical concentration of the cultivation, so far as British India is concerned, within restricted areas; by the discontinuance of cultivation in many of the Indian States as the outcome of negotiations; and by the inclusion of the different provinces in the general system as the necessity for regulation became manifest. The success of this policy is proved by the fact that, while the revenue from opium steadily rises, production and consumption steadily decline decade by decade. Rising prices and restricted supply are gradually causing it to be used less and less for ceremonial hospitality or personal indulgence, and are tending to restrict its consumption to purposes more strictly medicinal. A typical example of this process is found in the figures for the Madras Presidency. In 1911-12, the consumption of opium was 41·7 thousand seers, producing to the State a revenue of £0·13 million. In 1920-21, the consumption had declined to 36·2 thousand seers while the revenue had risen to £0·23 million. But it must be remembered that the Government of India does not control the whole country. There remain the Indian States. By negotiation, certain Indian States have been brought into line with Government policy regarding the production of opium; but while no opium produced within their territory can pass into British India except under permit, the Government of India can exercise no effective regulation regarding their production of opium for internal consumption. To attempt to enforce any policy of suppressing or restricting the cultivation of opium in Indian States, apart from any arrangements which may be entered into under Treaty obligations, would mean an interference with their internal administration such as the Government of India have no power to exercise either by prescriptive or by Treaty rights. The policy of Government so far as the consumption of opium in India is concerned must be counted definitely successful. The world however is far more interested in the question of the export of Indian opium to other countries. Attention has been directed to this matter not merely by philanthropists of many different lands, but also by the League of Nations itself. Here again, there is considerable misapprehension of the real position. People forget that India is only one of the four great and several small, opium producing countries of the world. Of these, Persia and Turkey stand outside the Hague Convention altogether; while China, to assist whose emancipation from the drug evil India sacrificed a former revenue of £4 millions a year, now produces something like 70 per cent. of the

Government Control.

The Indian States.

Export of Opium.

world's total supply. The fact is that from the year 1915 the Government of India have continuously pursued the policy of endeavouring to supply opium direct to the Governments of consuming countries in substitution for sales by public auction. Last year about three-fourths of the total exports were made direct to such Governments. No obligations are imposed to take a minimum quantity and the Government of India on occasions have supplied less than the quantity required. Negotiations are already on foot for direct contracts with the remaining large importers of Indian opium, which include Japan, Portugal and France. India, indeed, exports no opium to any country which prohibits import; she exports no opium in excess of the quantities which the Government of the consuming country desires to admit; and she has in practice voluntarily placed a limit on the total exports from India irrespective of what the particular demands may be. That there is considerable misconception regarding this attitude was shown by the proceedings of the second Assembly of the League of Nations. At its first session, the Assembly had recommended to the Council the appointment of an advisory committee to make suggestions regarding the more effective execution of the Hague Convention. At the second session, the committee proposed the appointment of a Board of Enquiry which would investigate and report on the quantity of opium required for strictly medicinal purposes and thus should enable the League ultimately to restrict the cultivation of opium to this amount. But the Indian delegates protested, in that the recommendation took no account of the fact that in several countries the use of centuries sanctions the employment of opium in circumstances which traditional empiricism fully justifies. They further pointed out, that India was the one important opium-producing country which had rigorously observed, and even improved upon, the recommendations of the Hague Convention. The Indian view was that the more effective observance of the terms of that Convention should be for the present the object of the League's efforts; but that if an enquiry was to be launched, its scope should be extended so as to include all legitimate uses of the drug. This view made a great impression upon the audience and finally prevailed.

Rigid Control.

The League of Nations.

From all that has been said in the preceding pages of this chapter, it will be realised that the uplift of the Indian people, economic, physical and moral, really resolves itself into a question of education. Without education, the

Importance of Education.

labourer, whether rural or urban, will continue poor and ignorant, while such exertions towards self-help as he may attempt will be misdirected and costly to the community. Without education among women, hygienic progress among the masses is impossible, and social reform in great measure a delusion. India's educational problems, framed as they are upon a gargantuan scale, must find their solution writ proportionately large. Expenditure to a figure hitherto undreamed must be faced courageously and speedily, for without education, India will be confronted in no long time with that supreme peril of modern states, an uninformed democracy. Indeed from almost every point of view, education remains the prime question in India to-day. And among all those nation-building activities which have been transferred to Indian control and direction as a result of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms, there is none more vital both for the present and for the future of India, than the education of her people to an enlightened citizenship.

The Educational Position.

In the last two reviews of the Moral and Material Progress of India, emphasis was laid upon the unsatisfactory educational position of the country. That situation may be described in a very few words. Although the period under review has witnessed an increase of more than 170,000 in the number of pupils in British India, there are still only 8·4 millions in all the educational institutions put together. That is to say, only 3·42 per cent. of the population is under instruction, this figure being made up of 5·55 cent. males and 1·18 per cent. of the females. And while expenditure has increased, the total sum devoted to education in India during the year 1920-21 amounted to only £16·77 millions (Rs. 16·77 crores). About 2·5 per cent. of the population is enrolled in primary schools, and less than 3 per cent. is undergoing elementary instruction of any kind. In secondary schools on the other hand 0·5 per cent of the population is under instruction,* an abnormal figure comparing very remarkably with the 0·6 per cent. which has been estimated as the pre-war figure in Great Britain. Considering that the female population of the secondary schools is very small, it would seem that if the male population alone be reckoned, no less than 0·9 per cent. is to be found in the secondary schools—a proportion far greater than the corresponding figure for England and Wales, and approximately equal to that of Germany before the war. In University education, the percentage of the Indian population undergoing instruction is no less than 0·025 per cent., which, considering that

* This figure includes pupils in the primary departments of secondary schools.

here again the female population may almost be eliminated from reckoning, compares remarkably well with the 0·054 of England and Wales. As was mentioned in last year's report, an examination of the proportion of the college-going population to the total population of single tracts like Bengal, indicates that with a population approximately that of the United Kingdom, the proportion of the educated classes who are taking full-time university courses is in such tracts almost ten times as great as in England.

Indian Education Top-heavy.

There are thus good grounds for the criticism, so frequently directed against Indian education in the press, that its structure is top-heavy. The lower classes are largely illiterate, while the middle classes who constitute the bulk of the *intelligentsia* are in point of numbers at least educated to a pitch equal to that of countries whose social and economic conditions are far more highly developed. The reasons for this peculiar situation must be sought in history; but in the main they resolve themselves into the statement that the total educational funds, being small, have been concentrated upon meeting the demands of those who perceive the benefits of education, rather than upon cultivating a desire for education where it does not at present exist. As might be expected from the abnormal distribution of education among the population of India, the form which it has actually assumed, reveals corresponding defects. Since it has been framed primarily with a view to meeting the demands of the *intelligentsia* it is of a predominantly literary type. Only 0·05 per cent. of the population is undergoing instruction in professional colleges and other institutions which provide technical training, as against over 3 per cent. which is found in non-technical institutions. Up to the present time the courses which have been most popular among the middle class have been literary, because they lead to Government employment, and are a preliminary to the pursuit of the legal profession. Fortunately there are indications that public opinion is becoming alive to the necessity of encouraging technical education; and it is hoped that in the future there will be a much needed expansion in this direction. From the point of view of the educational expert there are three principal defects which determine the peculiar limitations of the Indian system. In the first place, properly trained teachers are sadly to seek. Out of a total of 209,000 teachers of vernacular in India, only 78,000 were trained at the end of the official year 1920-21. In the Anglo-Vernacular schools, out of a

Three Principal Defects.

total of 104,000 Anglo-Vernacular Teachers only 38,000 were trained, and only 12,000 possessed a degree. It is this condition of affairs which has produced a second defect in Indian education, namely that there is little incentive for men of the right sort to enter the teaching profession. Teachers are seriously handicapped by small remuneration and less repute, with the result that with honourable exceptions the profession is not popular among men of high capacity, and there are often obstacles preventing that enthusiasm which more favourable circumstances might evoke. In the third place, Indian education has hitherto been dominated by an examination system. Fortunately, there is reason to hope that this particular difficulty, which has exercised a paralysing blight upon true educational progress for many years, may before long be remedied as a result of the salutary recommendations of the Calcutta University Commission.

Need for National Education.

As will be seen from this brief statement, the educational situation with which India is faced is extremely serious. The only method by which the idea of nationhood can spread among her vast population, including as it does a multitude of diverse races, castes and creeds, is through a genuine system of national education, which shall enlist in the work of nation-building the generous emotions of Indian youths. Just as the United States of America has been compelled to direct her energies towards the "Americanisation" of the foreign elements which flock to her so readily, so on her own larger scale must India endeavour to focus towards a primary national ideal the secondary provincial ideals of various portions of her population. As has already been indicated, larger funds must at once be allocated to the work. For many years past, the demand for such allocation has figured prominently in the Indian press, but hitherto there has been little conception of the national sacrifice which is involved in the requisite effort. Out of her revenue of something over £180 millions (at the new ratio of the rupee) India is already spending £16·77 millions upon education, and inadequate as is this sum in proportion to the calls made upon it, it represents a fraction of her public resources which compares not unfavourably with that devoted by other countries to the same purpose. The trouble is that India is a poor land, and the section of her small revenue available for education is inadequate to the demands made upon it. However it is not easy to see how the figure can be substantially increased. As was pointed out in previous reports, there are many heavy charges upon

Finance.

the resources of the country; of which the most important are the defence of a long land frontier and the maintenance of law and order among great masses of a widely varying population. Vital as educational progress may seem, its foundations will sink in shifting sand unless there are certain pre-requisites to its existence. The stability of the administration and the security of the individual, whether from external aggression or from internal disorder, must first be achieved. It is charges for these ends that have hitherto crippled the efforts of administrators to set the educational structure of India upon a foundation sufficiently extensive for the requirements of the country. Everyone must hope that the Indian agencies henceforth in charge will be able to solve this problem. Conviction on their part of the necessity of a great educational campaign directed towards preaching the gospel of Indian nationhood, can alone awaken those upon whom the pecuniary sacrifices will fall to the benefits which will be derived both at present and in the future from such a project. The difficulty lies not merely in the magnitude but also in the urgency of the problem. If the funds cannot be found and the educational structure of India cannot expand in proportion to her needs, the realisation of responsible government, with all which that realisation implies in the way of national progress, may be long delayed. Nor is it merely necessary to consider the population of school-going age, of whom at present roughly two-thirds never make their way into an educational institution of any kind. A very large part of the education needed in India is adult education—education which will supply the great new electorates with some guidance in the use of the power which constitutional reforms have placed in their hands; which will encourage them to effort on behalf of their own communities, and impel them to grapple with the poverty which now hangs like a miasma over so large a part of India. The field is vast and the workers few. Certain classes of adults are, it is true, being specially assisted. Soldiers profit greatly from the well-organised scheme of Army Education which is now beginning to function. Mill-hands and industrial employees find many persons willing to help them. Night schools are springing up in various parts of the country, philanthropic associations, among which special mention must be made of the Young Men's Christian Association, are labouring nobly. In this work, there is a great scope for the university extension movement, which might well provide an agency for adult education upon a scale adequate to the requirements of the future. Some such solution

Magnitude and Urgency of the Problem.

Adult Education.

of India's problems will unquestionably come in time, and with the rapid multiplication of new universities, of which an account will be given hereafter, its potentialities as a nation-building force can with difficulty be overestimated.* Reviewing the educational history of the year 1921-22, we find the principal event has been the transfer of education to the charge of Ministers responsible to the new Provincial Legislative Councils. Certain powers, which need not here be specified, remain with the Government of India, and European education is reserved for the Governors in Council. But speaking generally it is now left to the Legislative Councils by resolutions and budget votes as well as by other methods to determine the best method of adapting the educational system to the needs and circumstances of the various provinces. The reports of debates in the various local Councils show clearly the keenness of the interest excited in various aspects of education. Many resolutions have been acutely debated dealing with such subjects as the pay of teachers, the extension of primary education, the provision of vocational training, the modification of curricula and the medium of instruction. In certain provinces, notably Bihar and Orissa, and the Central Provinces, committees have been appointed to cover the field of primary and secondary education, or to advise the Minister on educational affairs. Generally speaking, however, education has not been transferred to the charge of one Minister in each province. In the United Provinces, for example, primary education is controlled by one Minister and higher education by another. In five provinces technical and industrial education are under the control of the Minister for Industries who is not also the Minister for Education. In other provinces, special training institutions for professions or public services, such as agricultural colleges, medical colleges, forest schools and Police training schools are in some cases not under the Minister of Education at all. This is the more to be regretted in that the report of the Calcutta University Commission, which, as was pointed out in previous volumes, marks an epoch in the investigation of India's educational problems, had strongly emphasised the desirability of bringing together all forms of educational activity within the purview of a "general staff", so that co-ordination and consistency of policy might be secured. It is to be hoped that this view of the question will before long commend itself

Education Popularly Controlled.

*Much of the succeeding matter is due to the Report of the Educational Commissioner with the Government of India.

to the Provincial Governments ; for no such Government can divest itself of responsibility for the elaboration of a policy embracing and co-ordinating all kinds of education.

Effects of Non-Co-operation.

Unfortunately, the stimulus to popular enthusiasm in matters educational which might have been supposed to follow the transfer of a subject so important to popular control, has been somewhat off-set by the attack launched on the educational system of the country as an integral part of the non-co-operation programme. It is impossible to establish precisely the effects of Mr. Gandhi's movement upon education in India, if only because the attack came in waves which were not simultaneous in all provinces. The political situation cannot be isolated from other causes, principally economic, that affect the attendance at schools and colleges, nor is it possible to say to what extent the effects of non-co-operation have been hidden from view by increase of pupils in particular localities or classes of schools. For this reason, the actual statistics do not afford a very accurate guide. They merely show that the total number of scholars in public institutions has increased during the year under review by 2 per cent. which compares unfavourably with the 3·7 per cent. for the previous year. Further analysis reveals that the increase in primary schools is 3·2 per cent. which is precisely the same as last year's figure. In English Arts Colleges and High and Middle schools, on the other hand, the percentage of decrease has been 8·6, 5·1 and 8·1 respectively as against increases of 3·3, 2·4, and 2 during last year. It would perhaps be safe to infer that the non-co-operation alone was responsible during the year for a substantial, though not an alarming, reduction in the enrolment of High and Middle Anglo-Vernacular schools and Arts Colleges. Statistics would not justify any inference regarding the effect of non-co-operation on other classes of institutions. It is possible particularly in the case of boys' primary schools, that a substantial advance might have been recorded but for the movement. As regards the colleges and Anglo-Vernacular schools, while some provinces such as Madras, the United Provinces and the Punjab, report the recovery of the situation before the end of the year, other provinces, such as Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, Burma and the Central Provinces record comparatively severe losses at its close. The Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University in a statement laid before the Senate estimated that more than 47,000 pupils or 23 per cent. of the total number had disappeared from high schools between

Losses of Pupils.

Varying Seriousness.

July 1920 and July 1921; and that up to the 1st March 1921 there was a fall of 42 per cent. in the enrolment of the first and third year classes in arts colleges. These figures however illustrate the position of a province that was hard hit at about the time when the statistics were collected. "Generally speaking, the numerical losses affecting institutions have depended largely on relative efficiency. Certain Government institutions, such as the Presidency College, Calcutta, have weathered the storms with special credit." But in general it may be said that

Effect on Teachers.

teachers of all grades in all classes of institutions deserve the greatest possible commendation. The number of political resignations has been relatively so small as to be quite insignificant. In face of the fiercest criticism and most extreme forms of pressure, the teaching profession has displayed on the whole most laudable firmness. "The attitude of its members is the more praiseworthy in that the attack came at a time when their position was essentially vulnerable. The year began, as we have seen, with financial difficulties consequent on a great increase in the cost of the necessaries of life, enhanced by a poor monsoon. Perhaps nowhere was the pinch more severely felt than in the ranks of those engaged in education, many of whom were living on salaries which bordered on the minimum necessary for existence. Especially was this the case in non-Government institutions both aided and unaided. In many districts of the United Provinces, for example, teachers' unions were being formed to enforce demands for better pay, while the general unrest which had spread over the whole of India, unsettling men's minds, affected the educational community also. The time was therefore most opportune for the leaders of non-co-operation and one can only marvel that the net result of their efforts was so insignificant." They had little success, moreover, in their attempts to capture schools and colleges.

Subversion of Institutions.

The withdrawal of recognised institutions from all forms of Government control and aid, which was one item of the non-co-operation programme, was probably very small during the year. Statistics show that there is no marked fall in the number of institutions under any head except English middle schools, where the decrease is possibly due to changes in classification. Very strong influence was undoubtedly brought to bear on many of those larger institutions under predominantly Indian management which depend mainly on their fee income. That these attacks have for the most part failed is due largely to the excellent and inspiring example set by the Trustees of the Aligarh

College, who early in the year 1920-21 successfully resisted an attempt to capture the college for the Khilafat movement and insisted on adherence to aims and intentions of the founder. Attacks on the Benares University and on important colleges in other parts of India were also frustrated. Privately managed institutions have on the whole resisted the attack with considerable success, though some of them have suffered such heavy financial losses that their existence has been in jeopardy. This is particularly true in the case of schools. In the generality of colleges there has been no such trouble, since fees are usually levied for the term or year in advance. In unaided colleges, where this procedure is less universal, there has been a fall in fee income while in unaided high schools the receipts from this source have fallen more than 12 per cent. Such institutions can least bear a sudden strain on their finances and there is no doubt that the assault on privately managed institutions has resulted in a postponement of the sorely needed increase of teachers' salaries, thereby setting back the educational clock. In this connection it should be noticed that the Vice-Chanceller of the Calcutta University estimated a total loss under the head of examination fee income amounting to no less than £0·02 million ; and if this estimate is even approximately correct, the financial position of the greatest educational body in India must be gravely affected.

Effect of Non-Co-operation upon the Rising Generation.

Of great significance from the point of view of education generally is the influence exerted upon the students by non-co-operation doctrines. As we have attempted to show in previous chapters, " there was something in the non-co-operation movement which appealed to most diverse types of mind. The call to national service and self-sacrifice found a quick response among the best, so quick as to be unintelligible to those who do not realise the emotional background of student life and the absence of a strong sense of humour. To another class of temperament the political situation presented possibilities of romance and adventure that irradiated a colourless existence." As is pointed out, " picketing and processions were as irresistible to such minds as a bumpsupper and a ' rag ' to Oxford undergraduates. Yet other students became for the first time conscious that they were wasting their time upon a kind of education not suited to their needs and leading them at its best to an office stool. It is greatly to the credit of the teaching staff that these feelings, so natural in themselves but affording such excellent material for unscrupulous agitators, should have found expression so comparatively seldom in violent or offensive action. There is,

however, a darker side to the picture. Discipline has been affected, and almost every province reports an increase in strikes and serious offences. Concentration upon studies has been greatly impeded and those who have persisted in academic work have been subjected to an intensive nervous strain which may affect their future career. This strain has been even more noticeable in those who have returned to college after a few months of crowded life with the agitators. Apart from the activity shown in criticism and defiance, there has been a general apathy and listlessness in regard to studies, games and college life."

National Education.

The effects of the non-co-operation movement upon Indian education which we have hitherto examined, have been plainly negative. We must now investigate the reality of what is sometimes claimed as a great achievement, namely, the erection of a national structure of education parallel to that which is administered by Government and other public bodies. It is undeniable that many so-called "national" schools and colleges have come into existence and that they have attracted a large number of students. No estimates can be framed either of the numbers of the financial position of these institutions, if only because their attitude towards Government makes the comprehensive collection of accurate statistics impossible. Their numbers are undoubtedly small in relation to recognised institutions and pupils, and the financial position of many is precarious. At the time of writing, they differ from other institutions independent of Government control inasmuch as their immediate origin and aim are political rather than educational. Their continuance probably depends upon the force of educational ideals that are undoubtedly associated, though vaguely, with the political motives animating their founders and adherents. Unfortunately, for all their name of "national" they have not succeeded in calling into being a more truly indigenous type of education. The stress laid upon the spinning wheel in its educational as apart from its economic aspect, is only a development of that manual or vocational training which has been steadily encouraged for some years in India. The more extensive use of the vernacular as a medium of instruction, which is characteristic of certain of these national institutions, covers methods rather than aims and will no doubt be adopted by all Governments if and when they are convinced that it has popular as well as educational support. There are no signs of any reaction against Western subjects, languages or ideas; in fact in one province the popularity of "national" schools is ascribed to the fact that English is therein

begun earlier than in recognised schools. At the same time, the establishment of these "national" institutions is not without educational significance, if only because they indicate profound dissatisfaction with the present system. There is now a wide and real demand for practical and vocational education, springing largely from the knowledge that in present day conditions the prospects of employment awaiting the average product of the literary type of education are somewhat drab. There is also a belief that practically or vocationally trained men will more easily fit into the economic structure and thus be more valuable members of the society. Unfortunately, as has been pointed out by educational investigators of late years, the present vociferous demand for technical instruction in India is in reality a demand for employment; what is wanted is rather industries than academies; and the problem is one less for the pedagogue than for the politician. But this fact is not generally appreciated. Explicit demands for professional and vocational training are finding ever more clamant expression, which extends to a desire for a fuller recognition of Indian culture and aspirations, for more generous appreciation of what India has contributed and may contribute to civilisation and for a more direct call to national service. Underlying these demands is a feeling that the existing system of education fails to awaken a practical response, because it is not in close contact with the life, thought and feeling of the country. Every educationalist knows that this discontent is not confined to India. The need from which it arises has for many years been emphasised, here as elsewhere; but it must be pointed out that past attempts to encourage vocational training have met with little or no public support, as the statistics for the various courses eloquently show. But at the moment of writing there seems some reason to believe that public interest in a closer *rapprochement* between education and life has for the first time been completely and successfully aroused. The general middle class public is now for the first time actually conscious of these fundamental defects in Indian education. And with this awakening has happily come, also for the first time, the beginning of a readiness to subscribe funds for educational work. Thus, however much the complete separation of national schools from a popular and responsible government may be deplored, and the assertion of independence based mainly on racial hatred may be deprecated, it is most cheering to find that ideas regarding the possible existence of large and important educational institutions, carried on without help from Government, are

The Motive-Force of "National" Education.

now being widely canvassed. If these institutions can purge themselves of racial and political hatred, their financial independence of Government may be of immense help to the community, in so far as it enables them to experiment with complete freedom, and enables Government to spend more money in places and on institutions where it is really needed.

Percentages under Instruction.

The present educational position in India is revealed most clearly by the statement of some figures. The proportion of the population under instruction varies widely from Province to Province. In the period under review, Bombay held the lead with a percentage of total scholars to the population of 4·9—an advance of no less than 0·4 per cent. over last year's figures. The figure for Burma, where an elaborate system of indigenous primary education does not appear to its fullest advantage in official statistics, was 4·3. This figure is approximately shared by Madras and Bengal. Next comes Assam, which is comparatively thinly populated, and has 3 per cent. of its population under instruction. The percentages in the Punjab and the United Provinces have risen during the year under review from 2·6 to 2·7 and from 2·1 to 2·3; while that of the Central Provinces has fallen from 2·6 to 2·5 respectively; while Bihar and Orissa remains approximately stationary at 2·4. The North-West Frontier Province has increased its percentage from 2·0 to 2·2 per cent. It would seem obvious from these percentages that the most pressing need of the moment is a rapid extension of primary education. Unfortunately, the existing system is not merely defective in quality but is also unsatisfactory in results. The majority of children attending primary schools learn to read and write for no more than three years, and on returning to agricultural pursuits soon forget these attainments. Some steps are being taken particularly in Bombay, to provide village libraries which will constitute a certain incentive to continued reading. But the only radical cure is the introduction of a compulsory system under which children can be retained in school until the primary course has been completed. In almost every Province in India, Primary Education Acts now exist which permit municipalities, and, save in the case of Bombay and the United Provinces District Boards, to introduce the principle of compulsory education under certain conditions. In the United Provinces and the Punjab, both of which areas have hitherto been particularly backward, a vigorous campaign for the introduction of primary education has been inaugurated. Two years ago the Government of the

Primary Education.

Compulsion.

Expansion in the United Provinces.

United Provinces took full responsibility for finding the money required by an advance which will, it is estimated, raise the recurring cost of education to half a million sterling. In the first year of its existence the primary education programme increased the total number of primary schools from 11,500 to 13,500, while the number of boys under instruction rose by eleven per cent. During the second instalment of the three years' programme the number of schools increased to 15,000; the number of teachers from 27,000 to 28,000; and the number of scholars from 0·76 million to 0·81 million. Further, returns have been received from all municipal boards showing the cost of introducing compulsory education, and on the basis of these figures the local Government has promised to bear two-thirds of the additional cost involved. Boards have been invited to seek the assistance of the Education Department in working out their schemes; and the response so far has been in the highest degree encouraging. In the Punjab, also, good progress is being made with the elaborate five years' programme formulated by each district in consultation with Government. The aim has been to establish, within five years, an additional 122 middle schools and 1,463 primary schools and to convert a number of private or elementary schools into Board Schools. Government pledged itself to meet a fixed proportion of the cost of a number of these district schemes, it being the declared aim of the administration to establish District Board Schools at every centre where an average attendance of not fewer than 50 children might be expected. The progress made during the first three years of the programme, from 1918 to 1921, has been on the whole satisfactory. During this period number of vernacular schools maintained by District Boards has increased by 1,246 to 4,800. In addition the year 1921 saw 890 aided schools, 121 unaided schools and 1,551 elementary schools in operation. Somewhat naturally the rate of expansion has differed considerably from district to district. This is not a matter of great importance. More serious is the doubt whether the number of trained teachers has risen sufficiently to meet the increasing demands. The experience hitherto gained has been invaluable; for one thing it shows the necessity of greater care in the location of new schools. Apparently a very large number of institutions have been called into existence with an attendance below 30; and indeed there are a considerable number whose attendance only reaches single figures. Considering the short-

Expansion in the Punjab.

age of money under which schemes of educational expansion labour both in the Punjab and elsewhere, a plan of this kind is unnecessarily wasteful. In Bombay, as related in last year's report, the aim is

Bombay.

to open up primary schools, first in every village with one thousand inhabitants, and secondly, in every village containing more than 500 inhabitants. Important reforms have been inaugurated in the curriculum for village schools and the number of district training schools has been increased. A notable encouragement has further been provided to municipal effort by Government's promise to contribute half the cost of free education. Throughout the Bombay Presidency five municipalities have introduced compulsory education for boys, and of these two have also accepted girls in their scheme. In Bengal, proposals

Bengal.

for a rapid extension of primary education have been prepared by an Indian Educational Service Officer on Special Duty ; and large allotments have been made by Government to local bodies. But in the sphere of primary education the outstanding feature of the year is perhaps the Elementary Education Act passed by the Madras Legislative Council. This is far more comprehensive and significant than the corresponding Acts passed in

Madras : Liberal Proposals.

other Provinces. It provides for the creation in each district of a District Educational Council which will be an independent body and not a statutory committee of any of the existing local bodies. It will contain a few *ex-officio* members and a few members nominated by the Governor in Council ; but the majority of its members are to be elected by the local authorities of the district. Its principal functions are to prepare schemes for the extension of elementary education, with a view to ultimate universality ; to elicit and direct the co-operation of all agencies, whether public or private, engaged in elementary education, both for the opening of additional schools and for the expansion of existing schools ; to regulate the recognition of all elementary schools and to assess and disburse all grants-in-aid to private elementary schools from provincial funds placed at its disposal for the purpose; and to advise the Department of Education on all matters connected with elementary education, including the provision of trained elementary school teachers.

From this brief survey of the more outstanding features of the progress

Scope for Economy.

of primary education during the period under review, it will be seen that popular interest

has been awakened in considerable degree in favour of a boldly progressive campaign of educational expansion. But unfortunately, the sources from which such a scheme is to be financed have not yet been discovered. Hence, in several Provinces, there is a tendency to stretch existing funds as far as they will go, and to devise economies in every possible way. In the Punjab, during the last year, considerable advances have been made in this direction. Investigation has shown that very real economy can be effected by the concentration of available resources in such a manner as to permit their most effective application. The interposition of a Secretariat between the Director of Public Instruction and the Minister for Education has been avoided: an educational "general staff" is being collected at Headquarters with the saving thus achieved. Specialist teachers in training colleges have been concentrated rather than diffused; the system of inspection has been simplified; and overlap has been eliminated. Unquestionably much remains to be done in this direction in other Provinces also; and while the saving so effected cannot be expected radically to alter the educational position in the immediate future, yet it will probably constitute a powerful argument in the eyes of the new Legislatures, for the concentration of additional financial effort upon the problem as a whole.

Female Education.

So far we have been dealing principally with the education of Indian boys. It now remains to consider the education of Indian girls. In India the problem of female education is beset by many difficulties. Rapid expansion depends first upon an adequate supply of competent women teachers, secondly, upon devising courses of instruction which will commend themselves to that substantial body of opinion which still regards female education suspiciously; and, thirdly, upon an alteration of the existing structure of education in so far as it is unsuited to the needs of Indian women. But the main difficulty remains as hitherto, the lack of effective demand. During the last few years, there has been a substantial improvement in the number of women under training, and the provision of women's colleges; but the available statistics show that the resources for the education of Indian womanhood are still ridiculously small. At the present moment in India, there are 15 women's colleges and 128 training schools. Altogether, something over 1,200 women are undergoing university education, and between three and four thousand are in training schools. There would be little difficulty in increasing the number of institutions, if only it were possible to fill them. For, until such customs as *purdah*,

Demand *versus* Supply.

early marriage, and the like can be modified by the growing enlightenment of public opinion, it will be impossible to secure an adequate number of women pupils for secondary and higher training. And the fact must be faced that only a great social change can call forth the teachers who are the primary requisites for such an expansion. The Calcutta University Commission pointed out the peculiar difficulties and dangers which surround young women who are said to teach in lonely village schools. " Until men learn the rudiments of respect and chivalry," the Commission reported, " towards women who are not living in zenanas, anything like a service of women teachers will be impossible." The problem, therefore, does not depend for its solution merely upon the energy of those in charge of educational administration, but also upon a gradual change in the whole public attitude in India towards womenkind.

Implications.

The importance of overcoming this existing female illiteracy is shown by the fact that throughout India there are only some 1·4 million women and girls under instruction of any kind. This means that half the population is growing up almost without education : a fact which not only constitutes a serious bar to educational progress, but also, by preserving the traditional conservatism of the Indian home, closes and bars the innermost sanctuary of Indian life to those new ideas which must penetrate far and wide if the political and social aspirations of the country are to be attained. There is thus every reason to consider this aspect of the educational problem as being of extreme urgency ; and of late many persons have devoted time and energy to the task of devising a solution. Here, as elsewhere, the Calcutta University Commission has erected sound guide-posts. In the Report, two principles were formulated regarding Female education. These were the modification of the curriculum to suit the needs of different classes, and the utilisation of the advice of ladies in formulating a suitable scheme of instruction. These have been accepted and attempts are being made to put them into practice, with varying degrees of enthusiasm, by the new Provincial Governments. Certain Provinces report satisfactory progress. In Bombay, there has been an increased number of lady students in colleges ; while every year shows less shyness and a greater readiness to converse on equal terms with tutors and students. In secondary schools the number of girls has risen to over ten thousand, while in primary schools there has been an increase of almost the same number. Equally cheering is the condition of affairs in Madras, where the marked development of women's educa-

Progress Achieved.

tion has led to the creation of a post of Deputy Directress of Girls' Schools. A steady increase in the demand for more secondary Education has brought four new girls' schools into being. In the United Provinces, the total number of girl scholars increased by thirteen hundred, while intermediate classes have been added to four Girls Schools. In the Punjab, a new Government High School is full to overflowing. In Bengal, however, the situation is less hopeful. Attempts to divert girls from the Matriculation course and to adjust their curricula to special needs have met with no response, and there is little interest displayed by the general public regarding the whole subject. Gradually it is to be hoped means will be found to break the popular apathy which has hitherto appeared to hinder the expansion of female education.

Secondary Education.

In the sphere of secondary education, despite the setbacks already received from political and economic causes, the year was one of considerable progress. The number of secondary schools in British India increased from 8,700 to more than 8,900, the number of pupils under instruction now standing at just short of 1·3 millions. Unfortunately, the quantitative statistical index is a very poor guide to the quality of secondary education in India. This branch is undeniably of poor standard and badly regulated. Now, since by far the largest proportion of the population of any country can scarcely, even under the most favourable circumstances, hope to pursue its formal education beyond the full secondary stage, it is of first importance that the structure of secondary education should be sound and well balanced. Until this is the case in India, the major portion of those boys who pass through the full secondary course must necessarily enter the world with no training for citizenship, with unformed ideals and with no aspirations, save those connected with personal success. The demand for secondary education in India is at present almost inexhaustible, and all efforts at improvement seemed to be swamped by an overwhelming supply of cheap and bad institutions. However inferior the education available may be, the proprietors of private schools are able to manage their academies at the lowest limit of efficiency without fear of losing their pupils; and since the most necessary ingredients of education as generally understood, namely social life and good physical conditions, are not demanded, they are not forthcoming. Public opinion does not often support the schoolmaster, and parents are only too ready to listen to any complaints of their children against

Unsatisfactory Conditions.

strictness and discipline. Naturally, in such circumstances, political agitation has occupied the minds of boys, during the period under review, to an extent which tends to hinder true education; and a marked decline of discipline has resulted. But the most formidable indictment which is levelled against secondary education in India to-day is that it has hitherto failed to train its pupils for citizenship. Very largely on account of such intrinsic defects as those which have been noted, every Indian boy who desires to obtain an education worthy of the name, finds himself compelled to pass from the secondary school to the University, even though his aptitude and choice of a future vocation do not of themselves fit him for a University career at all. The establishment of a new system is therefore necessary, and during the period under review, attempts have been made by several of the new Provincial Governments to follow the lines laid down by the Calcutta University Commission. In several Provinces, Boards for Secondary and Intermediate education have been constituted, representative not merely of educational but of other interests, in touch with everyday affairs; and much attention has been directed both in the Legislative Councils and outside to the solution of the most pressing problems of this branch of development. One of these problems, that of securing suitable salaries for the staffs of schools under private and Board management, occupies a place which has become all the more prominent with the recent increases in the pay of Government schoolmasters. In Bihar and Orissa, the fee rate has been raised for the improvement of salaries, and in Bombay, many private and Board managed schools now levy fees which are higher than those of Government schools. In the United Provinces, Government has come to the help of private colleges with a grant for the improvement of staff pay, as well as for increasing the salaries of masters in private schools. Another problem much to the fore is that of the curriculum, since, as already noted, that portion of the general public that patronizes secondary education is now vociferous for vocational training. Preparation for trades and professions is demanded as an integral part of the school course. There are many difficulties in the way of satisfying this request, which are not always realised by non-experts. Not the least of these is the fact that the secondary course, so far as Anglo-Vernacular schools are concerned, is already overloaded, and even now tends to be superficial. The addition of subjects is thus well-nigh impossible: and the elimination of any which are now taught for the

Pay of Teachers.

Curriculum.

purpose of substituting purely vocational training would be infinitely harmful to the progress of the true training for citizenship. But still more formidable perhaps is the difficulty that if popular demand were complied with, Indian industries would prove insufficiently developed to provide employment for more than a fraction of the pupils who would be turned out trained in particular vocations.

Vernacular Secondary Education.

Vernacular secondary education has made considerable strides during the period under review, and from several Provinces there come reports of the remarkable increase in the number and strength of vernacular middle schools. But it is interesting to notice that the growing popularity of those schools, in which English has been introduced as an optional subject, seems to show that the distinction between Anglo-vernacular and vernacular middle schools, so far as it is based on the curriculum, is tending to disappear.

University Education.

Perhaps the branch of education which has shown most remarkable progress during the period is that connected with the University system. Just prior to the reorganisation of the Indian administration consequent upon the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, an invaluable lead had been supplied to those who are henceforth to direct education by the recommendations of the Calcutta University Commission. An Indian University has hitherto consisted of scattered colleges, one being often separated from the other by hundreds of miles. With inadequate staff and inconsiderable equipment, these colleges have, in the majority of cases, attempted to convey instruction far more elaborate than is within their compass. The University itself has pursued merely a phantom existence as an examining and consulting body, with the result that the University standard has been something remote and external. Colleges have therefore tended to find a common level which corresponds really to the capacity of the weakest institutions.

Its Defects.

Suggested Remedies.

The Calcutta University Commission recommended as a substitute for this system the constitution of centralised unitary universities. The essence of the new plan is the erection of the university as unitary teaching body where all information and instruction is given by university officers under the direct control of the university authorities, without the interposition of collegiate education between these authorities and the

students. Another, almost equally important, feature of the reform advocated by Sir Michael Sadler and his colleagues was the removal from the university of all tuition of a strictly pre-university standard, and its concentration into new institutions to be known as intermediate colleges, which should provide the logical culmination to the system of secondary education. In giving effect to the recommendation of the Calcutta University Commission, the United Provinces has taken the lead. Intermediate Colleges have been built at Jhansi, Fyzabad and Almora, while arrangements are being made to open others at Etawah, Ghazipore, Moradabad, Lucknow and Allahabad. The erection of a Board of high school and intermediate education has been sanctioned, and this body was constituted shortly after the close of the period under review. New Universities have been opened at Aligarh and at Lucknow; while the original University of Allahabad has been reconstituted in an attempt to follow the general lines recommended by the Calcutta University Commission, with such modifications as local conditions are believed to require. In other Provinces also there has been much development of late in the sphere of university education. In Burma, a centralised residential university has been incorporated at Rangoon; in Bengal the Dacca University is now in working order; and the University of Calcutta has been placed under the Bengal Government instead of under the Government of India. The Punjab University has developed honours teaching and added university teachers, while the Government has extended intermediate colleges to lessen the congestion of young and immature students in large cities. Bombay has instituted linguistic honours courses and a Board of vernacular studies, while in Bihar the University of Patna is steadily building up its position. Proposals have recently come before the Government of India for the creation of a university at Nagpur in the Central Provinces. At Delhi, moreover, the scheme for the establishment of a university has been sanctioned, and although funds cannot be provided for the moment for the erection of a fully equipped university, a modest commencement towards the attainment of that object has already been made. The new university is commencing work with the existing colleges in their present buildings; and transitory provisions of a particularly elastic nature have been laid down in such a manner as to permit its gradual development into its eventual form.

Action in the United Provinces.

Elsewhere.

Turning now to special branches of education work, we notice that Muhammadan education in India presents peculiar problems of its own, since it is necessary for every boy who undergoes educational training to spend a considerable time in religious instruction. This naturally reduces the period available for secular instruction. Generally speaking, the community is backward as compared with the Hindus, but as a result of increased effort, both on its own part and that of the administration, the percentage of Muhammadan pupils to pupils of other communities now bears almost the same proportion as the Muhammadans themselves to the entire population. Greater appreciation among Muslim leaders of the necessity for increasing the educational level of their co-religionists is a most encouraging feature of the situation. A great impulse towards educational advance may confidently be expected to result from the erection of the centralized residential University at Aligarh; although, mainly owing to political troubles, the first year of that institution's existence has been somewhat stormy. In Bengal, a scheme for a new Government Muhammadan College is in contemplation, while in Madras a second grade college intended for the community has been elevated to the first grade, and two additional secondary schools have been opened for it. In the sphere of school education, almost every Provincial Government has shown considerable activity. In the United Provinces there was a gratifying increase in the number of Muhammadan primary institutions, as a result of the grants given by Government to District Boards for this purpose. A changed system of inspection for Muhammadan primary schools will, it is hoped, enable the Boards to improve the conditions of aided institutions, and distribute, to the best advantage, the grants set apart for them. Almost everywhere in India, none the less, there is considerable leeway to make up. The general impression would seem to be that, on the whole, Muhammadan education is gaining ground in a not unsatisfactory manner.

Muhammadan Education.

In the education of Europeans and of the Domiciled community, progress continues to be made. The European and Ang'o-Indian community is comparatively small, realises the value of education, and is prepared to pay for it. None the less, towards the education of the domiciled community, a certain amount of State-aid is necessary. This is caused not by any unwillingness to recognise the advantages of education, but by sheer lack of the necessary resources. As has previously been menti oned

European Education.

European education is a reserved subject, and does not come under the control of the Provincial Ministers. But it is satisfactory to notice that no action likely in any way to weaken the financial position of the European schools has been taken by the reformed provincial Governments.

Depressed Classes.

Turning now to the education of the backward and depressed classes, we have already noticed that some progress has been made in the admission of Panchamas into schools under public management in Madras. From many other parts of India a general desire on the part of these classes for education is reported. Among aboriginal and criminal tribes and depressed classes generally, the Church Missionary Society, and particularly the Salvation Army have continued to carry on admirable work. There is still great scope for further effort, as may be gathered from the fact that, of the aboriginal population of India, reckoned at about 10 millions approximately, 1½ per cent. is at school.

Technical Education.

Mention has already been made of increasing popular interest in, and demand for, technical and industrial education. In several Provinces this subject has been transferred from the Department of Education to that of Industries, with the result that there is some risk of failure to evolve a consistent and general educational policy throughout the areas under the control of each Provincial administration. During the period under review, there has been on the whole steady and successful development. The Government Engineering Colleges continue to increase their students; while the schools of Engineering, which are scattered up and down the country, are prospering. Commercial schools are also growing in popularity. The old difficulty of placing in suitable position boys who have passed through institutions of this character, is beginning to disappear, although a large expansion of Indian industries is necessary before sufficient scope exists for such an increase in industrial training as public opinion at present demands.

Agricultural Education.

For a very long time to come, the sphere of technical education, which will be of the most immediate benefit to the people of India, is agricultural education. In another place mention has been made of some of the work done in the higher branches by the Agricultural Research Institute at Pusa. This provides facilities for post-graduate courses. There are, in addition, agricultural colleges at Poona, Lyallpur, Cawnpore, Coimbatore, Nagpur and Sabour, and it is proposed shortly to open similar insti-

tutions at Dacca and Mandalay. The Agricultural College at Poona, which is affiliated to the Bombay University, continues to maintain its popularity, the number of students on the roll being now more than 200. One much appreciated feature of the activities of the College is a short course in agriculture which is given to farmers' sons, who are not qualified to take the university course. A somewhat similar plan is employed in the Agricultural College at Lyallpur, which provides a degree course, subject to university rules and regulations, and a shorter certificate course. But in addition to these, there is also a vernacular course dealing with practical agriculture. In secondary education in agriculture, almost every province continues to show progress. In Bengal, experiments in connection with agricultural instruction are being made in two schools. In the United Provinces the agricultural school established at Bulandshahr will be organized on lines similar to those of the short two-year course of the Cawnpore agricultural college. In the Central Provinces, the syllabus for the two agricultural middle schools was revised during the year, but in this locality there does not seem to be any appreciable demand for instruction of the type which they provide. Bombay continues to maintain its lead over the other provinces of India in the field of secondary as well as higher agricultural education. During the year there were six vernacular agricultural schools at work, which seem to be very successful. But this type of training has yet to commend itself to the people for whom it is primarily planned. In the Punjab the less costly plan of providing practical training in agriculture for boys in certain vernacular middle schools, alongside their general training, is being tried. Generally speaking, throughout India, the demand for school and college instruction in agriculture is surprisingly small, when the prominence which this pursuit plays in the life of the country is considered. But as the propaganda work of the Agricultural Department continues, every year a keener demand for better and improved implements and more suitable methods is witnessed, and it is probable that a desire on the part of the cultivating classes for an education which will enable their sons to apply efficiently the results of agricultural research will gradually spring up. In rural elementary schools almost everywhere in India, increased stress is being laid on the provision of elementary agricultural training. In middle schools also the same subject is gaining ground. In the Punjab the logical development of this idea has already been followed up, and teachers are being put through a practical course of agriculture at the Lyallpur College.

It is also interesting to notice that a course of agricultural education for soldiers is in progress at the Gurdaspur Farm in the same province. This is a promising experiment, but unfortunately in some cases the men selected for the class by the military authorities are reported to have been not entirely suitable.

CHAPTER VII.

The State and the Subject.

In the course of the period under review, a radical change has come ver the administrative system of India through the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. In the preceding volumes of this Report, mention has been made in some detail of the scope and intention of this constitutional measure. It will be sufficient here to recapitulate in the barest outline some of the more obvious results of its introduction during the year 1921.

Devolution.

The first and most striking consequence of the new Government of India Act, and of the rules made thereunder, has been to divide the sphere of government in the Provinces between two authorities, one amenable to the British Parliament and the other to the Indian electorate. This has necessitated a prior classification of the subjects of government into the two spheres of Central and Provincial. A number of very important administrative subjects, henceforth technically known as " Provincial " subjects, have been entrusted to the reformed local Governments. These include local self-government; medical administration, public health, and sanitation; education; public works and water supply, with certain reservations; land revenue administration; famine relief; agriculture; fisheries and forests; co-operation; excise; the administration of justice, subject to legislation by the Indian legislature; registration; industrial development; police; prisons; sources of provincial revenue; and many miscellaneous items. The way has thus been cleared for the division, within the Provinces, of the functions of Government between an authority responsible to Parliament and an authority responsible to the electorate. It is hardly necessary to repeat that, under the reformed constitution the provincial Executives now consist of two portions. The first half is the Governor, working with Executive Councillors nominated by the Crown; the second is the Governor, working with Ministers selected from members of the Provincial Legislature. The first half administers certain subjects known as " Reserved " and is responsible for them to the Central Government and ultimately to Parliament. The second

half deals with "Transferred" subjects and is amenable to the Indian electorate. Among the most important of the subjects so transferred to popular control are local self-government; medical administration, and public health; education; public works, under a number of important heads; agriculture; forests and fisheries; co-operation; excise; registration; industrial development; and other minor items. It will thus be seen even from this brief summary that a very large proportion of those administrative subjects on the development of which India's progress depends have now been made over directly to Indian control.

Dyarchy.

The division of the provincial Executives into two halves, according to the so-called dyarchic plan, is a constitutional experiment of a daring because unparalleled kind. With the reasons for its adoption we are not here concerned; it is sufficient to state that in the circumstances amid which India found herself at the time of the Reforms, those in control found it difficult to devise any alternative method of combining stability with progress. Even at the time of writing, it is still too early to judge of the success of the whole experiment; but, broadly speaking, the new Executive in the provinces have worked with a harmony and with a smoothness which has surprised the large body of opinion which regarded the experiment as inherently unsound. In the earlier pages of this report, enough evidence has been given of the manner in which, under conditions of most abnormal difficulty, the administrative scheme set up by the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms has functioned. We have noticed that in the Central and Local Governments, the elected members of the Legislature, who now decisively predominate, have used their power in a manner which is on the whole both wise and temperate. We have further seen that the supporters of constitutional progress who have rallied to the working of the new reforms have succeeded in achieving considerable progress towards the satisfaction of their country's political aspirations.

In previous chapters mention has been made of the progress achieved in certain of the more important activities of Government, both central and provincial, reserved and transferred. In this chapter it remains to consider some of the remaining functions of the administration.

Local Self-government.

Scarcely inferior in importance to any other in the list of subjects transferred to Indian direction is the sphere of local self-government. It is in this sphere that administrative experience and communal ideals can be implanted in the

population at large, and solid foundations laid for the erection of a future structure of self-government. Perhaps in no other branch of civic activity is the contrast between India and Western countries at present so marked. Both in Europe and America, its institutions are planted deep in the consciousness of the people, and upon them the fabric of nationhood has been solidly erected. But in India the situation is different. The ideal of nationhood is, it is true, making its way in an ever-increasing degree among the educated classes; but it has yet to penetrate to the masses of the population. Until communal ideals and the civic spirit can be instilled into those large sections of the Indian people who at present stand aloof from politics, it will be impossible to achieve that concentration upon national ends, as envisaged first through the realization of local needs, without which complete nationhood cannot exist.

Past Difficulties.

It is only just to remark that the disappointing history of local self-government during the last 25 years is not altogether to be explained by the apathy of those among whom it has been somewhat artificially implanted. It is no doubt true that for centuries prior to the foundation of British rule, indigenous institutions, framed for needs not dissimilar from those of modern local self-government, both existed and worked in some parts of India. But during the anarchy of the 18th century, they were in a large measure destroyed by the prevalence of military despotism; and in the period of re-creation, for which the 19th century stood, their submerged foundations were not utilised to the best possible advantage by the British administration. Hence, the institutions of local self-government in their present form are a creation of British rule, and to a considerable degree alien from the spirit of the people. While they have struck their roots more deeply year by year, it is unfair to expect very rapid progress. Moreover, for the last quarter of a century they have been administered very largely by a highly competent official agency, able and willing to relieve the non-official members of such small responsibilities as were actually allotted to them. As a result, the institutions of local self-government in India have in a large measure failed to enlist the services of that class of public-spirited men, conscious of their ability to wield power when it is entrusted to them, upon which the system depends so largely for its success in England and America. Up to a short time ago, it was not unfair to say that municipalities and district boards proved themselves indifferent because the powers entrusted to them were as a rule insignificant. On the other

hand, these powers continued insignificant because of the apathy and lack of public spirit of the members. A vicious circle was thus created which has only begun to break down within the last three or four years through a determination on the part of the administration to entrust more important functions to the institutions of local self-government, and to confer upon their members a degree of responsibility which it was hoped would rouse them from the listlessness in which they had too long remained. With the transfer of local self-government to ministers elected by the people, it may confidently be hoped that the existing apathy will be gradually transformed into a live and energetic enthusiasm. Until this can be accomplished, progress is bound to remain disappointingly slow.

Local Self-government as a Transferred Subject.

Happily a review of the legislative work undertaken by the provincial Councils in this sphere testifies plainly to a growing popular interest. In the Punjab, the local Government took up three Bills of considerable importance. The first was the Village Panchayat Bill, which enabled Government to establish in a village, or a group of villages, a system of counsellors to whom certain local matters, including judicial power both in respect of criminal and civil cases of a minor character, might be assigned. The second was intended to make better provision for the administration of the smaller towns in agricultural districts; the third provided for the improvement and expansion of towns by the creation of Trusts vested with statutory powers to acquire land and to carry out improvements. In Bihar and Orissa also, a Village Administration Bill was introduced, which provided for the administration of village affairs by representative bodies elected by villagers themselves, and possessing the right to exercise judicial powers in petty civil and criminal cases. In the Central Provinces, a Bill was prepared by the Local Government in order to expand the existing Municipal Act, which was considered inadequate in view of the changed conditions. The new measure was designed to make the municipal bodies truly self-governing institutions. It provided for an increased elected element, empowered municipal committees to levy taxes themselves, and to recover arrears, and enabled them to deal properly with congested areas. The Government of the United Provinces also drafted a Bill providing for increased powers of local self-government in rural areas. The main provisions related to the extension of the franchise, the conferment of powers of local taxation and the elimination of the official element. It also provided for the creation of divisional councils, to be elected by the

constituent boards, with the object of relieving both Government and the Boards of some of their respective powers and duties. The amendment of the Calcutta Municipal Act, which had been engaging attention for some time, was also taken up during the period under review. A draft Bill, now under consideration, provides for the paramountcy of the Corporation in matters relating to municipal administration, for the appointment of a President—to be called a Mayor—and a Chief Officer, both of whom are to be elected by the Corporation; for an increased number of members, of whom nine-tenths will be elected; for the election of 5 Aldermen, who will be co-opted by the Municipal councillors, and for the reservation of a fixed number of seats for Muhammadans so as to secure adequate representation of that community.

The Present Position.

A brief survey of the progress in municipalities and district boards during the period under review will reveal clearly, first, the gradual awakening of a new spirit in response to the altered policy of the administration, and secondly, the amount of leeway which has to be made up before the institutions of local self-government in India can range themselves on a footing equal to that of corresponding institutions in the West. Taking first municipalities, it is to be noticed that there are some 739 in British India, with something under 18 millions people resident within their limits. Of these municipalities roughly 546 have a population of less than 20,000 persons and the remainder a population of 20,000 and over. As compared with the total population of particular provinces, the population resident within municipal limits is largest in Bombay, where it amounts to 17 per cent., and is smallest in Assam where it amounts to only 2 per cent. In other provinces it varies from 3 to 9 per cent. of the total population. Turning to the composition of the municipalities, we find that considerably more than half of the total members are elected. *Ex-officio* members are roughly 12 per cent. and nominated 30 per cent. Elected members are almost everywhere in a majority. Taking all municipalities together, the non-officials outnumber the officials by nearly five to one. The functions of municipalities are classed under the heads of Public Safety, Health, Convenience and Instruction.

Municipal Functions.

For the discharge of these responsibilities, there is a municipal income of £11·4 millions, nearly two-thirds of which is derived from taxation and the remainder from municipal property, contributions from provincial revenues and miscellaneous sources. Generally speaking, the income of municipalities is small, the four cities of Calcutta, Bombay,

Madras and Rangoon together providing nearly 38 per cent. of the total. The average income of all municipalities other than the four mentioned above is nearly £10,000. The total expenditure of municipalities excluding that debited to the head " extraordinary and debt " amounted in 1919-20 to £11·3 millions. The heaviest items of this expenditure come under the heads of " Conservancy " and " Public Works " which amount to 17 per cent. and 14 per cent. respectively. " Water Supply " comes to 9 per cent., " Drainage " roughly to 6 per cent. and " Education " to no more than 8·1 per cent. In some localities the expenditure on education is considerably in excess of the average. In the Bombay Presidency, excluding Bombay city, for example, the expenditure on education amounts to more than 18 per cent. of the total funds, while in the Central Provinces and Berar it is over 15 per cent.

In view of the fact that only 10 per cent. of the population of British India lives in towns, municipal administration, however efficient, cannot affect in any large degree the great mass of the people. Hence it is that particular importance attaches in India to the working and constitution of the district boards, which perform in rural areas those functions which in urban areas are assigned to the municipalities.

District Boards.

In almost every district of British India save in the province of Assam, there is a board, subordinate to which are two or more sub-district boards; while in Bengal, Madras and Bihar and Orissa, there are also Union Committees. Throughout India at large there are some 200 district boards with 532 sub-district boards subordinate to them. There are also more than 1,022 Union Committees. This machinery has jurisdiction over a population which was some 213 millions in 1919-20. Leaving aside for one moment the Union Committees, we see that the members of the Boards numbered nearly 13,000 in 1919-20, of whom 57 per cent. were elected. During the period under review, as will be noticed later, the tendency has been throughout India to increase the elected members of the district boards at the expense of the nominated and the official members. It should be remembered that the boards are practically manned by Indians, who constitute 95 per cent. of the whole membership. Only 17 per cent. of the total members of all boards are officials of any kind. The total income of the Boards in 1919-20—the latest figures available at the moment of writing—amounted to £9·3 millions, the average income of each district board together with its subordinate boards being £52,000. The most important item of revenue is provincial rates, which represent a proportion of the total income varying from

21 per cent in the Central Provinces to 49 per cent. in Bihar and Orissa. This income is mainy expended upon civil works, such as roads and bridges (£40 millions); the other principal objects of expenditure being education (£2·7 millions), medical and sanitary works (£0·9 million) and general administration.

One interesting feature of the period under review has been the activity displayed by the great cities of British India in the direction of civil improvement. In Bombay and Calcutta, the Improvement Trusts have continued their beneficent activities in ameliorating the conditions under which the masses live. Particular attention has been paid in both places to the housing problem, which indeed cries aloud for urgent solution. In both places the rise in prices and the shortage of funds have combined to curtail in some directions the progress of these activities. None the less, the operations of the Improvement Trusts of Bombay, Calcutta and Rangoon continued upon a very large scale. The scheme, for example, which has now been projected for the reclamation of Back Bay in Bombay will challenge comparison, both in its magnitude and in the results which its success may achieve, with municipal operations almost anywhere else in the world. The total borrowings of the Improvement Trusts up to date stand at no less than £10·48 millions, involving interest and sinking fund charges of £0·54 million every year. During the period 1921-22, in addition to the actual construction of buildings, both permanent and temporary, good progress has been made with the large development schemes on hand. These operations, in pursuance of the understanding that Government should borrow for the requirements of the principal local bodies in Bombay as well as for its own, have been financed by the local administration out of its loan monies. The amount of loans sanctioned for the Improvement Trust for the current year is £2 millions. In Calcutta also, the scarcity of house accommodation and the abnormal increase in house-rent induced the Trust to undertake several re-housing schemes, some of which are nearing completion. But the financial position of the Trust was seriously affected both by the fall in the value of money and the rise in the cost of building materials and in the rate of interest. The decision that the demolition of houses acquired in connection with improvement schemes should not be undertaken, so long as the persons who have been dis-housed find it impossible to re-build at a reasonable price, also affected the operations of the Trust seriously, since a considerable amount

Improvement Trusts.

Bombay.

Calcutta.

of capital spent in land acquisition is locked up, instead of being returned through the profits. Hence the main feature of the activities of the Calcutta Improvement Trust during the period under review has been the construction of main roads in the central part of the city in preference to the development of suburban areas. It is interesting to notice that other cities are beginning to follow the example of the great ports. Improvement Trusts have recently been constituted in Cawnpore, Lucknow, and Allahabad in the United Provinces, and in several of the larger cities in other provinces of India. The well directed activity and continuous response to public interests of the larger municipalities stands in refreshing contrast with the apathy and poverty of the municipal administration in many up-country towns. Some reasons for the unsatisfactory nature of the work of the smaller municipalities have already been mentioned, and the shortcomings of the system after some time attracted the serious notice of the administration. Just prior to the transfer of local self-government to the direction of popularly elected ministers, an important resolution of the Government of India laid down the lines of the policy along which the development of municipal self-government might proceed. The importance of this resolution lay in the fact that it placed in the forefront of the objects of self-government the training of the people in the management of their own affairs; and laid down in clear form the doctrine that political education must take precedence over departmental efficiency. In consequence of this resolution, the general relaxation of Government control over local bodies has for the last few years been steadily proceeding. This tendency has naturally been stimulated in large degree by the classification of local self-government among the "transferred" subjects. The additional responsibility thrown upon members both of the municipalities and of the district boards is inducing them to take a greater interest in their work. In Bengal, the number of municipalities increased from 115 to 116 during the year under review, while there are now only 5 municipalities with a nominated, as opposed to an elected chairman. Many bodies however are still too poor to be able to afford an up-to-date administration, with the result that the Commissioners are content with an income barely sufficient for the minimum requirements of municipal existence. As was mentioned in last year's report, there is a great reluctance in Bengal as elsewhere on the part of municipalities to tax themselves to the figure which reasonable

Elsewhere.

Future of Municipal Work.

Bengal.

efficiency demands. During the period under review, the income of these bodies exceeded £0·7 million, while their expenditure was some £0·6 million. Since the total municipal population, leaving Calcutta out of consideration, is some 2 millions, calculation shows that the expenses of municipal administration amount only to some 7 shillings per head of the population. Roads and public works, conservancy, water supply and general administration consume more than half the total revenue; the remainder has to carry the charges for education, medical relief, sanitation, and the like. In spite of revised assessments, it is to be noticed that the income of the majority of municipalities in Bengal has remained practically stationary. None the less, the record of the year is not discouraging. The same is true for district boards in Bengal. The policy of removing them from official tutelage has been throughout pursued, and the privilege of electing their own chairman from among their own non-official members was extended to the five remaining boards where the system had not previously applied. Orders were issued that no official member of a local board should stand for election as chairman, and that the existing official chairman, that is to say, the Sub-Divisional Officers, should make room for non-officials. Further, in order to secure a substantial elective majority, the proportion of elected members of 14 district boards was raised from one-half to two-thirds; their strength, as well as that of the local boards subordinate to them, was also increased. It was decided that the remaining boards should be brought on the same footing when they are next re-constituted. Local boards were established in four divisions where there had been none before. The original 25 district boards had an income of £1·43 millions, and incurred an expenditure of over £1·13 millions. The balance was not sufficient for these bodies to undertake anti-malarial and other measures for promoting the public health; and with a view to considering what means should be adopted for augmenting their resources, as well as to discuss other administrative problems, a conference of representatives of district boards was twice held under the presidency of Sir Surendranath Banerjea, the Minister for Local Self-Government. Generally speaking, there is a satisfactory tendency to adopt a more forward policy, particularly in public health administration; but more might be done if the boards abandoned the system of financing capital works from current revenues.

Bengal District Boards.

The reluctance of district boards to tax themselves is a feature not confined to Bengal. The reports of administrations up and down India

reveal the fact that, while the majority of those who serve on them are quite alive to the advantages of improved administration, they are unwilling to face the corresponding financial obligations. For some time the general impression prevailed that the Provincial and Central Governments possessed an inexhaustible purse from which they were only prevented by contumacy from drawing to relieve al the financial embarrassments and limitations under which the district boards labour.

Village self-government.

This simple belief is now to some extent shattered, and the people at large are gradually awakening to a sense of responsibility for self-improvement. One of the most powerful levers of progress in this direction is to be found in the efforts now made for the institution of village self-government. In certain parts of India village self-government has now attained a considerable degree of development, with the result that what may be called the civic consciousness of the population has been greatly stimulated. In other parts of India, such as Bengal, village self-government is still backward. But here, as in other provinces, the administration is fully alive to the desirability of assisting this very necessary development. As was mentioned in last year's report, there was passed in Bengal in 1919 a Village Self-Government Act embodying the policy of constituting Union Boards at the earliest possible date for groups of villages throughout the province. During the period under review, the number of these boards continued to increase, rising from 1,500 to more than 2,000. Though they are in their infancy as yet, many of them show a remarkable aptitude for managing their own affairs. Unfortunately, in certain cases, notably at Midnapur, the mis-representations of non-co-operators prevented the villagers from availing themselves of the privileges of the Self-Government Act; and as it is not the policy of Government to force these institutions on villagers who show no manifest willingness to avail themselves of such a privilege, the progress achieved during the year under review has been less striking than might under happier circumstances have been reported.

Union Boards in Bengal.

In Bombay, the development of village self-government is also proceeding, as the result of an Act for constituting, or increasing the powers of village committees, which was passed last year by the Legislative Council. In this Presidency, it should be noticed that some 75 out of 157 municipalities had a two-thirds elected majority of councillors in the year 1920; and a distinct step forward has been projected by the administration in the direction of liberalizing the constitution of all municipal bodies. The

Bombay.

policy of appointing a non-official president has been extended both to district and sub-district boards during the period under review, and a large number of non-officials have also been appointed presidents of sub-district (taluka) boards. These non-official presidents and vice-presidents are reported to have discharged their duties very satisfactorily, although it is a matter of regret that they do not always receive as much help from other members as they have a right to expect. There was thus a tendency to concentrate executive control in the hands of one member, while the others regard themselves as constituting a purely consultative body. In Madras also the institutions of local self-government continued to progress in an encouraging manner during the period under review. The number of district boards in the Presidency was 24, with 863 members. The number of sub-district boards rose from 97 to 119; while those electing their own presidents increased from 13 to 38. The total number of municipal councils rose from 73 to 80, and the proportion of Indian to European and Anglo-Indian members further increased. In 1920-21 there were 54 municipal councils, consisting entirely of Indian members, as against 41 in the previous year. The average imposition of taxation per head of population is still very low, being only about 4 shillings. None the less, in the course of the period under review, waterworks were undertaken in 7 municipal towns, while improvements and extensions to the existing schemes were undertaken in 8 other municipalities. The number of educational institutions maintained by municipal councils rose to 915, which was 20 more than in the previous year; while the net educational charges amounted to 19·5 per cent. of the income from general taxation.

Madras.

In the United Provinces, there has been a considerable, if unostentatious, progress during the year 1920-21. Unfortunately, not much progress has been made towards solving the main difficulties which confront municipalities in improving their system of taxation. Efforts have been made to introduce terminal taxes, and with certain boards this source of income is working well. It has also been proposed in some towns to extend the pilgrim tax by a surcharge on the tickets of third-class passengers. The receipts from water supply are also increasing in various localities; but expenditure and income in this matter are still far from balancing. In fact, finance is still a great obstacle which lies in the path of nearly all the boards. Many of the more important bodies cannot satisfactorily

United Provinces.

Municipalities in United Provinces.

make both ends meet, and until they can do so, they cannot be expected to look with favour on large schemes of improvement which require an outlay out of all proportion to their resources, even though Government should offer to lend them the money. But most boards are taking steps, whether by a reduction of expenditure on establishments, or by enhancement of taxation, to improve the position. Much in this direction, nevertheless, still remains to be done. But perhaps the most encouraging sign of the times is an indication that the public generally expects members of the municipal boards to devote themselves to their duties with more assiduity and greater civic spirit. Naturally, the position of the members is not made easier by the mixing up of general politics with municipal affairs; and in some municipalities it is becoming, for this reason, more and more difficult to frame and carry through any consistent policy. At the same time, the political agitation has not had a very apparent effect upon municipal administration generally, and there is reason to hope that, with the passing of the present phase of unrest, members of the boards will settle down to greater harmony and co-operation, not only with Government but among themselves. So far as district boards are concerned, little improvement can be expected while they are financially dependent on Government. It is recognised that their emancipation from official leading strings is the central item in the programme of reforms, and there is reason to hope that the amending Bill, to which reference has been made in earlier paragraphs, will make them as independent as is possible and desirable. This Bill should have the effect of making them entirely non-official, and relaxing as much as possible the internal and external control which at present cramps their activities, while the grant of considerable powers of taxation should make them eventually financially independent. But many difficulties lie before them, and the remedy of further taxation is hardly a popular one. One Commissioner formulates, with reference to the boards in his division, certain conclusions which are generally applicable throughout the United Provinces.

District Boards in the United Provinces.

"The district boards will soon make a new departure of great importance, and will do so under circumstances of great difficulty. They will find themselves half way through a big programme of expansion of education which they will not have the money to complete. They are faced with an early reduction in the proportion of that expenditure to be contributed by Government. As regards their other services, their condition will be even worse. They cannot expand any medical or

sanitary provision; they cannot even maintain their roads, and when their present reserves are exhausted, they will not be able to do much in buildings, nor are any considerable economies probable in any direction. The remedy will be for the Boards to tax themselves, but it is not an easy one to apply."

The Punjab.

In the Punjab, municipal administration continued to show improvement during the period under review, the general attitude of the members in regard to their responsibilities being promising for progress in the future. The income of municipalities increased by over 15 lakhs of rupees (£0·15 million) in the year, and expenditure was kept within the figures for income—a point in which municipal committees compare favourably with district boards. The prevailing tendency towards the substitution of terminal

Municipalities.

taxes for octroi continued, and several important towns, including Lahore and Amritsar, are preparing for the change. It is interesting to notice that in Ambala, the cry of "no representation, no taxation" has been raised by persons assessed under the new profession-tax imposed in that district. Such a demand for an extension of the franchise is a sign of increasing interest in public work, which is to be welcomed. But the other side of the picture is seen at Gurgaon, where elections are declared to be not only farcical but actually unpopular. So far as municipal elections are concerned, there have been a large number of unopposed returns, and where contests were vigorous they were not infrequently conducted on sectarian lines, and occasionally vitiated by corrupt practice. But in the Central Punjab, particularly Lahore and Amritsar, there was displayed, during a large portion of the year a spirit of initiative and keenness which, if confined to its legitimate scope, would promise well. Unfortunately, an increasing taste for political controversy has manifested itself as a result of the existing situation, and municipal administration has naturally suffered. In the larger areas, like Lahore, there were on occasions fairly keen contests for seats on the district boards, and a large percentage of the electors registered their votes. To what extent the present representatives serving on district boards perform their duties is a question the answer to which varies with the locality, the relative educational equipment of the members, and sometimes the comparative accessibility

District Boards.

of headquarters from the outlying portions of their district. It should be noticed that the districts reporting a paucity of meetings and attendance are generally situated in ill-served tracts where communications are few and far

between. Fortunately, district boards are beginning to realise that Government cannot pour out ever-increasing grants-in-aid and the proposal has been made in some districts to impose fresh taxation and to raise the local rates. This is a most hopeful sign for the future. But it is indeed in this matter of finance that members of district boards most conspicuously lack experience; for, while during the period under review their income apart from Government grants, actually decreased, their expenditure was in excess by ten lakhs of rupees (£0·1 million). Nor is the allotment of the expenditure always made with the best of discrimination. In some districts, inadequate sums are set aside for medical relief and sanitation in order to enable the boards to carry through a large educational programme which aims rather at a multiplicity of schools than at improvement in educational facilities.

Central Provinces.

In the Central Provinces, the previous year witnessed the passing of a Local Self-Government Act which will guide into proper channels the undoubtedly growing interest in public matters. The continued reduction of official members and chairmen, and the wider powers of control given to local bodies, will be an incentive to the development of local self-government, leading to an increased sense of public duty and responsibility. The municipal and district councils alike require development on the financial side before they can realize the opportunities lying before them. At present they are mainly dependent upon Government grants, and before their position can be pronounced satisfactory, local sources of revenue must be expanded. Recent grants for educational purposes have drawn attention to the need for an examination of the whole question of proportionate contribution by local bodies, and their use of the enhanced resources placed at their disposal by the new Local Self-Government Act. The cost to Government at the present time is very disproportionate to the contribution of the local bodies, being far in excess of what might be regarded as an equitable proportion of one-half.

N.-W. F. Province.

In the North-West Frontier Province, the institution of local self-government is somewhat of a foreign growth. Certain of the municipal committees are still lax in the discharge of their responsibilities, and meetings are reported to be infrequent, but the attendance of non-official members is gradually increasing. Except where factional and personal considerations were involved, the members of the municipalities still remained apathetic. The same statement is unfortunately true of district boards, whose

members, it is said, evince little real interest in their work. The position in the boards indeed is far from satisfactory. They are crippled financially, and the work of the two important departments of "education" and "medical" is only carried on with the help of Government doles. These are allotted in the main by the heads of the Departments to meet specified expenditure, with the result that, as noted last year, the control of the Boards is merely nominal. Their expenditure increased with the general rise of prices and salaries, and their income remained stationary. From the present sources it cannot increase materially. The members are apathetic, and are unlikely to face the odium of imposing fresh taxation even if given the power. For the present, the grant of Government subsidies appears to be the only way of maintaining the work of the boards; though it is possible that the members might take more interest in the work if the boards were sub-divided. This measure would inevitably involve an increase of establishment, and cannot at present be adopted on the ground of expense.

As will be seen from this brief summary, the year 1921 has been one of but moderate progress in the sphere of local self-government throughout India. The difficulties at present existing are amply apparent from this account: and it must be clear that until means are found for increasing the responsibilities thrown upon local bodies, for awakening municipalities and district boards to the necessity of raising locally taxation sufficient for the purpose of their local needs, and for encouraging them to cultivate a sense of civic responsibility, no rapid development of the institution of local self-government in India can reasonably be expected. In short, the task before the new Ministries for local self-government is both arduous and difficult, although no one but a confirmed pessimist would pronounce it impossible.

Law and Order.

As a fitting conclusion to the account which has been given in preceding pages of those progressive activities upon which the prosperity of India depends, we may now consider very briefly the primary functions of administration, apart from which stability and progress alike dissolve into a welter of anarchy. Of these functions, not the least important, and probably the most remarkable, is the maintenance of the public peace among the millions who inhabit British India. Some outline of the obstacles encountered by the police in the course of their task of preserving law and order among a population of 270 millions has been given in preceding reports. By way of briefly summarising these difficulties we may

note that the people of India are composed of races more diverse from one another in their language, customs and physique than any to be found included within the boundaries of Europe. While many are in a state of civilization which will bear comparison with that of Western countries, there are others who, habituated for centuries to a life of disorder, are only restrained by the strong arm of the administration from resuming their predatory habits at the expense of the peaceful and progressive sections of the population. It is not therefore surprising to find that in the course of any given year, the tasks undertaken by the Indian police include many which might well seem characteristic of widely separated epochs in the history of human development. At the one extreme, there comes the prevention of reckless driving on the part of chauffeurs in highly westernised cities like Calcutta, Madras and Rangoon, or the organisation of methods to cope with the skilful and ever-present railway-thief: at the other is the grim pursuit of freebooting bands through the tropical jungles of Burma, or the suppression of blood-feuds in some remote and uncivilised tract of Upper India. Between these wide and diverse limits are the intermittent ebullitions of popular excitement which almost every year convulse for a few days rural and urban communities of normally peaceful character; systematic burglaries, raids and robberies by gangs of bandits; and peasant mass movements similar in many respects to those which characterise certain periods of European history during the middle ages. From time to time, one or more of these species of criminal activity looms large in the public eye. One year it is dacoity: another year religious riots: on a third occasion rural anarchy. During the periods now surveyed, while no branch of crime has been deprived of a share of public attention, particular notice has been directed to thefts on railways. As a result, Government appointed an influential committee to examine the railway police system. This Committee discovered that the total value of property stolen on Indian railways does not fall short of one million sterling (rupees one crore) every year. The Committee recommended the re-organisation of the "Watch and Ward"; a special investigation agency in each province: and other measures for a more effective protection of goods in transit. It is hoped that this investigation will lead to a distinct improvement upon existing conditions.

Task of the Police.

Railway Thefts.

The force which has to meet such multifarious claims upon its efficiency and integrity consists of just over 1,000 officers of the rank of

The Police Force.

Deputy Superintendent and of higher grades, and of some 202,000 officers and men of the lower ranks. In addition to these, there are about 30,000 officers and men of the military police, of whom more than half belong to Burma. Obviously on account of the diverse nature of their duties, it is extremely important that even the subordinate ranks should consist of men picked for their intelligence, integrity and merit. But here, as in other branches of the Indian administration, considerations of finance exert their fettering influence. The average annual cost of the policemen throughout India amounts to less than 1 shilling per head of the population. It is not therefore surprising that the constabulary in general, while remarkably efficient considering the money spent upon it, is much below the level of the corresponding force in England. At present only just over half of the policemen of India can read and write. Till the force in other provinces can be brought up to the 91 per cent. standard of literacy that exists in Madras, it will be idle to expect a much higher standard of efficiency than is to be found at present. Of late there have been consistent efforts on the part of the administration to improve the attraction of service in the police by bettering pay and prospects. Schemes for providing the rank and file with suitable accommodation, for maintaining a more adequate leave reserve and for increasing the rewards for good service, have lately been put into operation almost everywhere in India. Before this was done, an increasing shortage of men was causing anxiety to the authorities; for small pay, heavy work and leave difficulties discouraged many suitable men from joining the service. But as a result of the improvement above mentioned, the police cadres are now beginning to fill up. Discipline shows steady signs of improvement and departmental punishments are on the decline.

Improved Conditions.

Police and Public.

The variety of work which the Indian police are called upon to perform and the many different classes of criminals with whom they are compelled to deal, makes it extremely difficult for them to satisfy their ever-vigilant critics. The methods, which are not only desirable but even essential when applied to the suppression of highway robbery, naturally cause deep resentment a few miles away to a highly educated town population, accustomed to all the amenities of twentieth century existence, and intensely resentful of anything approaching high-handedness on the part of the police. The unpleasant duties of the force have not been eased during the last year or two by the tense atmosphere of excitement

which has pervaded the politically-minded classes in India. The constabulary, being the arm of the administration with which the average citizen is brought mostly into contact, has to bear the brunt of any general unpopularity which the administration as a whole has gained for itself. Accordingly, therefore, the offences of the individual policeman are as a rule both widely advertised and consistently exaggerated, while the general good work of the force is too often passed over in silence. Moreover public opinion still tends to look upon the constable as a symbol of oppression and restraint. This is no doubt partly a consequence of his functions of maintaining order in times of political excitement; of arresting political leaders, who overstep the limits laid down by the law; and of conducting enquiries regarding alleged sedition. On the other hand it cannot be denied that there still exists a considerable but steadily decreasing amount of corruption among low paid subordinates who are exposed to temptation of every kind. The inherited tradition which identifies executive authority with arbitrary power, and refuses to believe that repression may spring from honest striving after public good, is also a factor in the unpopularity of the police. It is however satisfactory to note that there is a steady decrease in the volume of complaints of individual high-handedness brought against the force by the vocal section of Indian opinion. This may be taken to indicate an increasing appreciation on the part of the public at large of the difficulties and responsibilities of those whose duty it is to maintain the peace. The laws in force in India have been based on the assumption, which hitherto has not been generally justified, that the man in the street is actively on the side of law and order as against the criminal. In point of fact one of the most formidable obstacles in the way of successful police work has been the apathy of the public and the absence of this civic spirit as it exists in England. Unfortunately during the period under review, to this obstacle has been added the spirit of non-co-operation, either in its acute or sub-conscious form, which has thrown the police more than ever on their own resources. None the less, applications for police aid are constant, and an outbreak of serious crime immediately leads to a demand for an increase in the numbers and efficiency of the force. The withdrawal of an outpost from any locality, is almost invariably followed by protests, while petitions are constantly received for fresh locations. But just so long as the police are isolated from the public in their fight against disorder, it is difficult to see how the policeman can become what he has been so long in England, the friend and servant of the individual citizen. The dis-

sipation of the suspicion with which the police are regarded is a slow business and cannot be entirely achieved until the present atmosphere of unrest gives place to more settled conditions.

The Period Under Review.

During the year 1921-22, the police-system of India has been exposed to a very severe strain. From every province come complaints that work of the normal kind has been very seriously hampered not only by the special complications of the political situation, but also by the antagonistic attitude adopted by the public. Generally speaking, the political situation has been so serious that police officers generally considered this branch of their duties as being entitled to the first call on their time and energy. Somewhat naturally, the criminal classes have not been slow to take advantage of the situation. A good example of the consequences is provided by the Punjab figures. Crime in this province during the year 1921 showed figures higher than any of the past 10 years with the exception of 1913. Cases of gang robbery number more than 115 in excess of the 1920 figures. There were also 117 more murders and nearly 5,000 more burglaries than in the preceding year. This is explained by an increase in what is practically defiance of the law; and though affected by the unfavourable economic conditions and the high prices prevalent, is largely a result of political unrest and persistent attempts to undermine authority in any form. Moreover, there have been serious attempts in many provinces to tamper with the loyalty of the force. Although a few misguided officers and men have been induced to resign on political grounds, the force as a whole throughout India has remained true to its salt. This is particularly noteworthy in view of the fact that the year has been exceptionally hard for the subordinate police, not merely on account of rising prices and economic difficulties, but on account of the popular odium which has attended them in the discharge of their duties to the State. But their conduct has been on the whole most praiseworthy. Numerous instances have come to notice in which individual members of the force of all ranks have shown bravery and devotion to duty of a high order, while the patience, tact, and good temper, which have been exhibited time after time in most trying circumstances have won for them unstinted praise from everyone who can view their work with an impartial eye. As we have already noticed, they have performed their duty under exceptionally difficult circumstances. So far from being able to look for assistance to the general public, they have frequently had to encounter very deliberate opposition. But as a whole, the force

has remained practically uninfluenced either by threats or by the more insidious forms of persuasion, and it is difficult to pay too high a tribute to the generally loyal and courageous manner in which all ranks have done their duty.

Among the most notable of the disturbances with which the police have had to cope during the period under review may be mentioned those which broke out in Oudh and in other parts of the United Provinces where the tenancy laboured under a sense of agrarian and kindred grievances. This proved fertile soil for the dissemination of extremist doctrines, and the result has been seen in riots and disorders which could not be suppressed without bloodshed.

Disturbances.

The disturbances in the United Provinces were perhaps more serious than any which occurred during the period under review, inasmuch as the extent of the area affected rendered their quick suppression difficult. But, as has already been related, almost every province in India has had to admit on one occasion or the other during the year 1921, disorders of a very grave nature. It is unnecessary here to repeat the accounts which have been given of the various riots and disorders in the chapters dealing with internal political situation; and we may content ourselves by pointing out that the police have been compelled in every case to bear the first brunt of the disorder. On no fewer than 70 occasions the aid of the military has been invoked; but in the great majority of instances the police have proved themselves equal to the task of restoring order after a breach of the peace has taken place. Their task has been beyond measure complicated by the organisation of the "Volunteers" as a militant and aggressive force. Indeed, until the proclamation of these bodies as unlawful associations came to the assistance of the police authorities, it was found difficult to make headway against consistent defiance which threatened at all times to result in violence. Towards the end of the period under review, fortunately, a reaction in public opinion due to the terrorism employed by the "volunteers" served to facilitate the execution by the police of their difficult and unpleasant duty; and indications are not wanting that the general public is beginning to realise the importance of safeguarding the elementary requisites of law and order by co-operating in a less grudging manner with their efforts.

Considerable progress has been made in the suppression of gang robbery, which of late years has been so formidable in the United and Central Provinces.

Dacoity.

The difficulty of suppressing dacoits is always increased by the fact that they terrorise the villagers by atrocities so horrible that few or none can be found to give evidence against them. But in 1921 as in 1920, the police definitely gained the upper hand over the gangs, and the figures of what may be called professional dacoities, as opposed to looting and violence by small gangs of bad characters in times of public excitement, show a gratifying decline. No little credit for the triumph of the police over this particular form of crime is due to the hearty co-operation of the authorities of the Indian States as well as to the great gallantry of the police force itself. The increasing resistance offered by villagers when attacked by brigands is a symptom of growing confidence in the strength of law and order; and Bengal in particular reports a considerable increase in the number of private citizens who are co-operating with the police in the suppression of organised crime.

Anarchy.

It is encouraging to find that during the year 1921 anarchical crime has practically ceased. There is every reason to hope indeed that with the increasingly rapid advance of India towards self-governing institutions, the party which hopes to attain self-government by violent ends will steadily disappear. The spirit of the times has changed greatly, and young idealists, similar to those who too often represented the flower of youthful patriotism in Bengal can now, if they will, find an outlet for their energies which is more profitable at once for their country and for themselves than the pursuit of anarchical crime. During the period under review, this party has been largely captured by the idealism of Mr. Gandhi's movement; but it is much to be hoped that before long its members will perceive the opportunities of political advancement which are inherent in the Reform Scheme. That the party of anarchy is still alive is unfortunately proved by the occurrences of certain robberies with political motives during 1921. But the steady growth of effective public opinion against enterprises of this kind is perhaps even more responsible for their suppression than the valuable activities of the Criminal Investigation Department. The ready help afforded during the year by peacefully disposed persons in bringing dangerous criminals to justice, serves to indicate a development which is full of promise for the near future.

Jails.

In India as elsewhere, a necessary part of the machinery by which society secures its own protection is constituted by the jail system. Mention was made in last

year's report of the changes which are being introduced therein. At present, since the management of jails is a provincial [redacted] subject, it is conducted by Local Governments in widely different fashions. In previous years also, there has been too little intercommunication between the agencies responsible for this work in the different provinces, with the result that local administrations do not always derive the benefit which comes from pooling experiences. To a considerable degree, uniformity of procedure in all provinces is not merely undesirable but also impossible on account of widely varying conditions. But the advisability of proceeding on certain general principles of uniform application has never been forgotten, and as a result of recent developments, is being steadily secured. Mention was made in last year's report of the work of a committee appointed to investigate the whole question of prisons administration. The Jails Committee visited many prisons and industrial and reformatory schools in Great Britain, in addition to touring in the United States, Japan, the Philippine Islands and Hongkong. Their report constituted the first general survey of Indian prison administration which has been made for thirty years and contained many recommendations likely to have a far-reaching effect. In general, it laid stress upon the necessity of improving and increasing the existing accommodation; of recruiting a better class of warders; of providing education for prisoners; and of developing prison industries so as to meet the needs of consuming departments of Government. It also recommended the creation of childrens' courts; the adoption of the English system of release on license; and the separation of civil from criminal offenders. During the period under review, many changes were initiated by local Governments as a result of these recommendations. The main problem which has for several years confronted the Jails Departments is that of overcrowding—a problem which, the conclusions of the committee show, is not likely to be solved without much expenditure. In particular, the decision to abandon Port Blair in the Andamans as a penal settlement will involve in many provinces the erection of a new central jail at considerable cost. In view of the financial stringency, many projected improvements have had to be kept in abeyance for lack of funds. But programmes of jail construction have been prepared, and will be put into execution as soon as possible. Such minor improvements recommended by the Committee as could be effected without large expenditure,

The Jails Committee.

have in almost every case been carried out as far as practicable. Increased provision has been made to meet the religious needs of the different sections of the communities, and non-official visitors have been appointed in various places. There have, however, been somewhat serious outbreaks in large jails during the period under review, which are to be ascribed mainly to exaggerated reports of political events coming to the ears of the prisoners. It is unnecessary to particularise these in detail, and it suffices to say that in the majority of cases they did not arise from any complaint or grievance on the part of the prisoners at the treatment to which they were subjected. The question of special treatment for political prisoners, discussed by the Jails Committee, was brought forcibly to notice, towards the end of the period under review by the arrest of a large number of non-co-operators for their defiance of authority. Indian public opinion demanded decisively that persons of high character, who were imprisoned for what were only, in certain quarters, regarded as merely technical breaches of the law, should be treated in a manner radically different from their fellow-prisoners who have been incarcerated for other offences. The question had already been considered by the Government of India. Local Governments, generally speaking, framed rules in the spirit of the Jails Committee's recommendations, and provided very lenient treatment for prisoners of this class; and although many complaints regarding the treatment of political prisoners appeared in the press towards the close of 1921 and in the early months of 1922, prompt investigation and wide publication of the actual facts went far to satisfy those whose protests were based upon a genuine desire to safeguard high-minded, if mistaken, individuals.

Jail Outbreaks.

"Political" Prisoners.

While there are grounds for believing that the administration of Indian jails has a good deal to learn from improvements introduced during recent years in western countries, it would be a mistake to imagine that many of the problems investigated by Indian Jails Committee have not for many years been the subject of study in India. Here as elsewhere, increasing attention is paid to the ameliorative treatment of criminals and to the possibility of reclaiming them for decent society. Much progress in this direction has been made, and prisoners are now taught useful trades which will enable them on their release to earn an honest livelihood. This is simplified by the fact that by far the largest proportion of prisoners—some 100,000 out of a total average prison population of less

Recent Developments.

than 127,000, come from the agricultural community. The experiment is now being tried of teaching these men the latest agricultural improvements under the supervision of the local Agricultural Departments. Classes of prisoners are taken round to various fields of demonstration farms, and jail farms now exist in many places. It should further be pointed out that jail industries of various kinds, such as printing, oil pressing, brick and tile making, carpet weaving, paper making and weaving have long been carried on with success and have now attained a development which enables them to pay some proportion of the expenses of the whole system. During the year 1919, the latest date for which figures are available at the time of writing, £250,000 out of a total cost of £1·5 millions has been met by the earnings of the prisoners themselves. It is hoped that with the increasing development of jail industries, this proportion will be considerably enlarged.

Welfare Work.

The treatment of youthful prisoners in India follows the lines now laid down by modern administrations in other parts of the world. The Borstal system is flourishing in several provinces, and excellent work is being done by the boys in industrial classes. The provision of sound industrial training for youthful prisoners, and their segregation from other offenders is of course a generally accepted policy. But in India as elsewhere, the ultimate success of any movement for reclaiming prisoners, whether youthful or adult, must remain in the hands of the general public. Valuable work is now being done for discharged prisoners by the voluntary welfare organisations which exist in various parts of India. The Salvation Army, here as elsewhere, makes a special point of caring for discharged prisoners and providing a respectable livelihood for men conditionally released. Its work is deserving of the utmost sympathy and support. In Bombay and in several other large centres, Released Prisoners' Aid Societies are performing a valuable function; and during the period under review, a number of Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies have been established in Madras to attend to the welfare of prisoners after their release. But all that is at present accomplished by such voluntary organisations is a mere fraction of what might be done for the reclamation of released prisoners; and if only the general public can be sufficiently interested in this most important social question, progress in the near future may be expected to be more satisfactory.

Legislature.

We may now turn to a brief survey of the law-making activities of the legislatures of India during the period under review. It should be remembered that, as a

result of the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, the law-making bodies of India have undergone considerable modifications in their size and in their composition. In the local Legislative Councils, the proportion of official members has been fixed at a maximum of not more than 20 per cent; while the size of the Councils has been much enlarged. In Madras, Bombay, Bengal, and the United Provinces, for example, the number of members of the legislature varies from 111 to 125. In the case of Bihar and Orissa, the Punjab, the Central Provinces and Assam, the number varies from 83 to 53. But whether the Legislative Councils be large or small—a fact dictated by the size and population of the province—the elected members are invariably in a predominance of at least 70 per cent. As to the activities of the new Provincial Councils, mention has been made from time to time in the course of our review of the activities of the year. In testimony to their law-making activities it is only necessary to cite, in the briefest possible way, certain of the local Acts and Regulations which they passed during the year 1921. It is perhaps in the sphere of local self-government that the provincial Legislative Councils have been most active. In Madras, during the period under review, there were passed 3 Acts dealing with this subject; the Madras District Municipalities Amendment Act; the Madras City Municipal Amendment Act; and a second Madras District Municipalities Amendment Act. From Bombay come 2 City of Bombay Municipal Amendment Acts; from the Punjab come no fewer than 5 Local Government Acts. These are the Village Panchayat Act, the Small Towns Act, the Municipal Amendment Act, the Town Improvement Act, and another Municipal Amendment Act. Burma provides a Rural Self-Government Act and a Village Amendment Act; while Bengal has a Calcutta Municipal Act. In the sphere of land revenue, legislation was also active. Bombay passed a Land Revenue Code Amendment Act; Bengal, a Land Registration Amendment Act; the United Provinces, the Oudh Tenancy Act. Education was also a matter with which the provincial legislatures were much concerned. From the United Provinces came an Intermediate Education Act, and the Allahabad University Act. Madras and Bengal had Primary Education Acts, and Bills in connection with the same subject were under consideration in several other legislatures. In addition to the foregoing, there was a great deal of miscellaneous legislation of a kind necessitated by the transfer of so many subjects, hitherto controlled by the Central Government, to the authority of the new provincial administrations.

Provincial Legislation.

A Typical Provincial Legislature.

It is impossible to deal in detail with the activities of the provincial legislatures, if only because considerations of space prohibit such a course. But it may perhaps be of interest to review the activities, in brief, of a legislature which may be considered in many ways typical of its sister bodies, that is, the Legislative Council of the Presidency of Bengal. The work of the Council during the year 1921 was dominated, on the one hand, by the serious financial difficulties of the province consequent on the allocation of funds recommended by the Meston Committee; and, on the other hand, by the fact that the major portion of such legislation as was ready for introduction into the Council related to transferred subjects, and could not be brought forward until the Ministers in charge of those subjects had had a full opportunity of scrutinising the proposals and amending them to suit their policy. The result was that, except for the practical work of dealing with the Budget, the constructive activity of the Council was largely limited to recommendations by way of resolutions, and general criticism of the policy of Government. None the less, the legislative work was by no means negligible. We have already noticed the Acts for the amendment of land registration and of primary education. Mention must also be made of the Act fixing the emoluments of the Deputy President; of the Bengal Children Bill; of the Calcutta Municipal Act; and of the Bengal Aerial Rope-ways Bill. All these were official in their origin. Notice of two Bills was given by non-official members; one—the Bengal Tenancy Amendment Bill—was thrown out at the first reading, and the other—the Bengal Muhammadan Marriages and Divorces Registration Bill—was introduced. During the year, notice was received of 505 resolutions, of which 157 were discussed, 69 were carried, 18 lost, and 70 withdrawn. Of questions, 1,293 were asked during the year. The Council's powers in the matter of finance were exercised in connection with the fixing of the salaries of the Deputy President of the Council and of the Ministers; in connection with motions for reductions of grants at the time of the Budget, and similar motions in regard to supplementary grants. There was a keen discussion on the question of the Ministers' salaries, and the motions to reduce these were eventually defeated by a large majority. The most important reduction of a grant was a comprehensive cut of 23 lakhs under the head Police, which is a reserved subject. A motion for the adjournment of the House followed as a result of this reduction, and the subsequent debate showed that a large number of members who had voted for the reduc-

tion wished to reconsider their position if they could obtain further details in regard to the requirements of the Police Department. His Excellency the Governor was approached in this matter, and agreed to convene a special session in April, on which the Council restored the amount, except for a few reductions in matters of detail. The decision of the Council in regard to the stopping of work on the partition of Mymensingh was accepted by the Governor, but he "certified" certain expenditure in order that the work might be closed down. The expenditure on the creation of a new district headquarters at Hijli was also certified by His Excellency, but in view of the financial position, he subsequently decided to postpone any further expenditure on this project. In connection with the acquisition of land for police buildings in Calcutta, a sum of nearly 3 lakhs was certified. The Governor also exercised his powers of restoration on the reserved side in respect of some part of the grants for a few other items. Generally speaking, however, the decision of the Council prevailed upon all matters in regard to which public opinion was deeply exercised. This statement is broadly true of every Provincial Council in India during the period under review.

The Central Legislature.

Turning now to the activities of the Central Legislature of India, we may notice that it also has been radically remodelled as a recent result of constitutional changes. In consequence of the last Government of India Act, there has been set up a bicameral body, known collectively as the Indian Legislature, consisting of two Chambers, the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly, which replace the old single chamber legislature of the Central Government. The Council of State consists of 59 members, of whom 33 are elected, and 26 nominated. Of the nominated members, 19 are officials. The Legislative Assembly consists of 143 members, of whom 103 are elected, and 40 nominated. Of the nominated members, 25 are officials. It is thus obvious that in both chambers the elected members predominate decisively. An analysis of the members who stood successfully for election is of some interest. Taking the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly together, we find that the elected members, classified by religion, include 70 Hindus, 42 Muhammadans, 13 Christians, 5 Parsis, 4 Sikhs, and 2 Buddhists. According to an analysis by profession, the members consist of 46 lawyers (4 in the Council and 42 in the Assembly); 42 landholders (17 in the Council and 25 in the Assembly); 26 merchants, traders and business men (9 in the Council and 17 in the Assembly); 6 retired Government officials; one professor,

one political pensioner, one confectioner, one grocer, and 12 members whose professions are unclassified.

The Delhi Session, 1921.

In the course of the chapters dealing with the internal condition of India during the year 1921-22, a brief account has been given of the manner in which the new Central Legislature discharged the responsibilities which fell to it. An examination in somewhat more detail of other aspects of its work serves to confirm the impression of dignity and sobriety generally voiced by those outside observers who have had the opportunity of witnessing the debates from the seclusion of the press-gallery. Taking first of all the Delhi session of 1921, we may notice that the Council of State met on 18 occasions. "Notice was received of 273 questions, of which 233 were actually answered. The number of resolutions of which notice was received was 63, and of these 36 were actually moved in the Council. No Bill was introduced into the Council of State by any non-official member, but 5 Government Bills were introduced, of which 4 were passed without amendment or reference to Select Committee. Of the Bills which originated in the Legislative Assembly and were subsequently considered in the Council of State, the Indian Finance Bill for the year was perhaps the most important. Out of 43 amendments of which notice was received, 15 amendments were finally carried in the Council and accepted by the Assembly. Six Bills were passed by the Council of State without amendment. These included the Bills for fixing the salary of the Deputy President of the Legislative Assembly; for imposing an indigo cess; for the reconstitution of the Calcutta University; for duties on the import and export of goods; for the imposition of an Indian tea cess; and for certain matters in connection with Hindu transfers and bequests. Many very important resolutions were discussed in the Council of State during the session now being reviewed; perhaps the most weighty were two moved by the Hon'ble Mr. (now the Rt. Honourable) Srinivasa Sastri; of which one related to the appointment of a Committee to consider repeal of the "repressive" laws, and the other to the amendment of enactments in regard to the use of fire-arms for the purpose of suppressing disturbances. In the discussion on the first resolution, the Home Member, on behalf of Government, assured the Council that a Committee would be appointed as desired by the mover and cited the Regulations and Acts which Government intended to include in the scope of its recommendations. The second resolution, which led to a lengthy discussion, was put to the

The Council of State.

vote part by part, and 6 out of the 8 clauses were negatived in consequence of the opposition of Government. Among other important resolutions mention may be made of one put forward by the Honourable Mr. Lalubhai Samaldas, recommending that the Home Government be addressed with a view to the grant of fiscal autonomy to India. A modification of the resolution by the addition of the words " with due regard to their responsibilities under the Government of India Act," which was put forward by the Member for Commerce, was adopted by the Council of State. Other commercial and industrial questions indeed attracted a considerable amount of notice. Resolutions were proposed by various members recommending a committee to explore the possibilities of the improvement of the existing Government stocks; recommending the removal, as soon as circumstances should permit, of the restrictions on the export of food-grains; recommending an enquiry into the exchange situation, with a view to relieving the existing tension; and recommending that India should secure an adequate share of the indemnities and reparations to be obtained from Germany. Among those questions which excited deep interest from their connection with the existing political situation mention may be made of a resolution suggesting that full consideration be given to public opinion in India before any matters affecting the religious susceptibilities of Indian subjects were decided; of a resolution recommending the release of prisoners sentenced by Martial Law courts—which was withdrawn; and of a resolution recommending the establishment of a separate Department to watch and safeguard the rights and interests of Indians overseas. This last was also withdrawn when the Member for Commerce gave an assurance that every consideration would be given to suggestions in connection with the position of Indians abroad when the Bill to amend the Emigration Act was taken into consideration.

Legislative Assembly.

Turning now to the Legislative Assembly, we may notice that this body met on 28 occasions during the Delhi session of 1921. Notice was received of 804 questions of which replies were given to 696. Indeed owing to the large number of questions received, and the limited time allotted for questions and answers, the President found it necessary to introduce certain modifications in the practice which had obtained in the old Imperial Council. The number of resolutions of which notices were received was 147, of which 54 were ballotted for, and 33—25 non-official, and 8 official—actually moved in the Assembly. Of these, the most important concerned the martial law administration in the Punjab, moved by

Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas—of which a sufficient account has already been given in the preceding pages; the appointment of a committee to examine press legislation, moved by Mr. O'Donnell; an enquiry into the non-co-operation movement, moved by Mr. Mahomed Yamin Khan; various questions arising from the Army in India Committee's Report, moved by Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer; and the repeal of the "repressive" measures, moved by Dr. Nand Lal. These resolutions were keenly debated. The first, as we have already noticed, was accepted unanimously after a prolonged and animated debate, with the omission of clause 3 recommending the infliction of deterrent punishment on officers found guilty of improper conduct. The second led to a long and interesting discussion, in the course of which Sir William Vincent narrated the history of the Indian press, and dealt with the circumstances which led to the passing of the Press Act in 1910. Two amendments, one proposed by Chaudhri Shahabuddin, recommending that not less than two-thirds of the members of the Committee, which was to investigate the Press Act, should be non-officials, and the other moved by Mr. Seshagiri Ayyar, asking for the inclusion of the Newspaper Incitements Act of 1908 among the measures to be examined by the Committee, were accepted. Mr. Mahomed Yamin Khan's Resolution, recommending that a committee of elected non-officials and officials be appointed to investigate thoroughly the real or supposed cause of the trouble leading to non-co-operation and to suggest remedial measures, was negatived after a long debate; the Home Member being successful in convincing the Assembly that the Committee would serve no useful purpose. Much attention was devoted to the Esher Committee's Report. Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer put forward a resolution recommending that the proposals contained in paragraphs 1 and 2 of the report be not accepted, and that the Army in India be put under the control of the Government of India free from any domination or interference by the War Office. The Resolution, in a modified form, was eventually adopted. On a later date Chaudhri Shahabuddin proposed that a committee consisting of members of the Legislative Assembly be appointed to consider the Esher Committee's Report and to make recommendations thereon. This was unanimously accepted. Finally, towards the end of the session, Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer moved 15 resolutions, arising out of the recommendations of the Esher Committee, in regard to the administration and organization of the Army in India. Of these, 10 were accepted by the Assembly without any amendments, and the remainder, with the exception of a proposal to entrust the portfolio of defence to a civilian

member of the Viceroy's Council, were accepted, with various alterations. A resolution, which stood in the name of Mr. B. H. Jatkar, recommending that all repressive measures be discontinued, was, in view of the desire of the House that the matter should be discussed, moved by Dr. Nand Lal in default of the original proposer. Sir William Vincent in an important speech declared that the policy of Government was based on the principle of promoting the progress of the country towards responsibility, while at the same time preserving public tranquility. After a somewhat heated debate the resolution, as amended by the Home Secretary in such a manner as to introduce the words "as far as possible," and to restrict its scope to the non-co-operation movement, was adopted. Many other resolutions of considerable, if miscellaneous, importance were discussed by the Legislative Assembly during the Delhi session.

The Simla Session.

The work which was performed by the central legislature, when it met in Simla in September 1921 was quite comparable in importance with that which had already been performed in Delhi. The number of questions received in the Council of State showed a slight decline, standing at 266, as against 273 for the Delhi session; while the number actually replied to was 203, as against 233. In the Council of State the number of resolutions of which notice was received was exactly the same as had been the case at Delhi, but the number actually moved fell from 36 to 22. No Bill was introduced into the Council by any non-official member, but 7 Bills put forward by Government were passed by the Council of State without amendment or reference to Select Committee. Seven Bills passed by the Legislative Assembly were also endorsed by the Council of State without any amendment. Among the most interesting of the resolutions moved during the Simla session in the Council of State were those inviting the co-operation of the Legislative Assembly in drafting an address of welcome to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, and moving a resolution of welcome to His Excellency Lord Reading. Certain questions of considerable constitutional importance were also discussed in resolutions. Among them may be mentioned a recommendation by Sir Maneckji Dadabhoy that the Council of State be authorised to receive from the public petitions relating to public wrongs, grievances or disabilities; and a proposal by the Honourable Saiyid Raza Ali recommending the removal of the highly centralised system of administration in India under which many classes of officials have great powers. The first was withdrawn on the offer of Government to appoint a committee to examine the constitu-

tional position; while the second was rejected. Economic matters continued to receive a large share of the attention of the Council of State. A resolution by the Honourable Lala Sukhbir Sinha, recommending the stoppage of the export of wheat or flour till the next *rabi* harvest, was carried. A resolution on the standardisation of weights and measures throughout India was adopted, in a modified form. A resolution, calling on Government to declare its policy to exercise, in concert with the Indian legislature, the fiscal powers conferred upon it, was withdrawn when the Secretary in the Commerce Department pointed out that Government had every intention of exercising its powers in this matter to the full. Overseas questions also occupied a considerable proportion of the Council's time. A resolution recommending that the administration of Aden should be continued under the Government of India, and should not be transferred to the Colonial Office, was discussed at some length and eventually adopted by the Council. Another resolution recommending that steps be taken to secure equality of status for Indians in South Africa proved similarly acceptable.

The Legislative Assembly.

The Legislative Assembly met 15 times in the course of the Simla session, while meetings of joint or select committees took place on 17 days. The number of questions increased considerably, as compared with the Delhi session, now standing at 947. Of these, 762 were eventually replied to, as against 696 at Delhi. In view of the large number of questions received, the President introduced a system of starred and unstarred questions, such as is in force in the House of Commons. The number of resolutions as compared with the Delhi session increased from 147 to 238. Of these, 61 were ballotted for, and 28, that is, 20 non-official and 8 official, were actually moved, as compared with 33 in Delhi. Of the resolutions moved, 18, that is to say, 10 non-official and 8 official, were adopted, in some cases in a modified form, by the Assembly, the rest being either withdrawn or negatived. Of those discussed, the more important dealt with the welcome to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales and the welcome to His Excellency the Earl of Reading; with the removal of distinctions in trials of Indians and non-Indians; with the separation of judicial and executive functions; with the re-constitution of the provinces of India; with the establishment of Indian autonomy; with the equalisation of the number of Indians and Europeans in certain posts; and with the recruitment for all-India services. The resolutions were debated at such length that the number disposed of per day varied only from 2 to 3. The discussion on Mr. Samarth's resolution for the

removal of distinctions in trials of Indians and non-Indians, aroused great interest and led to a long and animated debate. The European members taking part in it appealed to the House not to come to any decision on the main issue until the whole question had been carefully examined; while the non-official Indian members urged that there should be no question as to the acceptance of the principle underlying the resolution, and that the only matter for consideration was the method of giving effect to it. The Home Member moved an amendment proposing the appointment of a committee to consider the desirability of amending those provisions of the Code of Criminal Procedure differentiating between Indians and Europeans in criminal trials. A further amendment pressing upon the Assembly the acceptance of the principle that all distinctions between Indians and Europeans should be removed was carried, and the resolution in its amended form was adopted by the Assembly. Considerable interest was also excited by a resolution regarding the appointment of a committee of officials and non-officials for preparing a scheme for the separation of judicial and executive functions. This was opposed by Government on the ground that the matter was one within the discretion of the local administrations. After a heated discussion, the resolution was nevertheless carried. Another absorbing debate arose from the resolution of Rai J. N. Majumdar Bahadur for the early establishment of Indian autonomy. The mover proposed to transfer all provincial subjects to the administration of the Governor acting with ministers; to transfer from among the central subjects all subjects, except the army, navy and Foreign and Political Departments, to the Governor General, acting with ministers; and to confer full dominion self-government on India. The resolution was very keenly debated, and was adjourned from one meeting to another. The majority of non-official members, while supporting the principle underlying the resolution, were not prepared to accept it in the form in which it had been moved; and the House accepted a formula, proposed by Sir William Vincent, to the effect that the Government of India should convey to the Secretary of State the view of the Assembly that the progress made by India on the path to responsible government warranted a re-examination and revision of the constitution at an earlier date than 1930. Among the more interesting of the miscellaneous resolutions, mention may be made of one for the repeal of the Workmen's Breach of Contract Act, which was withdrawn by the mover; one for the appointment of a Committee to report on the best means of preserving the purity of administration,

which was also withdrawn after assurances had been given by the Government Member in charge; one regarding the fixing of the capital of India in a place possessing a salubrious and temperate climate throughout the year, which was unanimously rejected by the House; and a series of six resolutions dealing with the limitation of hours in the fishing industry and the establishment of a national seamen's code, with unemployment insurance for seamen, the minimum age for admission of children to employment at sea, and unemployment indemnity in case of loss or foundering of a ship, and with facilities for finding employment for seamen. These resolutions were carried, after slight discussion.

On the whole, it may be said that the record of the work of the Legislative Assembly and of the Council of State during the year 1921 has been of a high quality. The time spent in debating resolutions has been very great; but the positive achievements in the way of legislation, and of adjustment in views between the legislature and the executive, constitute a harvest of no mean or negligible proportions.

APPENDIX I.

Sources.

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APPENDIX II.

The Report of the Press Act Committee.

In accordance with the instructions contained in the Home Department Resolution no. 534, dated the 21st March 1921, we the members of the Committee appointed by the Government of India to examine the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867, the Indian Press Act, 1910, and the Newspapers (Incitements to Offences) Act, 1908, have the honour to report for the information of Government and such action as they may think desirable, our conclusions on the questions referred to us for examination.

2. These conclusions have, we may state, been reached after a careful survey of the political situation, an exhaustive examination of witnesses who appeared before us, and a scrutiny of voluminous documentary evidence including the valuable and weighty opinions of local Governments placed at our disposal by the Government of India as well as of memoranda submitted to us by various members of the public. Many of these memoranda were sent in response to a general invitation issued by the Government of India to those interested in the subject under discussion to communicate their views to Government for the information of the Committee. We have examined orally 18 witnesses, all connected with the Press, and we also invited eight other prominent journalists to give evidence. To our great regret they were, however, either unable or in some cases unwilling to accept our invitation.

The Indian Press Act.

3. Of the Acts referred to us for examination, the Indian Press Act, 1910, is by far the most important and it will therefore be convenient, if, in the first place, we record our conclusions in respect of that Act. This is the more desirable because our recommendations in respect of the other two Acts referred to us must be largely dependent on our findings regarding this measure.

It is necessary to discuss in this report the reasons which induced the Government of India to place the Indian Press Act on the statute book. Those who are interested in the subject will find the facts fully explained in the reports of the discussions on the Bill in Council. It is apparent, however, that the main object of the Act was to prevent the dissemination of incitements to violence and of sedition, although the scope of section 4 of the Act is much wider. Since 1910, however, circumstances have changed very materially and we have to consider the necessity for the continuance of this law in the light of a political situation entirely different from that in which it was enacted.

The Chief Questions.

4. The chief questions that have to be examined in our opinion are, firstly, whether the Act has been effective in preventing the evil against which it was

directed; secondly, whether legislation of this character is now necessary for the maintenance of law and order; and, thirdly, whether, on a comparison of the advantages and disadvantages which the retention of the Act would involve, its continuance is desirable in the public interest. We may say at the outset that on a careful consideration of these points we are of opinion that the Act should be repealed.

5. As to the effectiveness of the Act, it is generally admitted that direct incitements to murder and violent crime, which are specially referred to in Section 4 (1) (*a*) of the Act, are rarely found in the Press to-day. This was not the case in 1910, so far as a certain section of the Press was concerned, and it is the view of at least one local Government that the Press Act has contributed to the elimination of such public incitements. We are not, however, satisfied that the cessation of such incitements is due solely or even mainly to the act or that, in present conditions, the ordinary law is not adequate to deal with such offences. Further it must be admitted that, in so far as the law was directed to prevent the more insidious dissemination of sedition, of general misrepresentation of the action of Government, of exaggerations of comparatively minor incidents, of insinuations of injustice and of articles intended to exacerbate racial feeling, the Act has been of little practical value, for we find that a section of the Press at present is just as hostile to Government as ever it was, and that it preaches doctrines calculated to bring the Government, and also occasionally particular classes or sections of the community, into hatred and contempt, as freely now as before the Act was passed.

Moreover, we believe that the more direct and violent forms of sedition are now disseminated more from the platform and through the agency of itinerary propagandists than by the Press, and no Press law can be effective for the repression of such activities. In our opinion, therefore, it must be admitted that the Act has not been wholly effective in securing the object which it was enacted to achieve. We observe that one witness before us went so far as to say that it had both been futile and irritating.

An Emergency Measure.

6. Turning to the question of the necessity for such legislation, we find that it was an emergency measure enacted at a time when revolutionary conspiracies, the object of which was directly promoted by certain organs of the Press, were so active as to endanger the administration. We believe that this revolutionary party is now quiescent, that the associations supporting it have been broken up, and that many members of the revolutionary party have realized that the object which they had in view can, under present conditions, be acheived by constitutional means. Further the political situation has undergone great changes since 1910, and the necessity for the retention of the Act must be examined in the light of the new constitutional position created by the inauguration of the Reforms.

Many of us feel that the retention of this law is, in these circumstances, not only unnecessary, but incompatible with the increasing association of representatives of the people in the administration of the country. We believe also that the malignant influence of seditious organs of the Press will, in future, be, and in fact is already beginning to be, counteracted by the growth of distinct parties in politics, each supported by its own press, supplemented by the activities of a properly organized bureau of information, the value of which was admitted by many witnesses.

It is true the scope of the Act is not limited to the prevention of sedition, but it is not necessary for us to discuss in detail the subsidiary provisions included in Section 4 of the Act, as we believe that these provisions have seldom been used and

that the evils against which they are directed can be checked by the ordinary law. We think, therefore, that under present conditions the retention of the Act for the purposes for which it was enacted is unnecessary.

Bitter Hostility to the Act.

7. On an examination of the third aspect of the case, *viz.*, the comparative advantages and disadvantages of retaining the Act, we find that, while many local Governments advocate its retention in the interests of the administration, on the other hand the Act is regarded with bitter hostility by nearly all shades of Indian opinion. Most of the witnesses examined before us believe it to be indefensible in principle and unjust in its application. It has been said that the terms of Section 4 of the Act are so comprehensive that legitimate criticism of Government might well be brought within its scope, that the Act is very uncertain in its operation, that it has been applied with varying degrees of rigour at different times and by different local Governments, and in particular that it has not been applied with equal severity to English owned and Indian owned papers.

A general feeling was also apparent among the witnesses that the Act is irritating and humiliating to Indian journalism, and that the resentment caused by the measure is the more bitter because of the great services rendered to Government by the Press in the war.

Many witnesses, indeed, are of opinion that the Act is fatal to the growth of a healthy spirit of responsibility in the Press and that it deters persons of ability and independent character from joining the profession of journalism.

Finally it is maintained that the Act places in the hands of the executive Government arbitrary powers not subject to adequate control by any independent tribunal, which may be used to suppress legitimate criticism of Government, and that such a law is entirely inconsistent with the spirit of the Reforms Scheme and the gradual evolution of responsible Government.

Repeal Recommended.

8. There is, in our judgment, great force in many of these criticisms. We find, as already noted, that the Act has not proved effective in preventing the dissemination of sedition and that it is doubtful whether it is necessary o retain it for the purpose of preventing incitements to murder and similar violent crime.

Further, in view of the cogent criticisms made as to the principles and operation of the Act, we have come to the conclusion that it would be in the interests of the administration that it should be repealed. In making this recommendation we have not overlooked the opinion expressed by various local Governments that the retention of the Act is desirable in the interest of law and order. We observe, however, that there is a considerable divergence of opinion among those Governments on this point, and while we realise that the views of those who are opposed to the repeal of the Act are entitled to great weight, and indeed that these views have been accepted by the Government of India frequently in times past, we are satisfied that there is a genuine popular demand for its repeal and we consider that in the altered circumstances created by the Reforms, the advantages likely to be secured by repeal of this measure outweigh the benefits which could be obtained by its retention on the statute book.

9. In our examination of the question of the repeal of the Press Act, we also considered the further question as to which, if any, of its provisions should be retained by incorporation in other laws. Various questions have been placed before us in this connection, some of greater and some of minor importance.

Position of Princes.

Perhaps the most important of these is the question whether the dissemination of disaffection against Indian Princes through the Press of British India should be penalized in any way. We have been handicapped in our examination of this question by very inadequate representation of the views of the Princes, many of whom were unwilling to allow their opinions to be placed before the Committee. We have, however, had the advantage of seeing some minutes submitted by them and of examining Sir John Wood, Secretary of the Political Department. It has been argued that the Government of India is under an obligation to protect Indian Princes from such attacks, that the Press Act alone affords them such protection, and that if it is repealed it is unfair, having regard to the constitutional position of the Government of India *vis-a-vis* the Indian States, that the Press in British India should be allowed to foment disaffection against the ruler of an Indian State. On the other hand various witnesses have protested in the strongest terms against any such protection being afforded to Princes. It is alleged that the effect of any such provision in the law would be to stifle all legitimate criticism and deprive the subjects of such States of any opportunity of ventilating their grievances and protesting against maladministration or oppression. We understood that, before the Press Act became law, it was not found necessary to protect Indian Princes from such attacks and we note that the Act, so far as the evidence before us shows, has only been used on three occasions for this purpose.

We do not, in the circumstances, think that we should be justified in recommending, on general grounds, any enactment, in the Penal Code or elsewhere for the purpose of affording such protection, in the absence of evidence to prove the practical necessity for such a provision of the law. Our colleague, Mir Asad Ali, desires to express no opinion on this question.

Confiscation of Presses.

10. We have also considered the question of vesting Courts of Justice with power to confiscate a Press if the keeper is convicted for the second time of disseminating sedition. Although Section 517 of the Criminal Procedure Code affords some faint authority for the enactment of such a provision in the law, we feel that it would operate inequitably, particularly in the case of large and valuable presses, used not only for the printing of a particular paper, but also for other miscellaneous work. In the case of smaller presses, the forfeiture of the press would probably not be an effective remedy and on a careful consideration of the facts we doubt the necessity for inserting any such provision in the law.

11. There is, indeed, only one provision of the Act which, we think, should be retained, namely the power to seize and confiscate newspapers, books or other documents, which offend against the provisions of Section 124-A of the Penal Code. If this power is retained, the auxiliary power of preventing the importation into British India, of transmission through the post, of such documents, on the lines now provided for in Sections 13, 14 and 15 of the Indian Press Act, is a necessary corollary if the law is to be effective.

Openly Seditious Documents.

12. The confiscation of openly seditious documents in no way, we believe, constitutes an interference with the reasonable liberty of the Press and the openly seditious character of some of the documents which are now circulated in India has convinced us of the necessity of retaining this power as a regular provision of the substantive law.

The exact method by which this should be effected is, we think, a matter for the expert advisers of the Government of India to decide. We would, however, also provide for redress in cases in which the owner of a press or any person interested in the production of any such document or in the possession of any particular copy of the document consider himself aggrieved, by allowing such persons to apply to the High Court and challenge the seizure and confiscation of the document. We would also provide that when such an application is made the onus of proving the seditious character of the document should be on the Government. We think that the power conferred by sections 13 to 15 of the Press Act might be conveniently incorporated in the Sea Customs Act and Post Office Act, so that the customs and postal officers should be empowered to seize seditious literature within the meaning of Section 124-A of the Indian Penal Code, subject to review on the part of the Government and to challenge, by any person interested in the courts.

We recommend that in this case, and in the case of seditious leaflets seized under the conditions referred to in the earlier portions of this paragraph, the orders of the Government should be liable to be contested in the High Court.

It follows almost of necessity, from what we have said about the Press Act, that we recommend the total repeal of the Newspapers (Incitements to Offences) Act, 1908. We may observe that this Act has not been used for the last 10 years.

Registration of Editors.

13. As to the Press and Registration of Books Act, we recommend that this Act should be retained with the following modifications:—

(1) That no person should be registered as a publisher or printer unless he is a major, as defined by the Indian Majority Act.

(2) That in the case of all newspapers, the name of the responsible Editor should be clearly printed on the front sheet of the paper and that an editor should be subject to the same criminal and civil liability in respect of anything contained in the paper as the publisher and printer.

(3) That the term of imprisonment prescribed in Sections 12, 13, 14, 15 should be reduced to six months.

(4) That the provisions of Section 16 of the Press Act should be reproduced in this Act.

We have also considered certain other matters of detail, which are of a technical nature. We think they should be left to the expert department to deal with.

Summary of Conclusions.

14. We append a summary of our conclusions:—

(1) The Press Act should be repealed.

(2) The Newspapers (Incitements to Offences) Act should be repealed.

(3) The Press and Registration of Books Act, the Sea Customs Act and the Post Office Act should be amended, where necessary, to meet the conclusions.

(*a*) The name of the Editor should be inscribed on every issue of a newspaper and the Editor should be subject to the same liabilities as the Printer and the Publisher as regards criminal and civil responsibility.

(*b*) Any person registering under the Press and Registration of Books Act should be a major, as defined by the Indian Majority Act.

(c) Local Governments should retain the power of confiscating openly seditious leaflets, subject to the owner of the press, or any other person aggrieved, being able to protest before a court and challenge the seizure of such document, in which case the local Government ordering confiscation should be called upon to prove the seditious character of the document.

(d) The powers conferred by Sections 13 to 15 of the Press Act should be retained, Customs and Postal officers being empowered to seize seditious literature within the meaning of Section 124-A, Indian Penal Code, subject to review on the part of the local Government and challenge by any persons interested in the proper courts.

(e) Any person challenging the orders of the Government should do so in the local High Court.

(f) The term of imprisonment prescribed in Sections 12, 13, 14 and 15 of the Press and Registration of Books Act should be reduced to six months.

(g) The provisions of Section 16 of the Act should be reproduced in the Press and Registration of Books Act.

APPENDIX III.

Report of the Committee appointed to examine repressive laws.

In accordance with the instructions contained in Resolution No. 533-Political, dated March 21st, 1921, we have examined the following Regulations and Acts :—

(1) The Bengal State Offences Regulation, 1804 ;

(2) Madras Regulation VII of 1898 ;

(3 Bengal State Prisoners Regulation, 1818 ;

(4) Madras Regulation II of 1819 ;

(5) Bombay Regulation XXV of 1827 ;

(6) The State Prisoners Act, 1850 ;

(7) The State Offences Act, 1857 ;

(8) The Forfeiture Act, 1857 ;

(9) The State Prisoners Act, 1858 ;

(10) The Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1908 ;

(11) The Prevention of Seditious Meetings Act, 1911 ;

(12) The Defence of India (Criminal Law Amendment) Act, 1915 ;

(13) The Anarchical and Revolutionary Crimes Act, 1919.

2. Appendix A to this report gives the names of the witnesses who were invited to give evidence. We examined at considerable length 24 witnesses, some of whom came from distant provinces at much personal inconvenience. We desire to record our appreciation of their public spirit. We have also considered the opinions of local Governments and some written statements sent by witnesses or by recognised associations. In addition we perused a large amount of documentary evidence in the shape of reports of disturbances, confidential reports on the political situation, speeches delivered at public meetings, debates in the Legislative Council when the Acts under consideration were introduced, and correspondence with local Governments regarding the exercise of powers under these Acts and the proceedings of the previous Committees, including the Sedition Committee,

3. The reports from local Governments shew that recourse was had to these 'repressive' or 'preventive' enactments only in cases of emergency, or to deal with exceptional disorder for which the ordinary law did not provide any adequate remedy. It is also proved that the Government of India have scrutinized with the greatest care all requests for either the introduction of the Seditious Meetings Act or action under the Defence of India Act or the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1908. During the war the maintenance of internal peace was a supreme consideration and early preventive action was essential.

The first question then that we have to decide is whether with the conclusion of the war and the introduction of constitutional changes in the Government of

India, there has been such an improvement in the general situation as to justify the repeal of all or any of these measures. We have particularly to consider whether there exists such an anarchical movement as prevailed in Bengal during the last decade, or any probability of a recrudescence of a movement, which at that time seriously disturbed the tranquillity of certain parts of India. On this point a certain amount of plain speaking is unavoidable.

4. The evidence of many witnesses indicates that the constitutional reforms have produced a distinct change for the better in the attitude towards Government of the larger portion of the literate or 'politically minded' classes. As regards the illiterate masses, the position is much less satisfactory. It must be recognised that recent appeals to racial feeling, religious prejudice or economic discontent have in fact shaken respect for law, government and authority, and "created an atmosphere of preparedness for violence." Intimidation, social boycott and the establishment of courts, the jurisdiction of which is in some cases enforced by violence and insult, are among the methods employed to create a situation full of dangerous potentialities. Similarly, while many witnesses expressed the view that the general position had improved and that the cult of non-co-operation had generally failed to appeal to more thoughtful persons, we are forced to the conclusion that the leaders of this movement have succeeded in arousing a deep and widespread feeling of hostility towards Government. It is however as yet more marked in urban than in rural areas. The large number of serious riots during the past seven months* cannot be regarded merely as passing ebullitions of temporary discontent. The disturbances in places so widely apart as Rae Bareli, Malegaon, Nagpur, Giridih, Dharwar, Aligarh and Matiari indicate a growing contempt for law and order. We have no doubt that economic and agrarian discontent has been exploited by agitators, and that these riots have in many cases disclosed a disregard of authority or an attempt to intimidate the courts or officers carrying out the orders of the courts, which justifies us in ascribing them to an active and malicious propaganda. In attempting any survey of the present political situation we cannot leave out of account further dangerous developments adumbrated by leaders of the Extreme party. To illustrate this point we cite some extracts from recent speeches.

(1) "Mahatma Gandhi says that if you are determined *Swaraj* can be attained within one year. The machinery of the Government is entirely in your hands. * * * * *. At first we will request the military and the police to throw up their services with the Government. If this request is rejected the public will be asked to refuse to pay taxes and then you will see how the machinery will work. We do not recognise the authorities of the present Government and refusal to pay taxes will settle everything. This can only be achieved by unity. Now it rests with you whether you will sit under the *Satanic* flag or will come under the flag of God. The day will come when the sweepers, washer-men and others will be asked to boycott those who are on the side of *Satan*."

(2) "I beleive that the struggle with Government will commence when we withhold payment of taxes. In that case Government will come to its senses. I require students these days. Some are required for (work among the) tenantry When they will refuse to pay taxes and Government will issue warrants and send its sepoys, the peasants will boldly defy its order and will say "Kill us or put our property to auction, but we would not pay taxes with our hands."

Vide Appendix B.

(3) We may also quote an extract from an article in " Young India " by Mr. M. K. Gandhi :—

> " Civil Disobedience was on the lips of every one of the members of the All-India Congress Committee. Not having really ever tried it, every one appeared to be enamoured of it from a mistaken belief in it as a sovereign remedy for our present-day ills. I feel sure that it can be made such if we can produce the necessary atmosphere for it. For individuals there always is that atmosphere except when their Civil Disobedience is certain to lead to bloodshed. I discovered this exception during the *Satyagraha* days. But even so a call may come which one dare not neglect, cost it what it may. I can clearly see the time coming to me when I *must* refuse obedience to every single state-made law, *even though there may be a certainty of bloodshed* (our italics). When neglect of the call means a denial of God, Civil Disobedience becomes a peremptory duty."

(4) The following are Resolutions passed by the All-India Congress Committee of Bombay :—

> (*i*) " The All-India Congress Committee advises that all persons belonging to the Congress shall discard the use of foreign cloth as from the 1st day of August next and advises all Congress organisations * * * to collect foreign cloth from consumers for destruction or use outside India at their option."
>
> (*ii*) " It is of opinion that Civil Disobedience should be postponed till after the completion of the programme referred to in the Resolution on *Swadeshi* after which the Committee will not hesitate, if necessary, to recommend a course of Cvil Disobedience even though it might have to be adopted by a special Session of the Congress. Provided however it is open to any Province or place to adopt Civil Disobedience subject to the previous approval of the Working Committee obtained within the Constitution, through the Provincial Congress Committees concerned."

Witnesses unanimously agreed that Civil Disobedience particularly if it took the form of a " no-revenue " or " no-rent " campaign, would result in widespread disorder, and that a boycott, whether of foreign goods or of liquor, if accompanied by intimidation, might result in violence. The boycott of foreign cloth would also tend to raise prices, and the consequent economic distress would end in " hat looting " such as has occurred in the past.

5. In the light of the evidence before us it is therefore impossible to describe the state of affairs to-day as normal. Nor is India singular in this respect: the reaction from the wa is world wide and no country has escaped its effects. There are however grounds for hoping that an improvement has begun: there are signs of a gradual adjustment to *post bellum* conditions: a favourable monsoon would do much to remove economic discontent: the relations between Government officials and the public, between the Ministers and officers serving under them are admittedly undergoing successful readjustment: finally, the response made to the opportunities offered by the Reformed Councils, no less than the attitude of the Executive and the Legislators of mutual co-operation is encouraging. But as militating against this improvement there is an active widespread campaign which, if judged by recent utterances, is certain to increase economic difficulties and to promote disaffection.

6. We have carefully scrutinised the evidence dealing with the *Khilafat* movement. With its religious aspect the Committee is in no way concerned: indeed we fully sympathise with the desire for favourable peace terms for Turkey, but it is our duty to examine closely the activities of the extremist leaders of this movement and the methods by which they seek to attain their aims. We are informed that any real appreciation of the difficulties of the situation is confined to a small class, but it cannot be denied that the terms of the Turkish peace treaty have been used to cause a dangerously bitter feeling amongst the masses, and that religious enthusiasm exploited by unscrupulous agitators has in many places developed into fanatical hostility to the British Government. Thus, despite frequent contradiction, the lie that holy places have been desecrated is still repeated. We cite below extracts from reports of speeches submitted to us.

(1) At Karachi a Hindu 'Ecclesiastical' supporter advised "sympathy with their Moslem brothers because the power that had caught hold of the Muslim holy places would not spare those of the Hindus."

(2) Or again, "The British had caused Hindu and Muhammadan brothers to fight and have thus made straight their own road. They had destroyed Mecca and Medina. Shots had even fallen on the Prophet's remains. All Muhammadans who had fought against the Turks should be divorced."

(3) "Referring to the fight in Mecca he said that the Sheriff was the master of the place. There were only 30 or 35 Turkish soldiers. When the British Army reached Mecca they killed 3 of the Turkish soldiers who were found marketting. Two others, who took shelter in the *Kaaba* (the holy temple) where not a tiger nor even a fly was allowed to be killed according to religion, were slaughtered by the British soldiers. Moreover the holy carpet of the *Kaaba* which was prepared by the hands of the innocent little girls was burnt by the fire of the British shells."

(4) The following extract refers apparently to the Kheri murder case:—

"I am going to pronounce the order of God that if the slayer of a heathen is killed, he will certainly become a martyr. If he dies it is your duty to pray for him.

"One Englishman has died here; lakhs of Hindus and Mussalmans have been martyred there—

"If after lakhs of Mussalmans have been martyred in Smyrna, somebody has killed Christians, Christians have retaliated entering Constantinople. If he has committed the murder for the sake of religion and he is slain he will attain martyrdom. Heavens await him and the *houries* are standing (to welcome him) with cups in their hands,"

7. It was, we were told by a frontier officer, statements of this kind, particularly relating to the defilement of holy places, which has created such bitterness and led to the Hijrat from Upper Sindh and Peshawar with such disastrous consequences. Instances of gross misrepresentation are numerous. Nor does it end here. Perhaps the most sinister feature in this campaign of calumny is the direct attempt to seduce the military and the police force from their allegiance. Evidence has been adduced of many specified instances of such attempts, which the military authorities regard as most dangerous. Speeches have also been reported:—

(1) "Tell every Muhammadan clearly that it is his religious duty to avoid being recruited for the army. Do not give a single soldier that he may behead his brother with his own hands."

(2) "Your religion is calling for help, but you do not lay down your life for God; you join the army or police on fourteen rupees a month. You say you are a Government servant; but you are God's servant."

8. We have also had placed before us reports of many speeches made by various leaders of the movement which can only be considered as direct incitements to disloyalty and violence. The following are instances:—

(1) "If the Amir of Kabul does not enslave India and does not want to subjugate the people of India who have never done any harm and who do not mean to do the slightest harm to the people of Afghanistan or elsewhere, but if he comes to fight against those who have always had an eye on his country, who wanted to subjugate his people, who hold the Holy Places of Islam, who want to crush Islam in their hostile grip, who want to destroy the Muslim faith and were bent on destroying the *Khilafat*, then not only shall we not assist, but it will be our duty and the duty of every one who calls himself a Mussalman to gird up his loins and fight the good fight of Islam."

(2) "When we have to kill all Englishmen we will not come stealthily, we will, that very day, declare openly that there is (war with) the sword between you and us now and it will be sheathed only when either your neck disappears or ours."

(3) "The object of my speaking so plainly is to assure you that in the question of *Khilafat* we have not gone an inch against the doctrines of Islam. In my religion, to die and to kill in the cause of God are both good deeds."

(4) "He told his audience that their time had at last come. Everything was ready for *jehad* and the signal was about to be given. He exhorted them to be bold and steadfast. The weapons of the British soldiers and sepoys could not harm them for he had the power to render them innocuous. This time there was little talk of non-co-operation. The business for the moment was war."

(5) "If you do not come forward, God shall raise another nation for Islam's defence. Those who wage the war of *jehad* will not mind any remonstrances. * * * * *Swaraj* is a religious obligation with me. I am doing my work for the sake of the holy *Kaaba*, Medina and the Qoran. It is better to be slaves of Muhammadans than of the English. It is our duty to help the Amir if he comes to carry on *jehad*. I am prepared to fight the battle of Independence whether my Muhammadan brothers help me or not."

9. These quotations could be multiplied. We notice also repeated statements casting on England, and not on the Allies, the whole responsibility for the terms of the treaty of Sèvres or for any delay in amendment. After a careful perusal of these and other similar utterances, and making every allowance for inaccurate reporting, we have no hesitation in holding that this form of propaganda is directly calculated, when addressed to an impressionable and excitable audience, to lead to violence.

10. We endeavoured to ascertain the effect of this combined movements (the Non-co-operation and the Khilafat) on the student community, and have received valuable evidence from educational authorities. The situation was at one time disquieting. Direct appeals were issued of which we give one example:—

"Those who read the newspapers know the part taken by the students in all countries in these days. The first example was set by the students of Russia at the time of revolution. They took great part therein and you know the result. In China also the students agitated and the courses of the universities were changed according to their wishes. Look at the condition of Egypt and the work done there by the students! They have obtained the religious form of instruction. They have agitated for years and in the long run they have been successful in their revolution. Both boys and girls took share in the revolution. Our only hope of spreading agitation is by means of the students who are always enthusiastic."

Evidence shows that the mischievous results of this appeal to students were short-lived. Our general impression is that the student community at large has not been permanently or seriously affected, save in the way of sentimental sympathy for the non-co-operation movement and the personality of its leader. The 'national' institutions have obtained meagre support whether in the shape of funds or pupils. Several have now been closed. There was at first some response in the form of strikes, but the large majority of students returned. The result of the University Examinations, and the number of entries shew that there has been no appreciable falling-off in the number of admissions or of candidates. It is noticeable that the effects varied in different institutions, which we attribute to the influence or lack of influence of the Principal and Professors. We are however convinced that as in the case of the public generally, so with the students there is less respect for authority than there was before. Nor can we overlook the fact that there is a small residue of misguided boys who, by forsaking their studies, have not only imperilled their future career but would seem to have elected that of the professional agitator. We have dwelt upon this aspect of the situation in view of the unhappy activities of the student community of Bengal ten years ago.

11. Taking into consideration all the evidence we have received, and the points to which we have adverted, and bearing in mind the still prevailing economic discontent, we cannot dismiss as improbable the possibility of sudden labour, agrarian or sectarian disorder on a large scale probably culminating in riots.

12. We may now in the light of this appreciation of the present political position examine the question of repealing or retaining the various Acts under consideration. Dealing with the older Acts first, we notice that they relate generally to an unsettled condition of affairs which no longer exists. We regard it as undesirable that they should be used for any purpose not contemplated by their authors. The objections to them are obvious. Some, as for example, Bengal Regulation 10 of 1804, or the Forfeiture Act of 1857, are inconsistent with modern ideas; others are clothed in somewhat archaic language and are applicable only to circumstances which are unlikely to recur. Many arm the Executive with special powers which are not subject to revision by any judicial tribunal. Their presence on the Statute book is regarded as an offence by enlightened public opinion. The arguments for their retention are as follows. The use of the Bengal State Prisoners' Regulation, 1818 (Regulations III of 1818) in Bengal was necessitated by the revolutionary movement which the ordinary law failed to check. The wholesale intimidation of witnesses rendered recourse to the ordinary courts ineffective. Though we have evidence of a change in the attitude of individual leaders of the anarchical movement in Bengal, we are warned that similar symptoms of intimidation have been noticed, and that, should there be a recrudescence of any revolutionary movement, it would, in the absence of these old preventive Regulations, be impossible to cope with the situation, and fresh emergency legislation would

be necessary. Lastly, the plea is advanced that these old Acts may be regarded as measures intermediate between the ordinary law of the land and martial law, the ultimate result in case of extreme disorder. The abolition of these special laws, it is suggested, may mean earlier recourse to martial law than might otherwise be the case.

13. We recognise the force of these arguments, in particular the difficulty of securing evidence or of preventing the intimidation of witnesses. We also appreciate the fact that the use of the ordinary law may in some cases advertise the very evil which the trial is designed to punish. But we consider that in the modern conditions of India that risk must be run. It is undesirable that any Statutes should remain in force which are regarded with deep and genuine disapproval by a majority of the Members of the Legislatures. The harm created by the retention of arbitrary powers of imprisonment by the Executive may, as history has shewn, be greater even than the evil which such powers are directed to remedy. The retention of these Acts could in any case only be defended if it was proved that they were in present circumstances essential to the maintenance of law and order. As it has not been found necessary to resort in the past to these measures save in cases of grave emergency, we advocate their immediate repeal. In the event of a recurrence of any such emergency we think that the Government must rely on the Legislature to arm them with the weapons necessary to cope with the situation.

14. Our recommendation in regard to Regulation III of 1818 and the analogous Regulations in the Bombay and Madras Presidencies is subject, however, to the following reservations. It has been pointed out to us that, for the protection of the frontiers of India and the fulfilment of the responsibilities of the Government of India in relation to Indian States, there must be some enactment to arm the Executive with powers to restrict the movements and activities of certain persons who, though not coming within the scope of any criminal law, have to be put under some measure of restraint. Cases in point are exiles from Foreign or protected States who are liable to become the instigators or focus of intrigues against such States: persons disturbing the tranquillity of such States who cannot suitably be tried in the Courts of the States concerned and may not be amenable to the jurisdiction of British Courts: and persons tampering with the inflammable material on our frontiers. We are in fact satisfied of the continued necessity for providing for the original object of this Regulation, in so far as it was expressly declared to be "the due maintenance of the alliances formed by the British Government with Foreign Powers, the preservation of tranquillity in the territories of Native Princes entitled to its protection and the security of the British Dominions from foreign hostility," and in so far as the inflammable frontier is concerned from "internal commotion."

We desire to make it clear that the restrictions which we contemplate in this connection are not of a penal or even irksome character. We are satisfied that they have not been so, in cases of the kind referred to above, in the past. Indeed, in several instances they have been imposed as much in the interests of the persons concerned as in the interests of the State. The only desideratum is to remove such persons from places where they are potential sources of trouble. Within such limits as may be necessary to achieve this object they would ordinarily enjoy full personal liberty and a freedom from any kind of stigma such as would be associated with restrictions imposed by criminal law. We therefore think that the retention of Regulation III of 1818, limited in its application to the objects outlined above, would be unobjectionable.

This reservation may also involve the retention in a modified form of the State Prisoners' Acts of 1850 and 1858, but this is a matter for legal experts. We have

carefully considered the cases in which the Madras State Prisoners' Regulation of 1819 has been used. The procedure adopted was certainly simpler and more effective, but if the ordinary law is insufficient, we think it is for the Local Government to consider whether any amendment of the Mappila Outrages Act XX of 1859 is needed.

15. Turning now to the more modern Acts, we notice that the Defence of India (Criminal Law Amendment) Act, 1915, will in the ordinary course of events shortly expire. It is, we understand, at present only used in order to give effect to the Government of India's policy in the matter of colonial emigration. Section 16-B of the Defence of India (consolidated) Rules, 1915, is at present employed to prevent the departure from India of unskilled labour, which does not come within the definition of 'emigration' given in Act XVII of 1908.

A special regulation may, we think, also be needed for the exclusion of persons whose presence may endanger the peace and safety of the North West Frontier Province. We understand that a Bill to meet the case of Indian Emigrants has already been introduced. We recommend that the Defence of India Act be repealed at once, as it was only intended to cope with difficulties arising from the war.

16. The Anarchical and Revolutionary Crimes Act, 1919, has never been used. Its enactment was extremely unpopular; it was to continue in force only for three years from the termination of the war. We consider that the retention of this Act is not necessary or advisable. The power to restrain personal liberty without trial conferred by this Act is not consistent with the policy inaugurated with the recent constitutional changes, and we therefore recommend its immediate repeal. It is however necessary to strike a note of warning. This Act was passed on the report of a Committee 3 years ago, which recognised the need for special legislation, both preventive and punitive. While we think that there has since 1918 been some improvement in the situation so far as the anarchical movement is concerned, we realize that strong measures may be needed for the suppression of any organised attempt at widespread disorder. We prefer, however, to leave this contingency to be dealt with when and if it arises, rather than retain a statute which is regarded as a stigma on the good name of India.

17. There remain then two Acts, the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1908, and the Prevention of Seditious Meetings Act, 1911. It is around those two Acts that controversy has centred and regarding which we have been careful to obtain a full expression of opinion. These Acts also differ from those to which we have already referred in that while the Committee was sitting, they were actually being used in the Punjab, Delhi and the United Provinces. The evidence adduced satisfies us that their effect was beneficial and necessary to the maintenance of public tranquillity. It is affirmed that local officers responsible for the maintenance of peace and order would, under existing conditions if these Acts were repealed, find themselves in an impossible situation faced, it might be, with disorder on a large scale which they could not prevent. The application of these Acts moreover is subject to safeguards which ensure that sanction to their introduction is only granted after careful scrutiny of the necessity for such action. The Local Governments are unanimous in asking for the retention of the Seditious Meetings Act. Most of the Local Governments similarly affirms the need for retaining Part II of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1908. It is desirable therefore to examine most carefully the reasons for and against their repeal.

18. These Acts are first attacked as being "unconstitutional," and, like the Act of 1919, inconsistent with the present policy of Government. In support of this view our attention has been directed to the law that obtains in England with

regard to public meetings. The following dictum of Professor Dicey is quoted: "The Government has little or no power of preventing meetings which to all appearance are lawful even though they may in fact turn out when actually convened to be unlawful because of the mode in which they are conducted." We would point out that the learned Professor is merely stating what are actually the principles underlying the law in England. He does not attempt to discuss their propriety, nor, we may add, their applicability to another country where entirely different conditions may prevail. He does however allude to "the policy or the impolicy of denying to the highest authority in the State the very widest power to take in their discretion precautionary measures against the evils which may flow from the injudicious exercise of legal right." The learned author also points out that the right of public meeting is "certainly a *singular*" (not "similar" as given in the written statement of one of the witnesses before us) "instance of the way in which adherence to the principle that the proper function of the State is the punishment, not the prevention, of crimes, deprives the Executive of discretionary authority." We are unable to accept as complete the analogy to be drawn from English practice. Apart from the great difference in the class of audience which may be addressed, we recognise that while democracy and all the rights that it entails have been the result of gradual growth through the course of centuries in Great Britain, it is a recent introduction into India. We know that some public speakers do not exercise that self-restraint which has become customary in England and which is certainly no less desirable in India.

19. The next argument advanced for the repeal of these Acts is that they offend public sentiment and that their retention would be a direct incitement to further agitation. This argument is one to which we attach great weight, even though we recognise that the repeal of these Acts would only appeal to a few. The masses would remain unaffected and would probably be unaware that they had been repealed. We realise that the wholesale repeal of these Acts would do much to strengthen those who are anxious to assist Government and would be useful for the purposes of counter propaganda. We realise also that substantial support is necessary for Government to meet the strong extremist movement, which is the greatest obstacle to the successful development of the reforms recently introduced and to all political and industrial progress.

20. The real point, however, at issue is whether the ordinary law that would remain would provide sufficient means for coping with any existing or reasonably apprehended disorder. Evidence has been adduced to show that in certain places the ordinary law is inadequate and this evidence we are not prepared to reject.

This brings us to the third objection that the ordinary law alone should be applied to prevent the evil with which these two Acts are designed to cope. We have had long discussions as to the manner in which section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code has been recently applied. It is no part of our duty to express an opinion on any individual case in which this Section has been used or to enter into any legal argument. In the opinion of those best qualified to judge this Section cannot be used effectively when danger of unrest is widespread. We also note the popular view that Section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code was not designed to prevent meetings over a large area, and that its use for such a purpose arouses probably as much resentment as the application of the seditious Meetings Act. It is the only preventive section in the ordinary law. Section 108A of the Criminal Procedure Code is only partially preventive. Sections 120A and B, 124A, and 153A of the Indian Penal Code are punitive. Further, even if satisfactory evidence is available these sections can be used only against individuals and not to prevent seditious meetings or speeches. We consider it probable that if in those areas to which the Seditious Meetings Act has recently been applied, no

preventive action other than that possible under Section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code had been taken, the danger of disorder would have been appreciably increased, and the number of prosecutions under these punitive sections would have been larger, which might have had the effect of exasperating public opinion. We would point out that in some cases referred to in Appendix B, the riot was directly connected with such a prosecution.

21. A fourth argument is based on the recent findings of the Committee appointed to examine the Press Act. It is unnecessary for our purpose to discuss whether the written or the spoken word commands the greater circulation. We agree with that Committee that " the more direct and violent forms of sedition are now disseminated more from the platform and through the agency of itinerary propagandists than by the press." The prosecution of a paper is moreover much simpler than the prosecution of a speaker, attended as the latter is by the difficulties of obtaining an accurate report of the speech delivered. We think that the instances we have given above are sufficient illustration of the danger of allowing violent and inflammable speeches. Though the speaker can be prosecuted the mischief may have been done. Of this there have been lamentable illustrations.

22. Fifthly, it is argued that the Seditious Meetings Act of 1911 not only stifles noxious speeches at public meetings but also deters people who might assist in counter-propaganda. Cases have been quoted of persons otherwise well disposed to Government who declined " to ask for leave to hold a meeting or make a speech." We recognise that this is a necessary and undesirable result of the application of the Seditious Meetings Act. It is, however, a lesser evil than allowing speeches to be made which result in such disorder as would equally prevent any exponent of moderate views from obtaining a hearing. Such intimidation is, we learn, very general.

23. In this connection, since we regard it as important that every opportunity should be given to the electorate of hearing both sides of a question, we recommend, before the next general election, the introduction of a Bill on the lines of the Disorderly Public Meetings Act, 8, Edward VII, which makes a disturbance at a public meeting an offence, and provides a heavier penalty when this offence is committed during a Parliamentary election. We would also suggest that should such a Bill be presented, it should include a clause making it incumbent on the promoters of any meeting to provide adequate facilities and security for such reporters as the District Magistrate may wish to depute. We recommend for the consideration of the Government of India the suggestion that the District Magistrate should, with the consent of the Local Government, be empowered to demand in any area of his district, notified in this behalf, that notice be given to him of the intention to hold a public meeting, so that he may be able to make proper arrangements for obtaining a report of the proceedings. This, we may observe, is entirely different from demanding that a person should obtain leave to hold a meeting.

24. Finally, it is pointed out that, in the last resort, should the ordinary law prove insufficient, recourse can be had to legislation by Ordinance. We would deprecate any idea that this method of legislation should be regarded as part of the ordinary procedure of the Legislature. It should, we think, be reserved for exceptional circumstances or sudden emergencies. To regard it as in any way the normal method of legislation implies a distrust of the Legislative Assembly and Council of State to which we would be sorry to subscribe. In fact, the most potent argument advanced in favour of the repeal of these two Acts is that such repeal would be an illuminating object lesson in the value of constitutional reforms. "Trust your Legislatures," we are told, " confidence will beget confidence. If you need exceptional powers, prove your

necessity and the Legislatures will grant them." We have accepted this principle to the utmost limit consistent with safety in advising the repeal of the enactments to which reference has already been made. These can clearly be differentiated from the measures now under discussion, in that the latter are of a less drastic character. To quote from the speech of the late Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale on the Seditious Meetings Bill: "I will freely admit that from the standpoint of Government it could not have introduced a milder measure than this. The more objectionable features of the Act of 1907 have been removed, and if, when the need arises, the law is applied with reasonable care and caution, it is not likely to produce any serious hardship." Though seldom applied, these two enactments were actually found necessary for the preservation of law and order during the sittings of the Committee. An obvious objection to a more complete acceptance of this principle in regard to the enactments under objection is that in allowing proof of the necessity for legislation to accumulate, even stronger measures than those now under consideration might eventually be required for the suppression of disorder. There might quite conceivably be difference of opinion as to the amount of proof required to justify such legislation, and any action by Government in the way of Ordinance in advance of public opinion might provoke a grave constitutional crisis. By the time public opinion had become sufficiently alarmed to demand legislative action the damage might be complete, and in some cases beyond repair.

25. As regards the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1908, it has been suggested that sections of the Indian Penal Code are sufficient to cope with any situation that is now likely to arise. It is generally accepted that Part I of this Act has failed to achieve in Bengal the purpose for which it was designed. As regards Part II, the conspiracy sections of the Indian Penal Code might meet the case if, but only if, evidence were forthcoming. It was in no small measure the impossibility of obtaining evidence owing to the intimidation of witnesses that led to this enactment. As we have already seen, there is definite evidence of certain organisations encouraging acts of violence or resorting to intimidation. Recently in Delhi it has been necessary to declare certain Associations of Volunteers unlawful under Section 16 of this Act. We have carefully examined the circumstances which led to this action. The Volunteer movement as did the Samities in Bengal, began with "social service," but the adherents soon developed a definite tendency to interfere with the duties of the Police and the liberty of the public. They then began to intimidate and terrorise the general body of the population. There was a tendency towards hooliganism. It has been proved that some of these Associations resorted to violence, that their behaviour at Railway Stations and public meetings was objectionable and rowdy, that they obstructed the funeral of an honoured citizen and held a most undesirable demonstration at the house of another. They actively interfered with the elections by threats and picketing. There was every reason to believe that their activities, if left unchecked, would lead to serious disorder. The conclusion we have arrived at is that some of these Volunteer Associations in Delhi were seditious organisations, formed for the purpose of intimidating loyal citizens, and interfering illegally with the administration of the province. The result of the action taken by Government has been, we were told, to "destroy the worst features of volunteer activity in so far as it was synonymous with rowdyism in the city of Delhi." Evidence has also been given of a possible recrudescence of secret associations in another part of India. It has also been stated in evidence that Bolshevik emissaries have entered India, and we cannot overlook the possibility of illegal associations promoted by them terrorising the population, as was the case in Bengal in 1909, or in Poona in 1910, and engaging in a campaign of crime and terrorism. Actually Part II of this Act has been sparingly used. Its object

is not only to break down existing unlawful associations, but to deter young and comparatively guiltless persons from joining these bodies and to discourage the supply of pecuniary assistance. We regret that we cannot at this juncture recommend the immediate repeal of Part II of this Act. There are too evident indications that its application might be necessary to prevent the formation of secret societies. Nor can we for the reasons already given advise the immediate repeal of the Seditious Meetings Act of 1911. We were informed, and see no reason to disbelieve it, that the result of the application of the Act in each case has been that sober-minded people approved the action taken by Government, and that the application of the Act was of the greatest value in preserving public tranquillity.

26. Our recommendation follows that made by the Bihar and Orissa Government: "Subject, however, to the reservations temporarily made in favour of the Seditious Meetings Act and Part II of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, which cannot be abandoned until the present tension created by the non-co-operation movement has been relieved by the action of its leading promoters, His Excellency in Council desires again to emphasise the importance of removing from the Statute Book as far as possible all special laws of this character, so that the Government of India under the reformed constitution may proceed with a clean slate. At the same time, however, His Excellency in Council is conscious that in the future the need for the special powers may again arise."

In view of the grave situation which exists and which may become more serious, we also think that it would be more prudent to defer actual repeal of these Acts until such time as the situation improves. We sincerely hope that it may be possible for the Government to undertake the necessary legislation during the Delhi session. But it is impossible for us to make any definite recommendation on this point at present. We hope that the repeal of these Acts may be expedited by a healthy change in the character of the agitation going on at present. The duration of retention rests in other hands than ours.

27. To this endeavour to adjust the conflicting claims of political considerations and administrative necessity we have applied the principles on which the Constitutional Reforms are based. The problem before us is, we consider, a test case of the "co-operation received from those upon whom new opportunities of service will thus be conferred and the extent to which it is found that confidence can be reposed in their sense of responsibility." We recognise our responsibility, which a year ago we did not share in the maintenance of peace and order. We are prepared to trust both the Provincial Councils and the Imperial Legislature for such support as may be necessary. We are confident that the Executive will use any exceptional powers with the utmost caution and restraint. Their action may always be challenged in the local legislatures. Lastly, we desire also to take into account the difficulties which at the present time confront local officers. Evidence before us shows* that the Magistrates and the Police have on many occasions been sorely tried, and we wish to record our appreciation of their loyalty in very difficult positions. We look forward to the day when the District Magistrate himself seeking the help and advice of such persons as may be in a position to influence public opinion will find not merely critics but defenders in the Legislature, and when the discharge of his duties will not be regarded with suspicion, or made the subject of further enquiry. Animated by these ideas, we recommend the repeal of all the Statutes included in the terms of reference to this Committee, with a reservation as to Bengal Regulation III of 1818 and the corresponding Regulations of the

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* Appendix C.

Madras and Bombay Presidencies, but we advise that the repeal of the Prevention of Seditious Meetings Act, 1911, and Part II of the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1908, should be deferred for the present. Their retention is necessary in view of recent declarations which we cannot but regard with the gravest apprehension.

APPENDIX IV.

Resolutions passed by the Indian National Congress, Ahmedabad.

1. Whereas since the holding of the last Indian National Congress the people of India have found from actual experience that by reason of the adoption of non-violent Non-co-operation, the country has made a great advance in fearlessness self-sacrifice and self-respect and whereas the movement has greatly damaged the prestige of the Government and whereas on the whole the country is rapidly progressing towards Swarajya, this Congress confirms the resolution adopted at the special session of the Congress at Calcutta and reaffirmed at Nagpur and places on record the fixed determination of the Congress to continue the programme of non-violent Non-co-operation with greater vigour than hitherto in such a manner as each province may determine, till the Punjab and Khilafat wrongs are redressed and Swarajya is established and the control of the Government of India has passed into the hands of the people from an irresponsible corporation and whereas the reason of the threat uttered by His Excellency the Viceroy in his recent speeches and the consequent repression started by the Government of India in the various provinces by way of disbandment of volunteer corps and forcible prohibition of public and even committee meetings in an illegal and high-handed manner and by the arrest of many Congress workers in several provinces and whereas this repression is manifestly intended to stifle all Congress and Khilafat activities and deprive the public of their assistance, this Congress resolves that the activities of the Congress be suspended as far as necessary and appeals to all quietly and without any demonstration to offer themselves for arrest by belonging to the volunteer organisations to be formed throughout the country in terms of the resolution of the Working Committee arrived at in Bombay on the 23rd day of November last, provided that no one shall be accepted as a volunteer who does not sign the following pledge :—

With God as witness, I solemnly declare that (1) I wish to be a member of the National Volunteer Corps, (2) so long as I remain a member of the corps I shall remain non-violent in word and deed and shall earnestly endeavour to be non-violent in intent, since I believe that as India is circumstanced non-violence alone can help the Khilafat and the Punjab and result in the attainment of Swarajya and the consolidation of unity among all the races and the communities of India, whether Hindu, Musalman, Parsi, Christian or Jew, (3) I believe in and shall endeavour always to promote such unity, (4) I believe in "Swadeshi" as essential for India's economic, political and moral salvation and shall use hand-spun and hand-woven Khaddar to the exclusion of every other cloth, (5) as a Hindu I believe in the justice and necessity of removing the evil of untouchability and shall, on all possible occasions, seek personal contact with and endeavour to render service to the submerged classes, (6) I shall carry out the instructions of my superior officers and all the regulations not inconsistent with the spirit of this pledge prescribed by the volunteer boards of the Working Committee or any other agency established by the Congress, (7) I am prepared to suffer imprisonment, assault or

even death for the sake of my religion and my country without resentment and (8) in the event of my imprisonment I shall not claim from the Congress any support for my family or dependents."

This Congress trusts that every person of the age of 18 and over will immediately join the volunteer organisations notwithstanding the proclamation prohibiting public meetings and inasmuch as even committee meetings have been attempted to be construed as public meetings. This Congress advises the holding of committee meetings and public meetings, the latter in enclosed places and by tickets and by previous announcements at which as far as possible only speakers peviously announced shall deliver written speeches, care being taken in every case to avoid risk of provocation and possible violence by the public. In consequence of this the Congress is further of opinion that Civil Disobedience is the only civilised and effective substitute for an armed rebellion whenever every other remedy for preventing arbitrary, tyrannical and emasculating use of authority by individuals or corporation has been tried and therefore advises all Congress workers and others who believe in peaceful methods and are convinced that there is no remedy save some kind of sacrifice to dislodge the existing Government from its position of perfect irresponsibility to the people of India to organise individual civil disobedience and mass civil disobedience, when the mass of the people have been sufficiently trained in the methods of non-violence and otherwise in terms of the resolution therein of the last meeting of the All-India Congress Committee held at Delhi.

This Congress is of opinion that in order to concentrate attention upon Civil Disobedience, whether mass or individual (whether of an offensive or defensive character), under proper safeguards and under instructions to be issued from time to time by the Working Committee or the Provincial Congress Committee concerned, all othe Congress activities should be suspended whenever and wherever and to the extent to which it may be found necessary.

This Congress calls upon all students of the age of 18 and over, particularly those studying in the National institutions and the staff thereof inmediately to sign the foregoing pledge and become members of the National Volunteer Corps.

In view of the impending arrest of a large number of Congress workers this Congress whilst requiring the ordinary machinery to remain in tact and to be utilised in the ordinary manner whenever feasible, hereby appoints until further instructions Mahatma Gandhi as the sole executive authority of the Congress and invests him with the full powers of the All-India Congress Committee including the power to convene a Special Session of the Congress or of the All-India Congress Committee or the Working Committee and also with the power to appoint a successor in emergency.

This Congress hereby confers upon the said successor and all subsequent successors appointed in turn by their predecessors all the aforesaid powers provided that nothing in this resolution shall be deemed to authorise Mahatma Gandhi or any of the aforesaid successors to conclude any terms of peace with the Government of India or the British Government without the previous sanction of the All-India Congress Committee to be finally ratified by the Congress specially convened for the purpose and provided also that the present creed of the Congress shall in no case be altered by Mahatma Gandhi or his successors, except with the leave of the Congress first obtained.

This Congress congratulates all those patriots who are now undergoing imprisonment for the sake of their conscience or country and realises that their sacrifice has considerably hastened the advent of Swarajya."

2. This Congress appeals to all those who do not believe in full Non-co-operation or in the principle of Non-co-operation, but who consider it essential for the sake of National self-respect to demand and to insist upon the redress of the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs, and for the sake of full National self-expression, to insist upon the immediate establishment of Swarajya, to render full assistance to the Nation in the promotion of unity between different religious communities, to popularise carding, hand-spinning and hand-weaving from its economical aspect and as a cottage industry necessary in order to supplement the resources of millions of agriculturists who are living on the brink of starvation, and to that end preach and practise the use of hand-spun and hand-woven garments to help the cause of total prohibition and if Hindus, to bring about removal and untouchability and to help the improvement of the condition of the submerged classes.

3. This Congress expresses its firm conviction that the Moplah disturbance was not due to the Non-co-operation or the Khilafat movement, especially as the non-co-operators and the Khilafat preachers were denied access to the affected parts by the District authorities for six months before the disturbance, but is due to causes wholly unconnected with the two movements, and that the outbreak would not have occurred had the message of non-violence been allowed to reach them. Nevertheless this Congress deplores the acts done by certain Moplahs by way of forcible conversions and destruction of life and property and is of opinion that the prolongation of the disturbance in Malabar could have been prevented by the Government of Madras accepting the pro. ered assistance of Maulana Yakub Hassan and other non-co-operators and allowing Mahatma Gandhi to proceed to Malabar and is further of opinion that the treatment of Moplah prisoners as evidenced by the asphyxiation incident was an act of inhumanity unheard of in modern times and unworthy of a Government that calls itself civilised.

4. This Congress congratulates Ghazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha and the Turks upon their successes and assures the Turkish nation of India's sympathy and support in its struggle to retain its status and independence.

5. This Congress deplores the occurrence that took place in Bombay on the 17th November last and after and assures all parties and communities that it has been and is the desire and determinaton of the Congress to guard their rights to the fullest extent.

6. That this Congress heartily congratulates Shreeman Babu Guruditsinghji—the great organiser of Shri Guru Nanak Steamer who willingly surrendered himself after seven years' fruitless search by the Government as a sacrifice for the Nation and also congratulates the other Sikh leaders who have preferred imprisonment to the restriction of their religious rights and liberty and congratulates the Sikh community on their non-violent spirit at the time of the Babaji's arrest and on other occasions in spite of great provocation by the police and the military.

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

APPENDIX V.

Resolutions passed by the Khilafat Conference.

(1) A resolution of allegiance to the Sultan of Turkey was passed, all standing.

(2) Maulvi Abdul Majid Badayuni moved the resolution which declared that in spite of all the efforts which could be humanly possible, the British Government had denied justice over the Khilafat and Punjab wrongs and had, on the other hand, started full-fledged repression by imprisoning the leaders and by declaring unlawful the peaceful associations in order to stifle legitimate and peaceful agitation: the Conference therefore called upon all the Muslims of and above the age of 18 to join the volunteers' corps regardless of imprisonment and death. The Conference also desired that civil disobedience by way of holding public meetings where they were prohibited, be entered upon provided the provincial Congress Committees were satisfied that there was no fear of violence.

(3) A resolution congratulating the Kemalists on their success was adopted.

(4) At this stage the President announced that in the subjects committee, in the afternoon, Mr. Azad Sobhani, supported by Maulana Hasrat Mohani, had carried the majority of the committee in favour of his resolution regarding complete independence. The President further stated that, in view of the great importance of the motion and its contentious character, they would take it up tomorrow evening.

The Resolution states :—

> Whereas through the persistent policy and the attitude of the British Government it cannot be expected that British Imperialism would permit the Jazirutrul Arab and the Islamic world to be completely free from the influence and control of non-Moslems which means that the Khilafat cannot be secure to the extent that the Shariat demands, therefore in order to secure the permanent safety of the Khilafat and the prosperity of India it is necessary to endeavour to destroy the British Imperialism. This Conference holds the view that the only way to make this effort is for the Moslems, conjointly with other inhabitants of India, to make India completely free; and this Conference is of opinion that Moslem opinion about Swaraj is the same, *i.e.*, complete independence, and it expects that the other inhabitants of India would also hold the same point of view.

A split occurred among the Khilafatists over the resolution about independence at the resumed sitting of the Khilafat Conference. When Maulana Hasrat Mohani was going to move his resolution declaring as their goal, independence and destruction of British imperialism, and objection was taken to its consideration by a member of the Khilafat subjects committee on the ground that according to their constitution no motion which contemplated change in their creed could be taken as adopted unless it was voted for in the subjects committee by a majority of two-thirds, the president, Hakim Ajmal Khan, upheld this objection and ruled the independence motion out of order. Upon this Maulana Hasrat Mohani strongly protested pointing out that the president had disallowed a similar objection by the same member

in the subjects committee while he had allowed it in the open conference. He said that the president had manœuvred to rule his motion out of order in order to stand in their way of declaring from that conference that Swaraj meant complete independence.

(5) After this, the conference passed a resolution appealing for the Angora fund, condemning Government atrocities in Malabar, sympathising with Moplahs in their suffering and congratulating them on their sacrifices in the cause of religion and condemning those Moplahs who were responsible for the forcible conversion of Hindus. The conference was then adjourned *sine die*. After this Maulana Hasrat Mohani appealed to the delegates to stay and pass his resolution. About half the number of delegates remained inside the Pandal, and on being asked declared they agreed to complete independence.

APPENDIX VI.

Resolutions passed by the All-India Liberal Federation at Allahabad.

(1) This Federation desires to place on record its sense of the great loss sustained by the country in the death of Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar, C.I.E., and to convey its sincere condolence to the members of his family.

(2) This Federation desires to place on record its sense of the great loss sustained by the country in the death of Sir Rashbehari Ghosh, C.S.I., and to convey its sincere condolence to the members of his family.

(3) This Federation accords its most loyal and respectful welcome to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales on his visit to India.

(4) This Federation urges the Government to give effect immediately to the resolution of the Indian Legislative Assembly, in regard to the Indianization of the commissioned ranks in the Indian Army, by starting with an initial recruitment of Indians to 25% of the annual vacancies and raising such recruitment by an annual increment of not less than 5%.

(5) (*i*) This Federation is strongly of opinion that the campaign of civil disobedience, resolved upon by the Congress, is fraught with the gravest danger to the real interests of the country and is bound to cause untold suffering and misery to the people.

(*ii*) This Federation earnestly appeals to the county not to follow a course which imperils peace, order and personal liberty and is bound to produce a mentality inimical not merely to the present Government, but to any form of Government and, so far from achieving Swaraj, which Indians of all political schools desire, is bound to lead to a deplorable set-back in the progress of the country.

(6) In view of the experience obtained of the working of the Reforms Act, the rapid growth of national consciousness and the strong growing demand among all sections of the people for a fuller control over their destinies, this Federation strongly urges that :—

(1) Full autonomy should be introduced in the Provincial Governments at the end of the first term of the various Legislatures, and

(2) As regards Central Government, all subjects, except the defence, foreign affairs, relations with Indian States and ecclesiastical affairs, should be transferred to popular control in the Central Government, at the end of the first term of the Legislative Assembly, subject to such safeguards as may be suitable and necessary for the protection of all vested interests.

(7) (*i*) This Federation fully realises the difficulties of the Government in dealing with the present critical situation, the inevitable dangers to the country of a campaign of civil disobedience, and the necessity for the protection of peaceful and law-abiding citizens against any interference with their liberties, and it recognizes

the duty of every patriotic citizen to support the Government in all measures necessary for the maintenance of peace and order. But it views with great concern the inauguration of a policy of indiscriminate arrests and extensive application of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, and is strongly of opinion that such a policy defeats its own object by alienating popular sympathy and aggravating general unrest. It also draws pointed attention to the fact that some local Governments and local authorities have acted with an excess of zeal and want of discretion in the matter of arrests and with harshness and severity in regard to sentences of which the Federation strongly disapproves, and the Federation therefore strongly urges on the Government an immediate reconsideration of its policy in order to ease the present situation.

(*ii*) This Federation urges the Government to carry out the recommendations of the Repressive Laws Committee and to withdraw the notifications under the Criminal Law Amendment Act as early as possible, making such amendments of the ordinary law relating to intimidation as may be suitable and necessary for the effective protection of law-abiding citizens.

(8) This Federation expresses its entire approval of the recommendations of the chairman and four other members of the Railway Committee that the undertakings of the guaranteed Railway Companies as when the contracts fall in, should be entrusted to the direct management of the State and trusts that this policy will be accepted by the Government.

(9) That this Federation condemns the Moplah rebellion and expresses its profound abhorrence of the atrocities committed by the Moplahs in the course of the rebellion and feels it is its duty to support the measures taken by the Government to suppress the rebellion and to protect the lives and the properties of the peaceful citizens in the area affected. It further appeals to the people to show their political sympathies to the sufferers by liberally subscribing to the Malabar Relief Fund. This Federation expresses its horror at the train tragedy at Podanur and trusts that those responsible for it will be early brought to book.

(10) This Federation expresses its dissatisfaction at the inadequacy of the action taken by His Excellency the Viceroy as a result of reviewing the cases of martial law prisoners in the Punjab and reiterates its opinion that full satisfaction cannot be afforded until the officers guilty of acts of cruelty, oppression and humiliation during the period of martial law administration are suitably punished.

(11) The National Liberal Federation of India regrets that the Prime Minister's pledge to the Mussalmans of India made in Januray 1918 has not been redeemed and strongly urges His Majesty's Government suitably to revise the treaty with Turkey.

(12) This Federation congratulates the Right Honourable Srinivasa Sastri on his able and bold advocacy in urging the claims of India's equality of status in the Empire at the Imperial Conference and places on record its warm appreciation of the great service rendered by him in obtaining recognition of the same.

(13) (*i*) This Federation while welcoming the resolution passed by the Imperial Conference regarding the status of Indians in the Empire as marking a distinct advance on the existing state of things urges the British Government to induce the Union of South Africa where the position of Indians is steadily deteriorating to give effect to it.

(*ii*) The Federation trusts that the position of Indians in East Africa will be determined in accordance with the policy approved by the Imperial Conference.

(14) That this Conference notes with pleasure that Madras and Bombay have given the vote to duly qualified women and calls on the other provinces to remove the disqualification of sex in the franchise, as soon as possible.

(15) This Federation requests the various Liberal Leagues and other organisations with allied objects to take early and effective steps for combating the non-co-operation movement by a systematic propaganda by lectures and leaflets and in such other ways as may be found practicable.

(16) Resolved that Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., and Mr. G. A. Natesan be the General Secretaries of the National Liberal Federation of India during year 1922.

APPENDIX VII.

The Afghan Treaty.

PREAMBLE.

The British Government and the Government of Afghanistan with a view to the establishment of neighbourly relations between them have agreed to the Articles written hereunder whereto the undersigned duly authorised to that effect have set their seals :-

Article I.

The British Government and the Government of Afghanistan mutually certify and respect each with regard to the other all rights of internal and external independence.

Article II.

The two High Contracting Parties mutually accept the Indo-Afghan Frontier as accepted by the Afghan Government under Article V of the treaty concluded at Rawalpindi on the 8th August 1919, corresponding to the 11th Ziqada, 1337 Hijra, and also the boundary west of the Khyber laid down by the British Commission in the months of August and September 1919, pursuant to the said Article, and shown on the map attached to this treaty by a black chain line; subject only to the realignment set forth in Schedule I annexed which has been agreed upon in order to include within the boundaries of Afghanistan the place known as Tor Kham, and the whole bed of the Kabul river between Shilman Khwala Banda and Palosai and which is shown on the said map by a red chain line. The British Government agrees that the Afghan authorities shall be permitted to draw water in reasonable quantities through a pipe which shall be provided by the British Government from Landi Khana for the use of Afghan subjects at Tor Kham, and the Government of Afghanistan agrees that British officers and tribesmen living on the British side of the boundary shall be permitted without let or hindrance to use the aforesaid portion of the Kabul river for purposes of navigation and that all existing rights of irrigation from the aforesaid portion of the river shall be continued to British subjects.

Article III.

The British Government agrees that a Minister from His Majesty the Amir of Afghanistan shall be received at the Royal Court of London like the Envoys of all other Powers and to permit the establishment of an Afghan Legation in London, and the Government of Afghanistan likewise agrees to receive in Kabul a Minister from His Britannic Majesty the Emperor of India and to permit the establishment of a British Legation at Kabul.

Each party shall have the right of appointing a Military Attaché to its Legation.

Article IV.

The Government of Afghanistan agrees to the establishment of British Consulates at Kandahar and Jalalabad, and the British Government agrees to the establishment of an Afghan Consul-General at the headquarters of the Government of India and three Afghan Consulates at Calcutta, Karachi and Bombay. In the event of the Afghan Government desiring at any time to appoint Consular officers in any British territories other than India, a separate agreement shall be drawn up to provide for such appointments, if they are approved by the British Government.

Article V.

The two High Contracting Parties mutually guarantee the personal safety and honourable treatment each of the representatives of the other, whether Minister, Consul-General or Consuls, within their own boundaries, and they agree that the said representatives shall be subject in the discharge of their duties to the provisions set forth in the second Schedule annexed to this treaty. The British Government further agrees that the Minister, Consul-General and Consuls of Afghanistan shall within the territorial limits within which they are permitted to reside or to exercise their functions, notwithstanding the provisions of the said Schedule, receive and enjoy any rights or privileges which are or may hereafter be granted to or enjoyed by the Minister, Consul-General or Consuls of any other Government in the countries in which the places of residence of the said Minister, Consul-General and Consuls of Afghanistan are fixed; and the Government of Afghanistan likewise agrees that the Minister and Consuls of Great Britain shall within the territorial limits within which they are permitted to reside or to exercise their functions, notwithstanding the provisions of the said Schedule, receive and enjoy any rights or privileges which are or may hereafter be granted to or enjoyed by the Minister or Consuls of any other Government in the countries in which the places of residence of the said Minister and Consuls of Great Britain are fixed.

Article VI.

As it is for the benefit of the British Government and the Government of Afghanistan that the Government of Afghanistan shall be strong and prosperous, the British Government agrees that whatever quantity of material is required for the strength and welfare of Afghanistan, such as all kinds of factory machinery, engines and materials and instruments for telegraph, telephones, etc., which Afghanistan may be able to buy from Britain or the British dominions or from other countries of the world, shall ordinarily be imported without let or hindrance by Afghanistan into its own territories from the ports of the British Isles and British India. Similarly the Government of Afghanistan agrees that every kind of goods, the export of which is not against the internal law of the Government of Afghanistan and which may in the judgment of the Government of Afghanistan be in excess of the internal needs and requirements of Afghanistan and is required by the British Government, can be purchased and exported to India with the permission of the Government of Afghanistan. With regard to arms and munitions, the British Government agrees that as long as it is assured that the intentions of the Government of Afghanistan are friendly and that there is no immediate danger to India from such importation in Afghanistan, permission shall be given without let or hindrance for such importation. If, however, the Arms Traffic Convention is hereafter ratified by the Great Powers of the world and comes into force, the right of importation of arms and munitions by the

Afghan Government shall be subject to the proviso that the Afghan Government shall first have signed the Arms Traffic Convention and that such importation shall only be made in accordance with the provisions of that Convention. Should the Arms Traffic Convention not be ratified or lapse, the Government of Afghanistan, subject to the foregoing assurance, can from time to time import into its own territory the arms and munitions mentioned above through the ports of the British Isles and British India.

Article VII.

No Customs duties shall be levied at British Indian ports on goods imported under the provisions of Article VI on behalf of the Government of Afghanistan, for immediate transport to Afghanistan, provided that a certificate signed by such Afghan authority, or representative as may from time to time be determined by the two Governments shall be presented at the time of importation to the Chief Customs Officer at the port of import setting forth that the goods in question are the property of the Government of Afghanistan and are being sent under its orders to Afghanistan and showing the description, number and value of the goods in respect of which exemption is claimed; provided, secondly, that the goods are required for the public services of Afghanistan and not for the purposes of any State monopoly or State trade, and provided, thirdly, that the goods are, unless of a clearly distinguishable nature, transported through India in sealed packages, which shall not be opened or sub-divided before their export from India.

And also the British Government agrees to the grant in respect of all trade goods imported into India at British ports for re-export to Afghanistan and exported to Afghanistan by routes to be agreed upon between the two Governments, of a rebate at the time and place of export of the full amount of Customs duty levied upon such goods, provided that such goods shall be transported through India in sealed packages which shall not be opened or sub-divided before their export from India.

And also the British Government declares that it has no present intention of levying Customs duty on goods or livestock of Afghan origin or manufacture, imported by land or by river into India or exported from Afghanistan to other countries of the world through India and the import of which into India is not prohibited by law. In the event, however, of the British Government deciding in the future to levy Customs duties on goods and livestock imported into India by land or by river from neighbouring States it will, if necessary, levy such duties on imports from Afghanistan; but in that event it agrees that it will not levy higher duties on imports from Afghanistan than those levied on imports from such neighbouring States. Nothing in this Article shall prevent the levy on imports from Afghanistan of the present Khyber tolls and of octroi in any town of India in which octroi is or may be hereafter levied, provided that there shall be no enhancement over the present rate of the Khyber tolls.

Article VIII.

The British Government agrees to the establishment of trade agents by the Afghan Government at Peshawar, Quetta and Parachinar, provided that the personnel and the property of the said agencies shall be subject to the operations of all British laws and orders and to the jurisdiction of British Courts; and that they shall not be recognised by the British authorities as having any official or special privileged position.

Article IX.

The trade goods coming to (imported to) Afghanistan under the provisions of Article VII from Europe, etc., can be opened at the railway terminuses at Jamrud, in the Purram and at Chaman for packing and arranging to suit the capacity of baggage animals without this being the cause of re-imposition of Customs duties; and the carrying out of this will be arranged by the trade representatives mentioned in Article XII.

Article X.

The two High Contracting Parties agree to afford facilities of every description for the exchange of postal matter between their two countries provided that neither shall be authorised to establish Post Offices within the territory of the other. In order to give effect to this Article, a separate Postal Convention shall be concluded, for the preparation of which such number of special officers as the Afghan Government may appoint shall meet the officers of the British Government and consult with them.

Article XI.

The two High Contracting Parties having mutually satisfied themselves each regarding the goodwill of the other, and especially regarding their benevolent intentions towards the tribes residing close to their respective boundaries, hereby undertake each to inform the other in future of any military operations of major importance which may appear necessary for the maintenance of order among the frontier tribes residing within their respective spheres, before the commencement of such operations.

Article XII.

The two High Contracting Parties agree that representatives of the Government of Afghanistan and of the British Government shall be appointed to discuss the conclusion of a Trade Convention and the convention shall in the first place be regarding the measures (necessary) for carrying out the purposes mentioned in Article IX of this treaty. Secondly, (they) shall arrange regarding commercial matters not now mentioned in this treaty which may appear desirable for the benefit of the two Governments. The trade relations between the two Governments shall continue until the Trade Convention mentioned above comes into force.

Article XIII.

The two High Contracting Parties agree that the first and second schedules attached to this treaty shall have the same binding force as the Articles contained in this treaty.

Article XIV.

The provisions of this treaty shall come into force from the date of its signature, and shall remain in force for three years from that date. In case neither of the High Contracting Parties should have notified twelve months before the expiration of the said three years the intention to terminate it, it shall remain binding until the expiration of one year from the day on which either of the High Contracting Parties shall have denounced it. This

treaty shall come into force after the signatures of the Missions of the two Parties and the two ratified copies of this shall be exchanged in Kabul within 2½ months after the signatures.

(Sd.) MAHMUD TARZI,
Chief of the Delegation of the Afghan Government for the conclusion of the Treaty.
Tuesday, 30th Aqrab 1300 Hijra Shamsi (corresponding to 22nd November 1921).

(Sd.) HENRY R. C. DOBBS,
Envoy Extraordinary and Chief of the British Mission to Kabul.
This twenty-second day of November one thousand nine hundred and twenty-one.

SCHEDULE I.

(*Referred to in Article II.*)

In the nulla-bed running from Landi Khana to Painda Khak Post, the Afghan frontier has been advanced approximately 700 yards, and the Tor Kham ridge, including Shamsa Kandao and Shamsa Kandao Sar, is comprised in Afghan territory. Further, the Afghan frontier has been advanced between the point where the present boundary joins the Kabul river and Palosai from the centre of the river to the right bank.

SCHEDULE II.

Legations and Consulates.

(*a*) The Legations, Consulate-General and Consulates of the two High Contracting Parties shall at no time be used as places of refuge for political or ordinary offenders or as places of assembly for the furtherance of seditious or criminal movements or as magazines of arms.

(*b*) The Minister of His Britannic Majesty at the Court of Kabul shall, together with his family, Secretaries, Assistants, Attachés and any of his menial or domestic servants or his couriers who are British subjects, be exempt from the civil jurisdiction of the Afghan Government, provided that he shall furnish from time to time to the Afghan Government a list of persons in respect of whom such exemption is claimed, and, under a like proviso, the Minister of the Amir to the Royal Court of London to which all the Ambassadors of States are accredited shall, together with his family, Secretaries, Assistants, Attachés and any of his menial or domestic servants or his couriers who are Afghan subjects, be exempt from the civil jurisdiction of Great Britain. If an offence or crime is committed by an Afghan subject against the British Minister or the persons above-mentioned who are attached to the British Legation, the case shall be tried according to the local law by the Courts of Afghanistan within whose jurisdiction the offence is committed, and the same procedure shall be observed *vice versâ* with regard to offences committed in England by British subjects against the Afghan Minister or other persons above-mentioned attached to the Afghan Legation.

(*c*) (*i*) A Consul-General, Consuls and members of their staffs and households, who are subjects of the State in which they are employed, shall remain subject in all respect to the jurisdiction, laws and regulations of such State.

(*ii*) A Consul-General, Consuls and members of their staffs and households other than subjects of the State in which they are employed shall be subject to the jurisdiction of the Courts of such State in respect of any criminal offence committed against the Government or subjects of such State, provided that no Consul-General, Consul or member of their staff or household shall suffer any punishment other than fine; provided also that both Governments retain always the right to demand recall from their dominions of any Consul-General, Consul, or member of their staff or household.

(*iii*) A Consul-General, Consuls and members of their staffs and households other than subjects of the State in which they are employed shall be subject to the jurisdiction of the Courts of the said State in respect of any civil cause of action arising in the territory of the said State, provided that they shall enjoy the customary facilities for the performance of the duties.

(*iv*) The Consul-General of Afghanistan and Consuls shall have a right to defend the interests of themselves or any members of their staffs and households who are subjects of their own Governments in any Court through pleaders or by the presence of one of the Consulate officials, with due regard to local procedure and laws.

(*d*) The Ministers, Consul-General and Consuls of the two High Contracting Parties and the members of their staffs and households shall not take any steps or commit any acts injurious to the interests of the Government of the country to which they are accredited.

(*e*) The Ministers, Consul-General and Consuls of the two Governments in either country shall be permitted to purchase or hire on behalf of their Governments residences for themselves and their staff and servants, or sites sufficient and suitable for the erection of such residence and grounds of a convenient size attached, and the respective Governments shall give all possible assistance towards such purchase or hire; provided that the Government of the country to which the Ministers or Consuls are accredited shall, in the event of an Embassy or Consulate being permanently withdrawn, have the right to acquire such residences or lands at a price to be mutually agreed on; and provided that the site purchased or hired shall not exceed twenty *jaribs* in area.

Note.—Each *jarib* = 60 × 60 yards, English = 3,600 square yards.

(*f*) The Ministers, Consul-General and Consuls of the two Governments shall not acquire any immoveable property in the country to which they are accredited without the permission of the Government of the said country.

(*g*) Neither of the two High Contracting Parties shall found a mosque, church or temple for the use of the public inside any of its Legations or Consulates, nor shall the Ministers, Consul-General or Consuls of either Government or their Secretaries or members of their staffs and households engage, in any political agitation or movement within the country to which they are accredited or in which they are residing.

(*h*) The Ministers, Consul-General and Consuls of the two High Contracting Parties shall not grant naturalisation or passports or certificates of nationality or other documents of identity to the subjects of the country in which they are employed in such capacity.

(*i*) The Ministers of the two High Contracting Parties besides their own wives and children, may have with them not more than 35 persons, and a Consul-General and Consuls, besides their own wives and children, not more than 20 persons. If it becomes necessary to employ in addition subjects of the Government of the country to which they are accredited, Ministers can employ

not more than ten persons and Consul-General and Consuls not more than five persons.

(*j*) The Ministers, Consul-General and Consuls of the two High Contracting Parties shall be at liberty to communicate freely with their own Government and with other official representatives of their Government in other countries by post, by telegraph and by wireless telegraphy in cypher or *en clair*, and to receive and despatch sealed bags by courier or post, subject to a limitation in the case of Ministers of six pounds per week, and in the case of a Consul-General and Consuls of four pounds per week, which shall be exempt from postal charges and examination and the safe transmission of which shall, in the case of bags sent by post, be guaranteed by the Postal Departments of the two Governments.

(*k*) Each of the two Governments shall exempt from the payment of Customs or other duties all articles imported within its boundaries in reasonable quantities for the personal use of the Minister of the other Government or of his family, provided that a certificate is furnished by the Minister at the time of importation that the articles are intended for such personal use.

APPENDIX VIII.

Mr. Gandhi's Letter to His Excellency the Viceroy.

To

His Excellency,

The Viceroy,

Delhi.

Sir,

Bardoli is a small Tehsil in the Surat District in the Bombay Presidency, having a population of about 87,000 all told.

On the 29th ultimo, it decided under the Presidency of Mr. Vithalbhai Patel to embark on Mass Civil Disobedience, having proved its fitness for it in terms of the resolution of the All-India Congress Committee which met at Delhi during the first week of November last. But as I am, perhaps, chiefly responsible for Bardoli's decision, I owe it to your Excellency and the public to explain the situation under which the decision has been taken.

It was intended under the resolution of the All-India Congress Committee before referred to to make Bardoli the first unit for Mass Civil Disobedience in order to mark the national revolt against the Government for its consistently criminal refusal to appreciate India's resolve regarding the Khilafat, the Punjab and Swaraj.

Then followed the unfortunate and regrettable riots on the 17th November last in Bombay resulting in the postponement of the step contemplated by Bardoli.

Meantime repression of a virulent type has taken place with the concurrence of the Government of India, in Bengal, Assam, the United Provinces, the Punjab, the Province of Delhi and in a way in Bihar and Orissa and elsewhere. I know that you have objected to the use of the word "repression" for describing the action of the authorities in these Provinces. In my opinion, when an action is taken which is in excess of the requirements of the situation, it is undoubtedly repression. The looting of property, assaults on innocent people, brutal treatment of the prisoners in jails, including flogging, can in no sense be described as legal, civilized or in any way necessary. This official lawlessness cannot be described by any other term but lawless repression.

Intimidation by non-co-operators or their sympathisers to a certain extent in connection with hartals and picketing may be admitted, but in no case can it be held to justify the wholesale suppression of peaceful volunteering or equally peaceful public meetings under a distorted use of an extraordinary law which was passed in order to deal with activities which were manifestly violent both in intention and action, nor is it possible to designate as otherwise than repression action taken against innocent people under what has appeared to many of us as an illegal use of the ordinary law nor again can the administrative interference with the liberty of the Press under a law that is under promise of repeal be regarded as anything but repression.

The immediate task before the country, therefore, is to rescue from paralysis freedom of speech, freedom of association and freedom of Press.

In the present mood of the Government of India and in the present unprepared state of the country in respect of complete control of the forces of violence, non-co-operators were unwilling to have anything to do with the Malaviya Conference whose object was to induce Your Excellency to convene a Round Table Conference. But as I was anxious to avoid all avoidable suffering, I had no hesitation in advising the Working Committee of the Congress to accept the recommendations of that Conference.

Although, in my opinion, the terms were quite in keeping with your own requirements, as I understood them through your Calcutta speech and otherwise, you have summarily rejected the proposal.

In the circumstances, there is nothing before the country but to adopt some non-violent method for the enforcement of its demands, including the elementary rights of free speech, free association and free Press. In my humble opinion, the recent events are a clear departure from the civilized policy laid down by Your Excellency at the time of the generous, manly and unconditional apology of the Ali Brothers, *viz.*, that the Government of India should not interfere with the activities of non-co-operation so long as they remained non-violent in word and deed. Had the Government policy remained neutral and allowed public opinion to ripen and have its full effect, it would have been possible to advise postponement of the adoption of Civil Disobedience of an aggressive type till the Congress had acquired fuller control over the forces of violence in the country and enforced greater discipline among the millions of its adherents. But the lawless repression (in a way unparalleled in the history of this unfortunate country) has made immediate adoption of Mass Civil Disobedience, an imperative duty. The Working Committee of the Congress has restricted it only to certain areas to be selected by me from time to time and at present it is confined only to Bardoli. I may under said authority give my consent at once in respect of a group of 100 villages in Guntur in the Madras Presidency, provided they can strictly conform to the conditions of non-violence, unity among different classes, the adoption and manufacture of hand-spun Khaddar and untouchability.

But before the people of Bardoli actually commence Mass Civil Disobedience, I would respectfully urge you as the head of the Government of India finally to revise your policy and set free all the non-co-operating prisoners* who are convicted or under trial for non-violent activities and declare in clear terms the policy of absolute non-interference with all non-violent activities in the country, whether they be regarding the redress of the Khilafat or the Punjab wrongs or Swaraj or any other purpose and even though they fall within the repressive sections of the Penal Code or the Criminal Procedure Code or other repressive laws, subject always to the condition of non-violence. I would further urge you to free the Press from all administrative control and restore all the fines and forfeitures recently imposed. In thus urging I am asking Your Excellency to do what is to-day being done in every country which is deemed to be under civilized Government. If you can see your way to make the necessary declaration within seven days of the date of publication of this manifesto, I shall be prepared to advise postponement of Civil Disobedience of an aggressive character till the imprisoned workers have after their discharge reviewed the whole situation and considered the position *de novo*. If the Government make the requested declaration, I shall regard it as an honest desire on its part to give effect to public opinion and shall, therefore, have no hesitation in advising the country to be engaged in further moulding the public opinion without violent restraint from either side and trust to its working to secure the fulfilment of its unalterable demands.

Aggressive Civil Disobedience in that case will be taken up only when the Government departs from its policy of strictest neutrality or refuses to yield to the clearly expressed opinion of the vast majority of the people of India.

I remain,
Your Excellency's
faithful servant and friend,
M. K. GANDHI.

Bardoli, 1st February, 1922.

APPENDIX IX.

Government of India Communiqué.

Delhi, Feb. 6.

The Manifesto issued by Mr. Gandhi on the 4th February justifying his determination to resort to Mass Civil Disobedience contains a series of misstatements. Some of these are so important that the Government of India cannot allow them to pass unchallenged. In the first place, they emphatically repudiate the statement that they have embarked on a policy of lawless repression and also the suggestion that the present campaign of civil disobedience has been forced on the non-co-operation party in order to secure the elementary rights of free association, free speech and of free press.

In limine, the Government of India desire to draw attention to the fact that the decision to adopt a programme of civil disobedience was finally accepted on the 4th November before the recent notifications relating either to the Seditious Meetings Act or the Criminal Law Amendment Act to which Mr. Gandhi unmistakably refers, were issued. It was in consequence of the serious acts of lawlessness committed by persons who professed to be followers of Mr. Gandhi and non-co-operation movement that the Government were forced to take measures which are in strict accordance with the law for the protection of peaceful citizens in the pursuit of their lawful avocations. Since the inauguration of the non-co-operation movement the Government of India, actuated by a desire to avoid anything in the nature of recrudescence of political activity even though it was of an extreme character, have restricted their actions in relation thereto to such measures as were necessary for the maintenance of law and order and the preservation of public tranquillity.

Up to November no step, save in Delhi last year were taken against the Volunteer Associations. In November, however, the Government were confronted with a new and dangerous situation. In the course of the past year there had been systematic attempts to tamper with the loyalty of the soldiers and the police and there has occurred numerous outbreaks of serious disorder directly attributable to the propaganda of the non-co-operation party amongst the ignorant and excitable masses. These outbreaks had resulted in grave loss of life, the growth of a dangerous spirit of lawlessness and an increasing disregard for lawful authority. In November they culminated in the grave riots in Bombay in which 53 persons lost their lives and approximately 400 were wounded. On the same date, dangerous manifestations of lawlessnes occurred in many other places and at this period it became clear that many of the Volunteers associations had embarked on a systematic campaign of violence, intimidation and obstruction to combat which proceedings under the Penal Code and the Code of Criminal Procedure had proved ineffective.

In these circumstances the Government were reluctantly compelled to resort to measures of a more comprehensive and drastic character.

Nevertheless the operation of the Seditious Meetings Act was strictly limited to a few districts in which the risk of grave disturbances of the peace was specially great and the application of the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1908

was confined to associations, the majority of the members of which had habitually indulged in violence and intimidation. It is impossible here to set out in details the evidence which justified the adoption of these measures in the different provinces. Abundant proof is, however, to be found in the published proceedings of the various legislative bodies, in the *communiqués* of different local Governments, and in the pronouncements of the heads of provinces. While resolute in their determination to enforce respect for law and order and to protect loyal and peaceful subjects of the Crown, the Government have at the same time taken every precaution possible to mitigate where desirable the conditions of imprisonment and to avoid any action which might have the appearance of vindictive severity. Ample proof of this will be found in the orders issued by local Governments. Numerous offenders have been released, sentences have been reduced and special consideration has been shown in the case of persons convicted of offences under the Seditious Meetings Act or the Criminal Law Amendment Act. There is then no shadow of justification for the charge that their policy has been one of indiscriminate and lawless repression.

A further charge which has been brought by Mr. Gandhi is that the recent measures of Government have involved a departure from the civilised policy laid down by His Excellency at the time of the apology of the Ali Brothers, namely, that the Government of India should not interfere with the activities of non-co-operation so long as they remained non-violent in word and deed. The following citation from the *communiqué* of the Government of India issued on the 30th May conclusively disprove the statement. After explaining that in view of the solemn undertaking contained in the statement over their signature, it had been decided to refrain from instituting criminal proceedings against Messrs. Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali, the Government of India observed: "It must not be inferred from the original determination of the Government to prosecute for speeches inciting to violence that promoting disaffection of a less violent character is not an offence against the law. The Government of India desire to make it plain that they will enforce the law relating to offences against the State as and when they may think fit against any persons who have committed breaches of it."

It remains with the Government of India to deal with the allegation that His Excellency summarily rejected the proposal for a Conference although the terms put forward by the Conference at Bombay and accepted by the Working Committee of the Congress were "quite in keeping with His Excellency's own requirements as indicated in his speech at Calcutta." How far this is far from being the case will be manifested from a comparison of His Excellency's speech with the terms proposed by the conference. His Excellency in that speech insisted on the imperative necessity as a fundamental condition precedent to the discussion of any question by a conference, of the discontinuance of the unlawful activities of the non-co-operation party. No assurance on this point was, however, contained in the proposals advanced by the Conference. On the contrary whilst the Government were asked to make concessions which not only included the withdrawal of the notifications under the Criminal Law Amendment and Seditious Meetings Acts and the release of persons convicted thereunder, but also the release of the persons convicted of offences designed to affect the loyalty of the army and the submission to an arbitration committee of the cases of other persons convicted under the ordinary law of the land. There was no suggestion that any of the illegal activities of the non-co-operators other than Hartals, picketing and civil disobedience should cease. Moreover, it was evident from the statements made by Mr. Gandhi at the Conference that he intended to continue the enrolment of volunteers in prohibited associations and the preparations for civil disobedience. Further Mr. Gandhi also made it apparent that the

proposed Round Table Conference would be called merely to register his decrees. It is idle to suggest that terms of this character fulfilled in any way the essentials laid down by His Excellency or can reasonably be described as having been made in response to the sentiments expressed by him.

Finally, the Government of India desire to draw attention to the demands put forward in the concluding paragraph of Mr. Gandhi's present manifesto which exceeded even the demands made by the Working Committee of the Congress. Mr. Gandhi's demands now include (1) the release of all prisoners "convicted or under trial for non-violent activities (2) a guarantee that the Government will refrain from interference with all non-violent activities of the non-co-operation party, even though they fall within the purview of the Indian Penal Code or in other words an undertaking that Government will indefinitely hold in abeyance in regard to the non-co-operators the ordinary and the long established laws of the land. In return for these concessions he indicates that he intends to continue the illegal and seditious propaganda and operations of the non-co-operation party and merely offers to postpone civil disobedience of an aggressive character until the offenders now in jail have had an opportunity in reviewing the whole situation. In the same paragraph he reaffirms the unalterable character of the demands of his party.

The Government of India are confident that all right thinking citizens will recognise that this manifesto constitutes no response whatever to the speech of His Excellency at Calcutta and the demands made are such as no Government could discuss much less accept. The alternatives that now confront the people of India are such as sophistry can no longer obscure or disguise. The issue is no longer between this or that programme of political advance but between lawlessness with all its dangerous consequences on the one hand, and on the other, the maintenance of those principles which lie at the root of all civilised Governments. Mass Civil Disobedience is fraught with such dangers to the State that it must be met with sternness and severity. The Government entertain no doubt that in any measures which they have to take for its suppression they can count on the support and assistance of all law-abiding and loyal citizens of His Majesty.

APPENDIX X.

Lord Reading's Address to both Houses of Imperial Legislature.

Gentlemen of the Indian Legislature,—It is my privilege as Viceroy to welcome to-day the members of both Houses of the Indian Legislature at the opening of the second session. It is my first opportunity of taking part in this ceremony and I am fully conscious of the importance of the occasion. One memorable session has already been held when a standard of political wisdom and debating capacity was set that may well be a source of legitimate pride and satisfaction to those who contributed to the reputation thus attained. You, who stood for election and became the representatives of these new Councils and, in consequence, were subjected to attack and criticism, have already, by your actions justified the position you adopted. At this present juncture my Government and you are faced with difficult problems, which demand all the political judgment and foresight we can contribute to their solution.

The Prince's forthcoming visit.

I propose to-day to refer only to the more important of the problems and in their broadest aspect and to survey with you the general conditions affecting India, but before I enter into the region of possible controversy I must discharge the pleasing and privileged task of referring to the impending visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, the son and heir of our beloved King-Emperor. You will remember that a little more than a year ago His Majesty the King-Emperor, by Royal-Proclamation, informed the Princes and people of India of his decision that the visit of the Prince of Wales to India must be deferred for a time in order that His Royal Highness might recover from the fatigue of his labours in other parts of the Empire. We have recently heard, to our great joy, that the health of His Royal Highness has been sufficiently restored to enable the visit to take place in November next. The ceremony of inaugurating the Reformed Legislature, which was to have been his, has been performed by His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught and India will not readily forget the sympathy and love which inspired him, the devoted friend of India, in the discharge of his great mission.

The Prince of Wales will come to India on this occasion as the son of the King-Emperor and as the heir to the Throne, not as the representative of any Government, or to promote the interests of any political party, but in order to become personally acquainted with the Princes and the people of India and to see as much as will be possible during his visit, of this most interesting country. I know that I may safely count on those who belong to this great Indian Empire, and more particularly on the representatives of the Reformed Legislatures now gathered within these walls, to give to His Royal Highness, who has endeared himself to all who have been privileged to meet him, a warm welcome, characteristic of the traditional loyalty of the Indian people and their devotion to the King-Emperor and his House.

Sir T. Holland's great services.

You will already have learnt that the resignation tendered by Sir Thomas Holland has been accepted by His Majesty. In communicating to me the regret with which he had reached his conclusion the Secretary of State expresses his general sense of the importance of the contribution which Sir Thomas Holland had made to the industrial development of India. The Secretary of State further records his appreciation of the high ability and strenuous labours which Sir Thomas Holland devoted during the war to the task of organising and increasing the supply of munitions. His services then rendered were of the highest value not only to India but to the Empire, which the Secretary of State gratefully recognises. I associate myself with the tribute and add only that my regret is the greater because I lose a colleague in the Council with whom I have been associated from the moment I became Viceroy. The facts and conclusions of my Government have already been placed before you in the official statement published by my Government and I need not refer to them again.

The Principles Involved.

The public felt, and beyond all doubt rightly felt, that the proceedings in court had shaken the very foundations of justice. Fundamental principles of administration and justice had been violated and the acceptance of the resignation was, therefore, inevitable. Our conclusions were announced only in relation to the proceedings in court, to the omission to refer to me, as the head of the Government. Lest there should be any misapprehension I must, however, add on my own behalf and that of my colleagues that the existence of civil suits against the Government by the accused should have been entirely disregarded in relation to the criminal case: their unconditional withdrawal ought not to have had any influence upon consideration of the withdrawal of the prosecution. The lesson that we have learnt from these unfortunate events is that it is very desirable that the direction and control of Government prosecutions should be in the hands of a trained lawyer. The matter will be considered by my Government. I cannot but think that the absence of this training contributed largely to the difficulties in which my late colleague, Sir Thomas Holland, found himself involved.

The Afghan Treaty Still in Embryo.

Let me now turn to external affairs. You will naturally wish to know the result of our negotiations with the Afghan Government. I had hoped that I should be in a position to-day to make an announcement to you respecting them; but though it was so far back as January last that at the invitation of the Afghan Government we despatched a mission to Kabul for the negotiation of a treaty of friendship, its outcome is still uncertain. Negotiations of this character, especially when supervening on actual war are often not brought to a speedy close and these negotiations have been protracted by developments beyond the limit of my Government's anticipations, but, despite all untoward complications or unexpected difficulties, I hope that we may before long conclude a new and abiding treaty of friendship with Afghanistan which will ensure the continuance of our traditional relations with this nation.

Less Unrest on the Frontier.

The Frontier, unhappily, is still suffering from the unsettling influence of the Great War and the other excitements and instigations of recent years, but notwithstanding the drought and great scarcity of the present year, which have done much to accentuate the economic difficulty that lies at the root of the frontier problem, unrest in Balchistan has almost wholly subsided. Even in the North-West Frontier Province, with its narrow belt of British districts between the Indus and the frontier hills exposed at all times to the brunt of tribal

lawlessness, there is comparative quietude, save in Waziristan. Military operations have now been in progress in Waziristan for several months. They have been conducted by our troops in the face of many hardships and against an elusive enemy, with a fortitude and gallantry worthy of all praise. I trust that these operations may not long have to be continued. They are slow and costly. The problem of the inhospitable frontier does not lend itself to a cheap or easy solution, but India's duty seems clear and it must always be remembered that the expenditure on frontier defence is incurred not merely for the defence of the sorely harassed inhabitants of our border districts against trans-frontier lawlessness and raids; it is incurred for the defence of India as a whole and is an expenditure which India will assuredly not grudge.

The Greco-Turkish war.

Unhappily, Greece and Turkey are still at war, notwithstanding the strenuous efforts of the Allies, and notably of His Majesty's Government, to effectuate a settlement of the grave disputes between these two countries. My distinguished predecessor, Lord Chelmsford, forcibly and persistently represented the views of the Indian Moslems to His Majesty's Government and, to the best of my capacity, I have pursued, and shall pursue, the same course. It is also well known that the Secretary of State for India has laboured most loyally and strenuously to persuade the Allies to adopt a policy more in consonance with the opinions of India. I dare not at this moment, when the operations of war are proceeding, hazard an opinion as to the future, but I may express my fervent hope that a treaty of peace may soon be concluded on terms which will be reasonably satisfactory to Turkey and also to Indian Moslem opinion.

May I also observe that differences between some portion of the Moslem populations that hold extreme views and the rest of the Indian Moslem opinions do not strengthen the representations, which I may make to His Majesty's Government in order that we may bring about a settlement satisfactory to Moslem opinion in India? (Applause).

The International Court of Justice.

It is some consolation in these days to turn from the contemplation of warlike operations to the labours of the League of Nations. India took its stand from the first for the League which, in my judgment, gives the best hope of preventing future wars. The creation of a permanent international court of justice is one step, and not an unimportant step, in the settlement of disputes by the arbitrament of reason; and in this connection I am pleased to be able to ratify the acceptance of the statute for the constitution of a permanent court of international justice, which was accepted by the representatives of India on the Assembly of the League of Nations.

The judges of the court will be elected by the Assembly of the League of Nations, and by the Council from lists of persons nominated by national groups representing the various nations which have accepted and ratified this statute.

National Group for India.

In appointing this national group for India my Government have endeavoured to select persons of the highest reputation and competency, and I am confident you will agree with me that Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar, now a member of the Executive Council at Madras, Mr. Justice Rankin, Judge of the High Court of Calcutta, Mr. S. Hassan Imam, Bar-at-Law, Patna, and Sir Thomas Strangman, Advocate-General in Bombay, who have accepted the appointments as members of the national group, fulfil these conditions. Their duties will be to

nominate persons from whom the judges of the court will subsequently be elected. The court will have jurisdiction in cases of disputes between members of the League which the members agree to refer to it and also international disputes in labour cases and in transit and communication cases.

The Imperial Conference.

I have followed with the deepest interest the events at the Imperial Conference in London, where India had the good fortune of being represented by the Secretary of State, the Maharao of Cutch and the Right Hon. Srinivasa Sastri, one of His Majesty's Privy Councillors. Although they were not able to achieve all they wished, it cannot be doubted that they have secured a notable recognition of the status of Indians in the Empire. It may be a tardy recognition, but it establishes beyond all question and authoritatively, by the conclusions of the Premiers assembled at the Imperial Conference with one dissentient, the equal status of Indians in the Empire. Secondly, the attitude of His Majesty's Government and their recognition of this principle will mean that it will be applied in other parts of the Empire which are not under Dominion Government, and notably in East Africa. In India we cannot but rejoice at these conclusions, notwithstanding that we deeply regret that the representaives of South Africa felt themselves unable to accept them. We must not close our eyes to their difficulties—these are of a special character—but we must continue our efforts to bring about a recognition in South Africa. Assuredly we need not be discouraged by the result at the Imperial Conference; indeed, we should be stimulated to continue our labours, and I give you my assurance that I will strive to the full extent of the power and the ability I may possess, to obtain the recognition in South Africa and elsewhere of the principle accepted by the other Dominions and His Majesty's Government and to secure that it shall be so interpreted as to satisfy Indian pride and patriotism.

Tribute to India's representatives.

I cannot pass from this subject without expressing gratitude to the representatives of India who represented the interests of Indians so ably and eloquently. I have read with great pleasure the reports of the reception of the Maharao of Cutch and Mr. Sastri. It is beyond doubt that they have raised the status of Indians in the Councils of the British Empire. They have contributed to the appreciation of the intellectual capacity, the graceful courtesy and the sensitive responsiveness of Indians and have made a deep impression upon all with whom they have come into contact in England and elsewhere.

The Moplah Rebellion.

When I approach an examination of the internal condition of India I find much that is hopeful for the future and my belief in your capacity to assist me and my Government in promoting the general welfare of the country is a constant encouragement in the performance of our duties, but there is still, unhappily, unrest in some parts of the country, which continues to receive the serious consideration of my Government. The most recent manifestation is in the district of Malabar and thoughts naturally turn to the grave reports of crime and disorder which necessitated the issue by me of an Ordinance proclaiming Martial Law in certain parts of this district. I trust I need not assure you that having passed my life in the profession of the law and steeped as I am in the liberal traditions of England, I would never proclaim Martial Law unless I was convinced that it was absolutely necessary for the security of the country and for the safety of the population in the disturbed areas. In my judgment I should have failed in my duty if I had not taken this step in the

emergency that arose and had not given to the local Government all the assistance and support that could be rendered in quelling the uprising of the Moplahs and in protecting innocent citizens against the criminal acts of a violent mob.

We must, however, be careful to view those disturbances in their proper setting. It would be rash and, in my view, wrong to assume that this rising is to be taken as symptomatic of the condition of the whole of India. It must be remembered that this district has always been a storm centre and serious disorders have occurred in the past. I shall not enter into a lengthy discussion of the events and conditions that led to this serious outbreak which may be said without exaggeration of language, to have assumed the character of a rebellion because I am well aware that you will have opportunities of discussing these matters in the course of your debates.

Origin of the trouble.

I shall only make some general observations for your consideration. It is obvious, from the reports received, that the ground had been carefully prepared for the purpose of creating an atmosphere favourable to violence and no effort had been spared to rouse the passion and fury of the Moplahs. The spark which kindled the flame was the resistance, by a large and hostile crowd of Moplahs armed with swords and knives, to a lawful attempt by the police to effect certain arrests in connection with a case of house breaking. The police were powerless to effect the capture of the criminals and the significance of the incident is that it was regarded as a defeat of the police and therefore of the Government. Additional troops and special police had to be drafted to Malabar in order to effect the arrests. The subsequent events are now fairly well known although it is impossible at present to state the number of the innocent victims of the Moplahs. These events have been chronicled in the press. I shall not recapitulate them.

Some of the Results of the outbreak.

The situation is now to all intents and purposes in hand. It has been saved by the prompt and effective action of the military and naval assistance, for which we are duly grateful, although some time must necessarily elapse before order can be completely restored and normal life under the civil Government resumed. But consider the sacrifice of life and property. A few Europeans and many Hindus have been murdered, communications have been obstructed; Government offices burnt and looted and records have been destroyed; Hindu temples sacked; houses of Europeans and Hindus burnt. According to reports, Hindus were forcibly converted to Islam and one of the most fertile tracts of South India is threatened with famine. The result has been the temporary collapse of civil Government, offices and courts have ceased to function and ordinary business has been brought to a standstill. European and Hindu refugees of all classes are concentrated at Calicut, and it is satisfactory to know that they are safe there. One trembles to think of the consequences if the forces of order had not prevailed for the protection of Calicut. The non-Moslem in these parts was fortunate indeed, if either he or his family or his house or property came near the protection of the soldier and the police. Those who are responsible for causing this grave outbreak of violence and crime must be brought to justice and made to suffer the punishment of the guilty, but apart from direct responsibility, can it be doubted that when poor unfortunate and deluded people are led to believe that they should disregard the law and defy authority, violence and crime follow this outbreak as but another instance, on a much more serious scale and among a more turbulent and fanatical people, of the conditions that have manifested themselves at times in various parts of the country?

Failure of the non-violence cult.

And, gentlemen, I ask myself and you and the country generally, what else can result from instilling such doctrines into the minds of masses of the people? How can there be peace and tranquillity when ignorant people who have no means of testing the truth of the inflammatory, and too often deliberately false, statements made to them are thus misled by those whose design it is to provoke violence and disorder? Passions are thus easily excited to unreasoning fury. Although I freely acknowledge that the leader of the movement to paralyse authority persistently, and as I believe in all earnestness and sincerity, preaches the doctrine of non-violence and has even reproved his followers for resorting to it, yet again and again it has been shown that his doctrine is completely forgotten and his exhortations absolutely disregarded, when passions are excited, as must inevitably be the consequence among emotional people. To us who are responsible for the peace and good government of this great Empire —and I trust to men of sanity and commonsense in all classes of society—it must be clear that defiance of the Government and constituted authority can only result in disorder, in political chaos, in anarchy and in ruin.

Government Determined to do its duty.

There are signs that the activity of the movement or at least one section of it, may take a form of even a more direct challenge to law and order. There has been wild talk of a general policy of disobedience to law in some cases, I regret to say, accompanied by an open recognition that such a course must lead to disorder and bloodshed. Attempts have been made by some fanatical followers of Islam to reduce His Majesty's soldiers and police from their allegiance, attempts that have, I am glad to say, met with no success. As head of the Government, however, I need not assure you that we shall not be deterred one hair's breadth from doing our duty. We shall continue to do all in our power to protect the lives and property of all law-abiding citizens and to secure to them their right to pursue their lawful avocations and above all we shall continue to enforce the ordinary law and to take care that it is respected. It is the manifest duty of every loyal subject of the King-Emperor, just as it is the interest of all who wish to live with a security of protection against violence and crime, to oppose publicly, a movement fraught with such dangerous possibilities and to help the officers of Government in their task of preventing and suppressing disorder and all this time I and my colleagues are ready and anxious to do all that is possible to allay legitimate discontent and to remedy the grievances of the people of India.

I am free to admit that there are grievances to be remedied and we are constantly directing our attention to devising the proper remedies for this purpose and I am well aware that we can rely upon your assistance in this and future sessions, for you sit here to mirror public opinion and I and my Government will continue gladly to welcome the help you may give to us. You, the first representatives of this Legislature, can already point to solid achievement as the result of your deliberations and activities.

The Councillors' labours.

I shall not attempt to chronicle them, but I shall refer to some important instances. A committee was appointed to examine the laws dealing with the press. Its report is now before you. The personnel of the committee which included members of both your houses was predominantly non-official and its recommendations which I am glad to say were unanimous, may be accepted as reflecting the popular views of the laws in question. Legislation on the lines recommended by the committee will shortly be laid before you. Its most im-

portant feature will be the proposal to repeal the Press Act of 1910. There is, however, one part of the report upon which I think it is necessary to make some reservation, and that is in relation to the protection hitherto afforded since 1910 to Ruling Princes against seditious attacks upon them in newspapers published in British India. If the Press Act is repealed it may become necessary to consider what form of protection shall be given to them in substitution. I will not pursue the subject now but it will doubtless be discussed at a later stage.

The Repressive Laws Committee, another committee of a very similar character, has recently made a careful examination of certain laws and regulations which confer extraordinary powers on the Executive Government. Their report will shortly be published and I trust that it will command your approval and that of the country at large. I cannot make an announcement regarding the legislative measures that will result from the Committee's labours as they have not yet been considered by my Government, but I think I may safely say that a number of laws popularly regarded as infringements of the liberty of the subject will, in all probability, be repealed.

Case of Martial law prisoners.

The consideration of this subject brings me not unnaturally to the cases of the 86 men sentenced in connection with the Punjab disturbances of 1919 who are still in jail. I wish it had been possible for me to-day to have announced my decision to you, but I am not yet quite ready to declare it. I confess that when I undertook myself to examine each of these 86 cases I under-estimated the labour involved and I did not sufficiently realise the constant demands upon my time consequent upon the responsibility of the position I occupy. Unexpected events happen and decisions must be made immediately, and I am sure that I need not remind you of the unexpected incidents that have happened during my short period of office.

Military Requirements Committee.

Last session, you will remember that as the result of the discussion under the presidency of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, a committee had sat to consider the military requirements of India. The report of the Committee will be considered in London by a sub-committee of the Committee of Imperial Defence and we must await their decisions. A notification has been issued constituting seven Territorial Force units in different parts of India and in Burma in addition to university corps. It is hoped that numbers of recruits will be forthcoming to take advantage of the opportunity thus afforded for acquiring military training so as to fit them to take a share in the defence of their country. My Government will spare no pains to further the interests of the Territorial Force and it now rests with the people of India to make the scheme a success.

Military College at Dehra Dun.

A resolution was passed by the Legislative Assembly last session recommending the establishment of a college in India to train Indian lads who desired to enter the Indian Army through Sandhurst. A scheme on these lines has been forwarded for the approval of the Secretary of State and as soon as that has been received rapid progress will be made with the adaptation of the buildings formerly occupied by the Imperial Cadet Corps at Dehra Dun, so as to fit them for a college of this nature. It is hoped that the Prince of Wales may be pleased to perform the opening ceremony and that the preliminary work will be completed in time to enable the college to be in working order. The

college will be large enough to accommodate 90 pupils in the first instance and if it proves a success it will be possible to make expansion in the immediate vicinity of the college.

A subject which has occupied your attention and that of the Indian public and roused great interest is that relating to the free admission of Indians to all arms of His Majesty's military and naval forces in India. In accordance with the resolution passed by the Legislative Assembly my Government is now in communication with the Secretary of State with the object of enabling Indians to qualify for commissions in the Artillery and Engineer service in the country and it is examining, in consultation with the Secretary of State, the question of the provision of facilities for Indians to be trained for commissions in the Royal Air Force. A scheme is also under consideration for assisting Indian lads to qualify themselves by a period of training in England for commissioned rank in the Royal Indian Marine.

Expected revival of Trade.

The financial discussions occupied much time last session and you will not expect me to say anything fresh at this moment regarding the present trade and financial conditions. We are still awaiting that long expected revival in the demand abroad for India's products. This has been a very long time in coming and I am sure the patience of many of us must have been sorely tried. Those who are in touch with our export markets tell me, however, that there are at last some faint, though unmistakeable, glimmerings of revival and that if the monsoon continues good to the end, as we now have reason to hope it may, we shall before long see the beginning of a return to more normal conditions and perhaps to something like our pre-war balance of trade. I mention this feeling of mild optimism as it seems to be held in well informed circles; for myself, I cannot attempt to prophesy. I would, however, invite your assent to two general observations. The first is that India's own financial position is, as I believe, intrinsically sound. The State may have been occasionally forced, during the war, to do things which must have seemed to be a departure from the severe conservatism which had hitherto characterised the management of India's finances, but when we remember what most other belligerent countries were forced to do and the enormous inflation of currency and credit, leading in many cases to something like national bankruptcy, which has followed elsewhere, we may, I think at the risk of being considered pharisaical, thank heaven that we are not as other countries. A country that can put up nearly Rs. 40 crores of new money for a national loan need not entertain many qualms as to its financial future.

My second observation is merely a corollary from the first. Seeing that the existing difficulties of India's trade are due almost entirely to causes external to herself it follows that when that revival of international trade comes, as come it must, then India will be one of the first countries to reap the benefit. The products which she has to offer to the rest of the world are not luxuries the purchase of which other countries can defer until their finances are in better order but are for the most part necessities, either as foodstuffs or as raw products for their manufactures. All these factors combined must make India's position one of great advantage as soon as trade revives and justify a refusal to be depressed by budget deficits, low exchange or other circumstances of the moment.

The question of high prices.

In considering the condition of the people of India the greatest importance must always be attributed to the high prices now ruling for the necessaries of

life. This subject is constantly engaging the attention of my Government and in particular has been directed to the extraordinary recent rise in the price, particularly, of wheat and of rice. You will have observed from a statement issued by my Government this morning that we shall continue the existing prohibition of the export of wheat, *atta* and flour until at least the end of March 1922. It is also proposed that so far as possible the requirements of wheat for the army in India or based on India will for the present be supplied by the purchase of Australian wheat. It is hoped that by these means relief will be given and that the rise will be checked, if not counteracted. My Government will not fail to watch events in this connection. Their importance on the political condition of India is perhaps greater than is usually recognised.

The Fiscal Commission.

Our arrangements for the Fiscal Commission are well advanced and I trust that Commission will begin its important labours next month. In recognition of India's advance towards fiscal autonomy the majority of the members of the Commission will be Indians and it is also intended that the chairman shall be an Indian. I regret that at this moment arrangements are not sufficiently completed to enable me to give names. The task before the Commission is one of enormous difficulty. Its duty will be to advise the Government of India, not only whether India should approve in the interests of the solidarity of the Empire the principle of imperial preference, but also whether we should abandon our time-honoured policy of a tariff raised primarily for revenue purposes in favour of a policy of protection. The task thus opens up questions of great difficulty and complexity, but I am confident that the Commission will approach them with a high sense of responsibility and that its reports will be of the greatest assistance and value to the Government of India.

Labour Problems.

The Government recognise that during the last few years there has been a great awakening on the part of Indian Labour and they are fully alive to the new conditions that such an awakening demands. The Bill to amend the Indian Factories Act, which is now under your consideration, has the two-fold object of increasing the efficiency of Indian labour and bettering its conditions. Another social measure to which we attach great importance is a Bill to regulate the grant of compensation to workmen for injuries received in the course of their employment, which we hope to introduce early in 1922. The recent industrial unrest has also been accompanied by a growth in the number of trade unions and the question of giving adequate protection and legal status to those unions which are genuine labour organisations is at present under consideration. The Government are also carefully studying the question of arbitration and conciliation. We are glad to observe that this matter of the settlement of Labour disputes is receiving considerable attention from provincial governments and in provincial legislatures. I am full of hope that the various measures that are now being adopted or being recommended to employers as well as to employés will establish the peace and harmony that is absolutely necessary for the development of our industries.

Racial Tension.

The evidence of strong racial antagonism that to some extent prevails has caused me the greatest concern. Since my arrival in India regrettable incidents have come to my notice on both sides. At the same time I am far from asserting that the fault is all on one side. It seems to me tha among the

factors contributing to this unhappy racial tension, instances of violence and discourtesy by Europeans against Indians which occur from time to time, although in truth I believe infrequently, cannot be overlooked. There is in general, I venture to assert, no ground of complaint to be made, but any instance of incivility attracts far more attention than the usual and infinitely more numerous instances of courtesy by Europeans to Indians. Neither can it be said that the results of the trials of Europeans concerned in criminal cases arising from acts of violence or from improper conduct have always given satisfaction to the public. I have been made aware of a very prevalent feeling amongst Indians that in such cases strict justice does not always result when a European is concerned and it cannot be said that the result of such trials always satisfies the public conscience. In particular my attention has been drawn to the differences in the legal procedure applicable to Europeans and Indians. Local Governments have been consulted and an opportunity will be taken during the course of the present session to lay before you the proposals of my Government as to the steps which should be taken for further examination of this question and I trust that in the result means will be found to satisfy public opinion that justice will be done, both to Europeans and Indians.

There are many other subjects which will be considered by you during the course of this session. There are questions of importance to which I have not even referred as I do not wish to detain you too long, in particular I would mention the interest taken by Sir Thomas Holland on the industrial development of India. By his departure we lose the benefit of the services of one who has laboured faithfully and capably to this end. There are projects of irrigation which specially attract my attention. I wish I could have discussed them. There is again education which is dear to my heart and upon which I should like to have made some observations to you, but I must content myself with the knowledge that there will be other opportunities and that all these subjects will come before you in the ordinary course of your deliberations and will receive careful attention.

During the time that I have been Viceroy I have been in constant intercourse with the men of the public services of this country, both British and Indian, and I desire to take this opportunity of expressing publicly my grateful thanks to them for the assistance they have rendered to me and to Government, my appreciation of the services they are always ready to perform, my recognition of the inevitable promptness with which they have responded to what I must confess to be the inordinate demands made by me upon their time and their labours.

Moulding the future.

Now, Gentlemen, I shall not detain you longer. Sitting here in this chamber, at the first meeting of this session of the reformed legislature in Simla, I find my mind surging with imagination as to the future. I know that you are sitting here under a constitution which has never been presented otherwise than for the purposes of the transitional stage. There are resolutions that will come before you during the sittings of your Assembly urging your advance along the road of constitutional progress. I am carefully watching and studying the working of this machinery and I am satisfied that in the short space of time in which it has already existed you have not yet sufficiently tested its perfections (if you are ready to admit that it has any), also its imperfections. You have already to some extent discovered it is a human machine, with human imperfections. It has never been presented otherwise than as a compromise and it will take a little time before we can fully realise

how it will work and how this machinery will fit in with the complex machinery of the Government of India. I will not at this moment hazard any observation as to the future. I am not so young as most of you who are present here (laughter). I am prone to the caution of age and therefore will wait until I have had a little more opportunity of judging before I pronounce my conclusions; but these questions will be raised by you in this legislature, which has still some sessions before it. There will be opportunities for full consideration and deliberation.

I have already pointed out the results of the labours of this Assembly during the short period of its first session. I have dilated briefly upon some of the results of the creation of this reformed legislature. You have gathered a good harvest, for as a result of the committees appointed and legislation following upon your resolutions and the expression of your opinions duly recorded by Government you are already able to point to a large volume of Government action taken to redress grievances. May I again, taking advantage of my years as we elderly people so often do (laughter), add one word of warning? I do not think you can always expect at every session to garner so rich a harvest (laughter).

A common purpose.

In conclusion let me say to you as a member of this legislature now present with you, addressing general observations upon present conditions, that we are all working together with one single purpose in view, the promotion of the welfare and happiness of India (applause). We have no other object; we have no other desire, except this, which binds us all together and which calls for the manifestation of that spirit of mutual goodwill and forbearance without which no deliberations can be effective and lead to lasting results. In leaving you to your labours I make an appeal to you, which I am confident I shall not make in vain; do not content yourselves with merely doing your duty in this legislature, although I know it makes a great demand upon your time. It needs patriotism to sacrifice leisure and sometimes remunerative occupation to take part in the deliberations of this Assembly. You may think—no, I will not say that; but some persons may think—that this is a sufficient demand to make upon you. It is not. No demand is too great when there is need for patriotism. It is essential that men like yourselves, who are assisting Government by your advice, for Government is always seeking knowledge, should go forth among the people, not only at the time of election, when constituents must always be remembered, but at other times. You must be conscious that you are taking part in important deliberations and that you are thus assisting in moulding the destinies of this great Empire. You are, permit me to say, inscribing your names on the golden roll of patriotic service and are devoting yourselves to great work and in this high purpose are true to your God, to yourselves and to your country. (Prolonged applause.)

APPENDIX XI.

Bardoli Resolutions.

The Working Committee of the Congress met at Bardoli on the 11th and 12th February 1922 and passed the following resolutions :—

(1) The Working Committee deplores the inhuman conduct of the mob at Chauri Chaura in having brutally murdered constables and wantonly burned the Police Thana and tenders its sympathy to the families of the bereaved.

(2) In view of Nature's repeated warnings, every time mass civil disobedience has been imminent some popular violent outburst has taken place indicating that the atmosphere in the country is not non-violent enough for mass disobedience, the latest instance being the tragic and terrible events at Chauri Chaura near Gorakhpur, the Working Committee of the Congress resolves that mass civil disobedience contemplated at Bardoli and elsewhere be suspended and instructs the local Congress Committees forthwith to advise the cultivators to pay the land revenue and other taxes due to the Government and whose payment might have been suspended in anticipation of mass civil disobedience, and instructs them to suspend every other preparatory activity of an offensive nature.

(3) The suspension of mass civil disobedience shall be continued till the atmosphere is so non-violent as to ensure the non-repetition of popular atrocities such as at Gorakhpur or hooliganism such as at Bombay and Madras respectively on 17th November 1921 and 13th January last.

(4) In order to promote a peaceful atmosphere, the Working Committee advises, till further instruction, all Congress organisations to stop activities specially designed to court arrest and imprisonment, save normal Congress activities including voluntary *hartals* where an absolutely peaceful atmosphere can be assured and for that end all picketing shall be stopped save for the *bonâ fide* and peaceful purpose of warning the visitors to liquor shops against the evils of drinking, such picketing to be controlled by persons of known good character and specially selected by the Congress Committees concerned.

(5) The Working Committee advises, till further instructions, the stoppage of all volunteer processions and public meetings merely for the purpose of defiance of the notifications regarding such meetings. This, however, shall not interfere with the private meetings of the Congress and other Committees or public meetings which are required for the conduct of the normal activities of the Congress.

(6) Complaints having been brought to the notice of the Working Committee that ryots are not paying rents to the Zemindars, the Working Committee advises Congress workers and organisations

to inform the ryots that such withholding of rents is contrary to the resolutions of the Congress and that it is injurious to the best interests of the country.

(7) The Working Committee assures the Zemindars that the Congress movement is in no way intended to attack their legal rights, and that even where the ryots have grievances, the Committee's desire is that redress should be sought by mutual consultations and by the usual recourse to arbitrations.

(8) Complaints having been brought to the notice of the Working Committee that in the formation of volunteer corps great laxity prevails in the selection and that insistence is not had on the full use of hand-spun and hand-woven *khaddar*, and on the full observance by Hindus of the rule as to the removal of untouchability, nor is care being taken to ascertain that the candidates believe fully in the observance of non-violence in intent, word and deed, in terms of the Congress resolution, the Working Committee calls upon all Congress organisations to revise their lists and remove from them the names of all such volunteers as do not strictly conform to the requirements of the pledge.

(9) The Working Committee is of opinion that unless Congressmen carry out to the full the Congress constitution and the resolutions from time to time issued by the Working Committee, it is not possible to achieve its objects expeditiously or at all.

(10) The foregoing resolutions will have effect only pending the meeting to be specially convened of the All-India Congress Committee and thereafter subject to confirmation by it, the Secretary to call such meeting as early as possible after consultation with Hakim Ajmal Khan.

The New Programme.

Whereas the Gorakhpur tragedy is a powerful proof of the fact that the mass mind has not yet fully realised the necessity of non-violence as an integral, active, and chief part of mass civil disobedience, and whereas the reported indiscriminate acceptance of persons as volunteers in contravention of the Congress instructions betrays want of appreciation of vital part of Satyagraha, and whereas, in the opinion of the Working Committee, the delay in the attainment of national aim is solely due to the weak and incomplete execution, in practice, of the constitution of the Congress and with a view to perfecting the internal organisation, the Working Committee advises all Congress organisations to be engaged in the following activities:—

(1) To enlist at least one crore of members of the Congress.

NOTE (*i*).—Since peace (non-violence) and legitimateness (truth) are the essence of the Congress creed, no person should be enlisted who does not believe in non-violence and truth as indispensable for the attainment of *Swaraj*. The creed of the Congress must, therefore, be carefully explained to each person who is appealed to, to join the Congress.

NOTE (*ii*).—The workers should note that no one who does not pay the annual subscription can be regarded as a qualified Congressman. All the old members are, therefore, to be advised to re-register their names.

(2) To popularise the spinning wheel and organise the manufacture of hand-spun and hand-woven *khaddar*.

NOTE.—To this end all workers and office-bearers should be dressed in *khaddar*, and it is recommended that with a view to encourage others they should themselves learn hand-spinning.

(3) To organise national schools.

NOTE.—No picketing of Government schools should be resorted to: but reliance should be placed upon the superiority of national schools in all vital matters to command attendance.

(4) To organise the depressed classes for a better life, to improve their social, mental and moral condition, to induce them to send their children to national schools, and to provide for them the ordinary facilities which other citizens enjoy.

NOTE.—Whilst, therefore, where the prejudice against the untouchables is still strong, separate schools and separate wells must be maintained out of Congress funds. Every effort should be made to draw such children to national schools and to persuade the people to allow the untouchables to use the common wells.

(5) To organise the temperance campaign amongst the people addicted to the drink-habit by house to house visits and to rely more upon appeal to the drinker in his home than upon picketing.

(6) To organise village and town *Panchayats* for the private settlement of all disputes, reliance being placed solely upon the force of public opinion and the truthfulness of *Panchayat* decision to ensure obedience to them.

NOTE.—In order to avoid even the appearance of coercion, no special boycott should be resorted to against those who will not obey the *Panchayat's* decisions.

(7) In order to promote and emphasise unity among all classes and mutual goodwill, the establishment of which is the aim of the movement of non-co-operation, to organise a social service department that will render help to all, irrespective of political differences, in times of illness or accident.

NOTE.—A non-co-operator, whilst firmly adhering to his creed, will deem it a privilege to render personal service, in case of illness or accident, to every person whether English or Indian.

(8) To continue the Tilak Memorial Swaraj Fund and to call upon every Congressman or Congress-sympathiser to pay at least one hundredth part of his annual income for the year 1921. Every province to send every month 25 per cent. of its income, from the Tilak Memorial Swaraj Fund to the All-India Congress Committee.

(9) The above resolution shall be brought before the forthcoming session of the All-India Congress Committee for revision, if necessary.

(10) In the opinion of the Working Committee a project is necessary for the purpose of finding employment for those who may give up Government service, and to that end this Committee appoints Messrs. Mian Mahomed Haji Jan Mahomed Chhotani, Jamnalal Bajaj and V. J. Patel to draw up a scheme for consideration by the said special meeting of the All-India Congress Committee.

APPENDIX XII.

The Delhi Resolution.

The following resolution was passed on the 25th February 1922 at the session of the All-India Congress Committee held at Delhi :—

The All-India Congress Committee having carefully considered the resolutions passed by the Working Committee at its meeting held at Bardoli on the 11th and 12th instant, confirms the said resolutions with the modifications noted therein and further resolves that individual Civil Disobedience whether of a defensive or aggressive character may be commenced in respect of particular places or particular laws at the instance of and upon permission being granted therefor by the respective Provincial Committee; provided that such Civil Disobedience shall not be permitted unless all the conditions laid down by the Congress or the All-India Congress Committee or the Working Committee are strictly fulfilled.

Reports having been received from various quarters that picketing regarding foreign cloth is as necessary as liquor-picketing, the All-India Congress Committee authorises such picketing of a *bonâ-fide* character on the same terms as liquor-picketing mentioned in the Bardoli resolutions.

The All-India Congress Committee wishes it to be understood that the resolutions of the Working Committee do not mean any abandonment of the original Congress programme of non-co-operation or permanent abandonment of Mass Civil Disobedience but considers that an atmosphere of necessary mass non-violence can be established by the workers concentrating upon the constructive programme framed by the Working Committee at Bardoli.

The All-India Congress Committee holds Civil Disobedience to be the right and duty of the people to be exercised and performed whenever the State opposes the declared will of the people.

Note.—Individual Civil Disobedience is disobedience of orders or laws by a single individual or an ascertained number or group of individuals. Therefore a prohibited public meeting where admission is regulated by tickets and to which no unauthorised admission is allowed, is an instance of Individual Civil Disobedience, whereas a prohibited meeting to which the general public is admitted without any restriction is an instance of Mass Civil Disobedience. Such Civil Disobedience is defensive when a prohibited public meeting is held for conducting a normal activity although it may result in arrest. It would be aggressive if it is held not for any normal activity but merely for the purpose of courting arrest and imprisonment.

APPENDIX XIII.

Lord Reading's reply to the Deputation which waited on him in Calcutta in December 1921.

Pandit Malaviya, Mrs. Besant and Gentlemen,

When I was informed that a deputation of the representatives of various shades of political opinion wished to wait upon me for the purpose of placing their views on the situation and suggestions for allaying the present unrest, I gladly assented, and I am pleased to receive you here to-day, for I know that you have come with one object only that is to do what you conceive to be the best in the interests of your country, and to promote its welfare. I am perfectly sure that you are actuated solely by disinterested motives (I have had the pleasure of meeting nearly all of you before to-day); and I do not, I assure you, underrate the importance and the influence of those who are present here this morning. The immediate purpose of your representations, is that I should invite the leading representatives of all shades of political opinion to a conference, in your words to take counsel together and consider practical suggestions and recommendations concerning the remedies which should be adopted; and you recommend, indeed your language is that, it seems imperative that the various notifications and proclamations recently issued by Government should be withdrawn; and all persons imprisoned as the result of their operations immediately released.

Discontinuance of Activities.

I can scarcely conceive that you have intended to present to me such recommendations without having in your minds as a necessary corollary, the equally imperative necessity for the discontinuance of those activities which have led Government to adopt the measures, now forming the subject of discussions.

Law and Order.

I do not propose to discuss those measures, but I will assume that they form the subject as I know of acute controversy. They were adopted by Government with an object of giving protection to law-abiding citizens, particularly here in Calcutta, and in other parts of the country. I have already said, it was not a new policy, it was the application of the policy which lies at the very root of all civilised government, *i.e.*, the maintenance of law and the preservation of order, but nevertheless I will assume as your language indicates that there are considerable doubts as to this policy; and that differences of opinion exist, as to the necessity or the advisability of the measures taken. The opinions of Governments are formed upon a general presentation of facts, they cannot be lightly arrived at, and they necessarily are the opinions of persons to whom great positions of trust and responsibility have been confided. I mention this not that you should be asked to accept the dictum of Government, but merely for the purpose of emphasising to you the reasons for this policy.

Calm Atmosphere Wanted.

The tenor of your address implies your recognition, in which I cordially agree, of the need of a calm and serene atmosphere for a conference. Indeed in my judgment it is impossible even to consider the convening of a conference, if agitation in open and avowed defiance of law is meanwhile to be continued.

Guarantees Missing.

Unfortunately I look in vain in your address for any indication that these activities will cease. I fully understand that none of you are in a position to give an assurance to this effect for none of you have been authorised to make it. I hope that I shall not be misinterpreted. I am not suggesting any reproach to anyone concerned, all I mean is that whatever hopes may have been entertained have not been realised, and that therefore, when we are meeting to-day necessarily, rather surprisedly, in view of circumstances, the assurance for which I confess I had been looking as a necessary part of this discussion is not forthcoming. I quite appreciate that there may have been difficulties in the brief time allowed and also in the great distances separating us. I do not know from the address presented to me what view is taken by the leaders who are responsible for non-co-operation activities, in the sense that I find no assurance from them that these activities will cease, if a conference were to be convened. I am asked without such an assurance to withdraw Government measures called into operation by Government under an existing law, for the protection of law-abiding citizens and to release all those arrested for defying this law. I cannot believe that this was the intention of the deputation when originally suggested, for it would mean that throughout the country intimidation and unlawful oppression and other unlawful acts should be allowed to continue, whilst Government action to maintain order and protect the law-abiding citizen would be largely paralysed. I need scarcely tell you that no responsible Government could even contemplate the acceptance of such a state of public affairs, neither can I really believe, that you ever intended it, for it would suggest that Government should abandon one of its primary functions.

Cessation of Activities.

I have no doubt that most of you came under the same impression as myself, when I intimated in reply to a request from Pandit Malaviya that I would willingly receive this deputation. It is very necessary that I should make plain that all discussion between myself and Pandit Malaviya preliminary to this deputation proceeded upon the basis of a genuine attempt, I believe a disinterested and honourable attempt to solve the problems of unrest, by means of discussion and consideration at a conference, and that meanwhile there should be a cessation of activities on both sides, of unlawful operations on the part of the non-co-operationists, and of Government prosecutions and imprisonments. I wish it had been possible to consider the convening of a conference in the same atmosphere as characterised the discussions between Pandit Malaviya and myself. I would wish nothing better, and nothing more conducive to beneficial results and more in accordance with patriotism.

"I Hate Arrests."

Let me add speaking not only for myself but also for all the members of my Executive Council, whom I have naturally consulted upon the situation that has arisen, nothing is further from our wishes than the arrests and im-

prisonments of citizens, more particularly citizens of reputation or sons of men of high honour and reputation in the country whose emotions have led them into conflict with the law. I do not hesitate to say that I hate this making of numerous arrests and prosecutions, but nevertheless so long as there is open defiance of law Government have no other course. There may be discussions about measures. I can quite conceive that men in high positions and understanding of public affairs may wish to make representations to a government upon a particular measure, or that in the legislatures steps may be taken for the purpose of calling attention to it.

The Excesses.

I understand that the wisdom and judgment of Governments or of a particular Government may be brought under consideration. All that is possible, what I cannot understand and cannot conceive, is that the Indian, I am not speaking of parties, I am not speaking of creeds or of races, but that the Indian is opposed to the proper maintenance of law and to the preservation of order. I won't recapitulate the conditions that led throughout the various provinces of India to the action taken by Governments. Indeed here in Calcutta, the facts are too well-known to require repetitions particularly after the pronouncement of His Excellency the Governor in his address to the Legislative Council on Monday last.

May I observe now, that I am not suggesting that there can be no excesses by those entrusted with authority, some may have occurred. It is very rarely that in such a condition of affairs as existed here some excess may not happen; all that can be said has already been said by His Excellency the Governor. It is that every precaution will be taken to prevent recurrence and that every attempt will be made to ensure proper enquiry and that proper steps are taken in the result.

The New Situation.

I wish with all my heart that it had been possible to deal with these problems in a large and generous spirit worthy of such an occasion in the history of India. Had there been indications to this effect before me to-day in the representations which you have made in your address on the part of the leaders of non-co-operation, had the offer been made to discontinue open breaches of law for the purpose of providing a calmer atmosphere for discussion of remedies my Government would never have been backward in response. We would have been prepared to consider the new situation in the same large and generous spirit, and I would have conferred with the local governments for this purpose. I should have wished and I know that I speak not only my own thoughts, but those of Pandit Malaviya in this respect, that if such conditions had supervened no advantage or triumph should be claimed on either side, and no reproach should be made by the other of having been forced to yield or not having the courage to proceed with its campaign. I should have wished to see a new spirit introduced. In this respect, I do not stand alone in addressing you. I believe that if you were to give expression to your views, you would all agree with me that a new spirit should be created for the purpose of considering a conference in different circumstances and with higher hopes.

I deeply regret that these are not the present conditions, and the discussion which I thought was to have proceeded on the high level of a patriotic desire, by mutual concession and forbearance to the finding of a solution of India's present problems, takes the form in its present aspect of a request to the

Government to abandon its action without any guarantee that the action which had led or as we believe forced the Government to take such action, would also cease, therefore it is that to a request conveyed to me even by so influential and authoritative a deputation as yourselves to call a conference, coupled as it is with the two conditions of revocation of the law and release of all the prisoners, the answer I must make is that I cannot comply with the request. Those are the conditions presented to me. Here again I speak not only my own views but those of those associated with me in the government who have unanimously arrived at the same conclusion in conference with me. But I should be sorry indeed if any observations I have made could be construed into a refusal for all time to consider the convening of a conference. Certainly I have not intended by the language I have used to convey that meaning to you. I have too great a regard for the value of discussion and for the consideration of any suggestions and recommendations that may be made. I am not one of those who think that all wisdom is to found in those who happen to be in positions of authority. I have had too great an experience of life not to appreciate that advantage may be derived from discussion and consultation with others who see from different angles, and who may have views to put forward which had not occurred to us; but I can only act at the moment in view of the present existing circumstances, and as they stand, for the reasons that I have given you. I must express my great regret that the essential conditions for the peace are not forthcoming.

Punjab and Khilafat.

Before I part from you I cannot refrain from making some brief observations on the statements in your address. I do not propose to go through them, but you refer to the action that Government has taken in relation to the Punjab and Khilafat wrongs. I acknowledge your expression with regard to them. You state that Government has not yet done all that it is thought should have been done. That, of course, is a legitimate view, and one with which I do not quarrel. But, may I ask you momentarily to pause and think with regard to these matters? Are these really the causes of the present conditions of affairs? Ever since I have been here, and frequently as a result of consultation with those of great influence who do not represent Government, I have taken steps to meet the views presented to me in respect of the Punjab wrongs. That we have not been able to go to the full length I readily admit. I am perfectly aware of the desire on the part of many that more should be done not only from my reading, but from interviews when recommendations have been very forcibly presented to me. I have not accepted them because I have thought that I could not conscientiously give effect to them.

" *Swaraj.*"

With regard to the Khilafat what action is it suggested that the Government of India should take. We have done every thing possible. I am not speaking only of my Government. I refer also to that of my predecessor, Lord Chelmsford. You are all well aware that he also made the strongest representations to His Majesty's Government at Home. There are some present and particularly I see one who was at the deputation that went Home to the Prime Minister, who alleged that the fault was against the Government of India. In this respect where do we fail? I will not pursue the subject, but I make these observations for your consideration.

One further word upon the Reforms. Let me see how we stand because, as I understand it, the view presented is that, in the main, the desire for

swaraj, complete *swaraj*, *i.e.*, full self-Government, should be given as speedily as possible. History is so well-known to you that I only recall to you the one fact that the legislatures have only begun to function this very year, and the demand is for a more extended, or for complete, swaraj. Let us examine the facts. Not only have the Reforms been granted, but they are actually in operation. They have been completely tested and although I can sympathise with the views of those who desire that in the future, as soon as it can be properly and safely done, there should be an extension. Surely there is not sufficient reason, in this respect for an acute crisis as is suggested in your address. But I will not analyse further.

I would ask you who represent the various shades of opinion to consider the present situation. I have already told you of my Government's dislike of arrest and imprisonment. I know that you yourselves have strong feelings upon the subject. You tell me in the address that we are proceeding to an acute crisis. It may be that we may have a more disturbed condition of affairs than at present. If the law is defied, whatever the reason, all the incidents that unfortunately accompany a challenge of the law, and of which we have seen instances only during the recent year, may quietly follow.

I appeal to you to observe the conditions to-day and in the future, and urge upon you that we should all seek a high level above party or political advantage; otherwise, we shall all be failing in our duty to India. I remind you that, whatever reforms may be desired in the present constitutional system, they can only come through the British Parliament. The only constitutional method, the only peaceful solution, is by the British Parliament amending the Government of India Act.

Therefore it is so important that a proper impression should be made upon the British Parliament, and the British people who are represented by that Parliament. For the vast majority of the population of India is loyal to the Crown.

Whatever their views may be about other political controversies, H. R. H. the Prince of Wales will arrive in Calcutta within the next 3 days. He has nothing to do with the political controversies that are agitating us at the moment, yet every attempt is being made to prevent the success of his visit. I shall not discuss or characterise those attempts, but I must utter the warning that every man who lends himself to an affront to the Prince of Wales is doing incalculable injury to India and her fortunes in the future. We hold His Royal Highness in deep affection and admiration.

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CALCUTTA : PRINTED BY SUPDT. GOVT. PRINTING, INDIA, 8, HASTINGS STREET.

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STATEMENT

EXHIBITING THE

MORAL AND MATERIAL PROGRESS AND CONDITION

OF

INDIA

DURING THE YEAR 1921.

FIFTY-SEVENTH NUMBER.

India Office,
3 August 1922.

A. HIRTZEL,
Deputy Under Secretary of State for India

(Presented pursuant to the Government of India Act.)

Ordered, by The House of Commons, *to be printed,*
3 August 1922.

LONDON:
PRINTED & PUBLISHED BY HIS MAJESTY'S STATIONERY OFFICE
To be purchased through any Bookseller or directly from H.M. STATIONERY OFFICE at the following addresses: Imperial House, Kingsway, London, W.C.2, and 28 Abingdon Street, London, S.W.1; 37 Peter Street, Manchester; 1 St. Andrew's Crescent, Cardiff, or 23 Forth Street, Edinburgh.

1922

PRINTED IN INDIA.

Price 2s. 6d. net.

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on 01 February, 2020